A PLAN of ANTIENT ROME
for the understanding of the ROMAN HISTORY.

The several Quarters *or* Districts *of* ROME *according to the Distribution of Augustus*

I. *Porta Capena*
II. *Cœlimontium*
III. *Isis & Moneta*
IV. *Templum Pacis or Via-Sacra*
V. *Esquilina*
VI. *Alta-Semita*
VII. *Via-Lata*

which have their Limits and Numbers in the PLAN.

VIII. *Forum Romanum*
IX. *Circus Flaminius*
X. *Palatium*
XI. *Circus-Maximus*
XII. *Piscina Publica*
XIII. *Aventinus*
XIV. *Trans-Tiberina*

TIBERIS Fl.
Via Flaminia
P.ta Flaminia
Fortification the same as that of the Emperour Aurelian
P.ta Pinciana
Via Salaria
P.ta Salaria
Via Nomentana
P.ta Nomentana
Augmentation by Constantine
Castrum Prætorium
Aurelians Work
Modern
Lucus Augusti
Sepulchrum Domitiorum
Collis Hortulorum
Horti Sallustii
Circus Florae
Agger
Fossæ of Servii Tullii
Collis Agonalis
Mausoleum Augusti
Horti Luculli
IX
Moles Adriana now the Castle of S.t Angelo
Modern Work round the Vatican
Via Triumphalis
Vaticanus Mons
Campus Vaticanus
Situation of S.t Peter's olim Circus Caii et Neronis
P.s Triumphalis
P.s Ælius
Porta Aurelia
Via Aurelia
Modern Fortification of the Quarter called Tras-Tevere
CAMPUS MARTIUS
Gnomon
M.s Citatorium
Bustum
Col.a Antonini
Aqua Virgo
P.ta Salutaris
Septa
Th. Neronis
Villa Publica
Pantheon
Thermæ Horti et Stagnum Agrippæ
Campus Minor
Via Recta
Via Lata
Enceinte
Collis Salutaris
Col.a Trajana
P.ta Triumphalis
VII
M.s CAPITOLINUS
Rupes Tarpeia
Theatrum Pompeii
Circus Flaminius
Porticus Octavii
Porticus-Octaviæ
Theatrum Marcelli
P.s Fabricius
Insula Tiberina
P.ta Septimiana
P.s Janiculensis
Ancient Work
TIBERINA
P.s Cestius
P.s Palatinus
P.s Sublicius
P.ta Portuensis
XIV
JANICULUM
P.ta Janiculensis
Via Aurelia
Forum Romanum
Milliar. aureum
Æ Carmentalis
P.ta Carmentalis
Velabrum
Palus
Via Sacra
T. Vestæ
T. Pacis
Amphith. Flavium
Thermæ Titi
Oppius Mons
Carinæ
Cornitium
III
MONS ESQUILINUS
Moles
Horti
Aqua Martia
Mæcenatis
Agger Tarquinii Superbi
Esquiliæ
P.ta Prænestina
Via Prænestina
Via Labicana
Puticuli
P.ta Esquilina
Suburra
Lucus Querquetulan
Aqua Claudia
Circus Maximus
Curtis Scauri
X
Palatium Augustale
PALATINUS
M.s
II
MONS CŒLIUS
Domus Laterani
P.ta Nœvia
Amphith. Castrense
P.ta Cœlimontana
Via Asinaria
Crabra
Aqua
Via Campana
M.s Remuria
Salinæ
P.ta Trigemina
XIII
AVENTINUS
Piscina Publica
XII
Via Nova
Thermæ Caracallæ
P.ta et Via Latina
P.ta Capena
Work of Servius Tullius
I
Tem.l Martis
Tem.l Fortis Fortunæ
Horti Cæsaris
Naumachia Augusti
Navalia
P.ta Lavernalis
Sepulchrum Cestii
M.s Testaceus al. Doliolum
Via Portuensis
Aurelians Work
P.ta Ostiensis
the same as at this day
Via
Tiburtina
Via Collatina
Cispius Mons
Ther. Olympiadis
V
VIMINALIS
Ara Jovis Vimi nei
Septimius Æd.
P.ta Viminalis
P.ta Inter Aggeres
100 feet broad
QUIRINALIS
Ther. Diocletiani
VI
T. Quirini
M.s
Collis Mutatis
Via Lata
Aqua
Virgo
du Roi Servius Tullius
Capitolium Vetus
Tarpeia
Rupes
Tarpeia
Ostiensis
Via Appia
Almo Fl.
Tiberis

SCALE

Antient Roman Mile of 756 Toises
¼ ½ ¾ 1

Present Roman Mile of 764 Toises
¼ ½ ¾ 1

Third of a French League of 3000 Geometrical Paces
100 200 300 400 500 600 700 800

One English Mile of 1760 Yards
¼ ½ ¾ 1

A GENERAL

HISTORY of the WORLD,

FROM THE

CREATION to the prefent Time.

INCLUDING

All the EMPIRES, KINGDOMS, and STATES; their REVOLUTIONS, FORMS of GOVERNMENT, LAWS, RELIGIONS, CUSTOMS and MANNERS; the PROGRESS of their LEARNING, ARTS, SCIENCES, COMMERCE and TRADE;

Together with

Their CHRONOLOGY, ANTIQUITIES, PUBLIC BUILDINGS, and CURIOSITIES of NATURE and ART.

By WILLIAM GUTHRIE, Eſq;
JOHN GRAY, Eſq;
And others eminent in this Branch of Literature.

——— cui lecta potenter erit res
Nec facundia deſeret hunc, nec lucidus ordo. HOR.

VOLUME IV.

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M DCC LXIV.

A

GENERAL HISTORY OF THE WORLD.

BOOK XIII.

Containing the Hiſtory of the ETRUSCANS.

THE people that inhabited *Etruria Propria* in the times of the *Roman* kings were antiently called *Tyrſenians*, *Tyrrhenians*, *Etruſcans*, *Tuſcans*, and ſometimes, though very rarely, *Etruri*. It appears highly probable, that they were maſters of almoſt all *Italy* many ages before the building of *Rome*: for, according to *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis*, the whole region called by the *Latins Italia*, was named *Tyrrhenia* by the more antient *Greeks*, which ſeems to imply that it was ſubject to the *Tyrrhenians*. The *Etruſcans*, according to *Livy* and *Pliny*, antiently poſſeſſed the whole country, extending from the *Alps* to the *Apennines*. *Livy* even intimates, that they were in poſſeſſion of the whole of *Italy* from the *Alps* to the ſtreights of *Meſſina*; and *Plutarch* is of the ſame opinion. *Strabo* ſays that the *Etruſcans* built twelve cities on the ſouth ſide of the *Tiber*; and, according to *Cato*, *Silius*, *Italicus*, and *Virgil*, they were the founders of *Nola*, *Capua*, *Cæſena*, and *Mantua* *.

The *Etruſcans* antiently in poſſeſſion of all *Italy*.

Italy, though a very antient name, was only firſt applied to a ſmall part of the region afterwards ſo called, namely to

* Dion. Hal. antiq. Rom. l. i. Livy l. i. 5. Plin. l. iii. Plut. in Mar. Strab. l. v. Val. Pater. l. i. c. 7. Virg. & Sil. ap. Scip. Maffei. Cluver. Ital. antiq.

the *Brutian* territory, and part of *Lucania*. When the name of *Italy* prevailed over that of *Etruria* cannot be determined, though it is probable the change happened long before the building of *Rome*.

Their territories abridged by the *Gauls* and *Greeks*.

After the *Etruſcans* had been ſettled a long time in the tract between the *Alps* and the *Apennines*, they were expelled by the *Gauls*, from whom that country was denominated *Gallia Ciſalpina*. Many colonies of the *Greeks* having ſettled in the ſouthern parts of *Italy*, belonging to the *Etrurians*, by degrees enlarged their territories to a conſiderable extent, and from them the country acquired the name of *Magna Græcia*.

And by the *Samnites* and *Ligurians*.

According to *Livy*, *Mela*, and *Strabo*, the *Etruſcans* were alſo diſpoſſeſſed of a large extent of territory by the *Samnites* and *Ligurians*; ſo that at laſt they found themſelves confined within the bounds of *Etruria Propria*, where, for ſeveral ages, they made a very conſiderable figure.

Etruria Propria, or, as it is ſimply ſtiled, *Etruria*, was bounded on the eaſt by the *Tiber*, on the weſt by the *Macra*, on the ſouth by the *Tyrrhenian* ſea, and on the north by the *Appenines*. *Polybius*, and thoſe who lived after him, called it *Tyrrhenia*, but the antient *Greeks* called it *Tyrſenia*, which name is ſuppoſed to be derived from *Tyrſenus*, a *Lydian* prince, who, according to *Herodotus*, (*lib.* 1.) conducted the *Tyrſeni* into *Italy*. The *Etruſcans* called themſelves *Raſenæ*, from *Raſena*, one of their leaders, who perhaps was the ſame with *Tyrſenus*, the *Lydian* prince.

The *Etruſcans* were divided into 12 tribes.

Etruria was divided into twelve ſtates, or tribes, each of which was governed by its own prince, called, in the *Etruſcan* language, *Lucumo*, and received its denomination from the capital city. Theſe cities were antiently very conſiderable, but ſeveral have been for many ages in ruins. Their names were *Volſinii*, *Camers* or *Cluſium*, *Cortona*, *Peruſia*, *Arretium*, *Falerii*, *Tarquinii*, *Volaterræ*, *Ruſellæ*, *Vetulonii* or *Vetulonium*, *Cære*, *and Veii*. For a particular account of theſe antient cities, and others that were dependent on them in *Etruria*, we muſt refer our readers to the learned *Dempſter*, in his deſcription of *Etruria*, and to *Cluverius* and *Muratori*.

The rivers of *Etruria*.

The principal rivers of *Etruria* were the *Macra* the *Æſar*, the *Arnus*, the *Cecina*, the *Umbro*, the *Albinia*, the *Armine* or *Arminia*, the *Marta*, and the *Tiberis*; now the *Magra*, the *Serchio*, the *Arno*, the *Cecina*, the *Ombrone*, the *Albegna*, the *Fiore*, the *Marta*, and the *Tevere*, or the *Tiber*.

Its lakes.

Etruria contained a great number of lakes, the chief of which were the following: 1. The *Lacus Thraſimenus*, now *Il lago di Perugia*. 2. The *Lacus Prilis*, now *Il lago de Caſtiglione*. 3. The *Lacus Vadimonis*, now *Il lago di Buſſano*. 4. The *Lacus Baccbani*, now *Il lago di Bacchano*. 5. The *Lacus Ciminus*, now *Il lago di Vico*. 6. The *Lacus Sabatius* or *Sabatinus*, now *Il lago di Bracciano*. 7. The *Lacus Volſinienſis*, now *Il lago di Bolſena*.

The

The following ſmall iſlands in the *Tyrrhenian* ſea alſo belonged to *Etruria*. *Urgo*, or *Orgon*, now called *Gorgana*, is ſituated in the gulph of *Piſa*: the *Mecharia*, now *Meloria*, at a ſmall diſtance from *Leghorn*: *Capraria Ægila*, or *Ægilum*, now *Capraia*, not far from the north point of *Corſica*. *Æthalia* or *Ilva*, now *Elba*, famous for its iron mines, lies off the promontory of *Piombino*. Near it was *Pandataria*, now *Pianoſa*, whither *Auguſtus* baniſhed *Agrippa*. Eaſt from thence lay *Oglaſa*, *Igilium*, and *Artemiſia*, now *Monte Chriſto*, *Giglio*, and *Giannuti*. *Etruria* antiently produced corn, wine, oil, fruits, *&c.* in great abundance, and has been always noted for its fertility. In the maritime parts the air is extremely noxious, and even peſtilential; but no part of *Italy*, or even *Europe*, is reckoned more healthful than the inland and mountainous diſtricts. Its iſlands.

According to *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis*, the *Tyrſenians*, or *Etruſcans*, were a branch of the *Pelaſgi* that migrated into *Europe* not many ages after the diſperſion, under the conduct of *Tyrſenus*, who ſailed from *Smyrna* to that part of *Italy* called *Umbria*. Having expelled the *Umbri*, and taken from them three hundred towns, he and his followers built many cities, which remained even to the days of *Herodotus* *. *Anticlides* in *Strabo* mentions, that ſome *Pelaſgi* in the neighbourhood of *Lemnus* and *Imbrus*, ſailed alſo with *Tyrſenus* to *Italy*; from whence it may be concluded, that the *Pelaſgi* which ſailed from *Aſia* and the *Græcian Pelaſgi* had the ſame origin. Origin of the *Etrurians*.

The *Pelaſgi* are allowed to have been one of the moſt antient nations of the world, and their colonies in the earlieſt times were numerous and powerful; but with regard to their origin, the learned are not agreed. Beſides the colonies of *Pelaſgi* who ſettled in *Italy*, *Scipio Maffei* has rendered it not a little probable, from the ſimilitude of manners obſerved in the two nations, that many *Canaanites*, or *Phœnicians*, alſo fixed their ſettlements in *Etruria*. The learned Signior *Mariani* has alſo ſtrongly proved, that ſome, at leaſt, of the *Etruſcans* came from *Aſſyria*. According to *Servius*, the antient name of the *Etruſcans* was *Etruri*, and even *Eturi*, which is ſuppoſed to have been given them from the name of their parental country, *Athuria*, or *Aturia*. Now *Aturia* and *Aſſyria* differ only in dialect; and as nothing is more frequent than the permutation of *A* and *E* in oriental words, eſpecially when written in *Greek* letters, *Atura* and *Etura* are looked upon as the ſame word, and as the antient name of *Etruria*. *Reſen* was a city of *Aturia* or *Aſſyria*, from whence probably the leader of the *Eturian* or *Etruſcan* colony was denominated *Raſena*. It appears alſo that *Aſhur* was the brother of *Lud*, the great anceſtor of the *Lydians*.

* Dion. Halicarn. ut ſupra. Herod. l. i. Strab. l. v.

dians *. When the *Pelasgi*, in the time of *Deucalion*, were expelled from *Thessaly* by the *Hellens*, many of them retired to *Italy*, and settled, some of them at one of the mouths of the *Po*, and others at *Cortona* in *Tuscany* †.

The government of the *Etruscans*.

A similar form of government, in some respects at least, prevailed amongst the *Israelites* and *Etruscans*; for both nations were divided into twelve tribes, or cantons, and in each the priesthood was appropriated to one family. It seems hence to follow, that some bodies of *Canaanites* or *Phœnicians* fled to *Italy* after the *Israelites* had conquered the land of *Canaan*, as it is allowed that the *Canaanites* imitated the *Israelites* in some things of divine institution, and consequently might communicate them to other nations.

Though each of the twelve tribes of the *Etruscans* was governed by a distinct chief, or Lucomo, who took upon himself the administration of affairs in his own province, yet over the whole nation a king presided, who seems to have been elected either by the tribes, or at least by the princes that governed them. This king was consulted on all extraordinary occasions, and convened the general diet of the twelve tribes on all pressing emergencies. It may reasonably be supposed, that the power of every Lucumo was limited; but the *Etruscan* kings seem to have been vested with a sort of absolute authority ‡.

The following are some of the *Etruscan* constitutions. 1. No single state or lucumony could enter upon a war or conclude a peace with any neighbouring power, without the concurrence of the whole *Etruscan* body. 2. The *Etruscans*, by a particular law, admitted their women to all nocturnal entertainments, in which they were afterwards followed by the *Romans*. 3. They obliged themselves to treat all foreigners with the utmost humanity and politeness. 4. They gave all possible encouragement to the polite arts and to artificers. 5. In order to deter people from contracting larger debts than they were able to pay, the *Tuscan* boys, by way of ridicule, followed all insolvent debtors with an empty purse. 6. The *Jura fœcialia* were first observed by the *Etruscans*. Their polity in general, as appears from *Aristotle* and *Heraclides Ponticus* in *Athenæus*, seems to have been founded upon maxims of the most consummate wisdom, and they must have had many good moral institutions, since from them the *Romans* received a supplement to their twelve tables.

Their religion.

The *Etruscans* were very superstitious idolaters. They worshipped the *Cabiri* in common with the antient *Greeks* and *Phœnicians*, and were initiated in the *Samothracian* or

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* Scipio Maff. orig. Etrusc. Franc. Marian. de Etrur. Metrop. Anton. Francis. Gor. Mus. Etrus. † Dion. Halic. l. i. Strab. l. v. ‡ Franc. Marian.

Cabirian

Cabirian myſteries. Beſides the *Greek* and *Roman* deities, they had ſeveral peculiar to themſelves, ſome of which were confined to particular towns and diſtricts. Thus *Nurſia* was a goddeſs held in the higheſt veneration at *Vulſinii*; *Viridianus* was worſhipped at *Narnia*; *Valentia* at *Ocriculum*, &c. *Vertumnus*, *Volummus*, *Volumna*, *Voltumna*, *Pilummus* or *Picummus*, *Ancharia*, *Volturnus*, *Futurna*, *Portunnus*, *Vitumnus*, *Manturna*, *Vacuna*, *&c.* were ſome of their principal deities. The antient *Tuſcans* had likewiſe their *Dii Præſtites* and *Indigetes*, as well as the *Latins*, and other *Italian* nations.

The divine ſervice and ſacred myſteries of the *Etruſcans* agreed, in ſeveral points, with thoſe of the *Greeks*, and they communicated them to the *Romans* long before that nation had any intercourſe with *Greece*. Some of the *Etruſcan* myſteries, however, were but little known to the *Romans*. Theſe were the *Sacra Samothracia* or *Cabiria*, the *Sacra Mythriaca*, and the *Sacra Acherontica*. By an initiation in the *Sacra Cabiria*, the antients believed men to become more holy, juſt, and pure, and to be delivered from all impending dangers. Thoſe who were initiated in the *Sacra Mythriaca*, or myſteries of the ſon, were not only baptized or purified by water, but were likewiſe purged or refined by fire. The *Sacra Acherontica* were introduced firſt into *Etruria* by *Tages*, in order to appeaſe the infernal deities, and render departed ſouls more divine, on which account it was thought requiſite to ſprinkle the altars and ſepulchres of the *Dii Manes* with human blood.

As the *Romans* in the early times received every thing relating to religion, and even, as it may be naturally ſuppoſed, their kalendar itſelf, from the *Etruſcans*, the feſtivals, holy days, and ſtated times of public worſhip of the two nations muſt have agreed in moſt particulars *. The *Etruſcans* borrowed of the *Egyptians*, or rather of the *Phænician* ſhepherds expelled *Egypt*, their public ſupplications, pomps, and ſolemn proceſſions which happened on ſome of their principal feſtivals. Our readers will find this fully illuſtrated by the famous *Gori*.

The rites and ceremonies uſed by the Haruſpices, Augurs, Pontifices, *&c.* at *Rome* were derived from the *Etruſcans*. Nay, the *Etruſcans* ſeem to have been the moſt celebrated nation in the pagan world for ſkill in augury and divination. At leaſt, according to *Cicero* and *Livy*, they had this character among the *Romans*, who ſtiled the knowledge of every thing relating to augurs, prieſts, and ſacrifices, *Ars Etruſca*, or the *Etruſcan art*. Father *Gori* has treated at large of theſe ſacred officers, their habits, inſtruments, *&c.* and of the Tibicines, Fidicines, and other perſons, who aſſiſted in the di-

* Franc. Marian. Scip. Maffei. Anton. Fran. Gor. Muſ. Etruſc.

vine muſic on all ſolemn occaſions. He has alſo deſcribed their temples, *donaria*, peculiar ſacrifices, various kinds of luſtrations, prodigies, altars, expiations, *&c.*

According to the *Etruſcan* writers, *Tages*, whom ſome have taken for a god, others for a man, but *Cicero* ſcarce knows in what light to conſider him, was the inventor of every thing relating to augury and divination. To him likewiſe the *Etruſcans* owed their *Acherontian* books, which they kept with as much care and vigilance, and eſteemed as prophetic as thoſe of the Sybils were at *Rome*. The *Etruſcans* adorned the images of their gods with wings, in the ſame manner as the *Egyptians*, and even the *Phœnicians*. In their religion the *Etruſcans* had ſome particularities which diſtinguiſhed it from that of every other nation. But the antient *Egyptian* and *Phœnician* modes of worſhip were the ſame, for many of the earlieſt ages, with thoſe uſed in *Etruria*. Nor can any material difference be found between the oldeſt oriental and *Etruſcan* divinities.

Their language.

From what has been ſaid concerning the origin of the *Etruſcans*, their language muſt have been the ſame, or nearly ſo, with the *Hebrew* and *Phœnician*. The firſt *Pelaſgic* ſettlements in *Etruria* are ſuppoſed to have been made but a few centuries after the diſperſion, and at that time the languages of the *Egyptians*, *Aſſyrians*, *Babylonians*, *Celtes*, *Syrians*, *Arabs*, &c. muſt have approached extremely near to the *Hebrew* and *Phœnician*. The affinity of the *Etruſcan* and *Phœnician* tongues appears alſo from the letters and manner of writing antiently uſed in *Etruria*. The letters are almoſt the ſame with thoſe of the earlieſt *Greeks* brought by *Cadmus* out of *Phœnicia*, and the writing is from the right hand to the left, conſonant to the practice of the eaſtern nations. The letters of the *Etruſcans* were undoubtedly the firſt alphabetic characters of *Italy*, and prevailed at *Rome*, and in every part of *Italy*, till after the expulſion of the kings. The *Etruſcan* inſcriptions, which are ſtill extant, are of different ages, and approach nearer the oriental languages, in proportion to their antiquity. Some of them conſiſt chiefly of words apparently deducible from thoſe languages; and others indicate a lower period by the *Greek* words incorporated in them. Laſtly, others demonſtrate an age not preceding the ſixth century of *Rome*. From the expreſs teſtimony of *Gellius* and *Strabo* we learn, that the *Etruſcan* alphabet was uſed in ſome parts of *Italy*, and the *Etruſcan* language ſpoken till at leaſt very near the *Auguſtan* age *.

Their arts and learning.

According to the teſtimony of many antient authors, the *Etruſcans* were extremely well verſed in all the arts of war and peace; and from them the *Romans* learned thoſe arts

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* Aul. Gel. l. xi. c. 7. Strab. l. v. Swinton de ling. Etruſ. diſſert. Oxon. 1738.

and

and ſciences that paved the way to the empire of the world. Though in the early times the *Etruſcans*, by their prudent and wiſe regulations, could ſerve as examples to their neighbours, yet in after ages they became thoroughly debauched both in principle and practice, as may be inferred from *Athenæus*.

Tages is ſuppoſed, by ſeveral of the antients, to have invented augury and divination of all kinds. His ſcholar *Bachetis*, who excelled in theſe, committed all the rules, precepts, and obſervations relating to them to writing. Theſe precepts, and the *Libri Acherontici* of *Tages*, were held in great repute amongſt the *Etruſcans*, who formed their ſyſtem of augury and divination upon them. This ſyſtem, together with all the principal religious inſtitutions, paſſed from the *Etruſcans* to the *Romans*.

Temples alſo, ſtatues of the gods and heroes, the manner of building cities and razing them, walls and fortifications, conſecrations, nuptial rites, the enſigns of royalty, diſtinction of nobles from plebeians, the lictors, curule chairs, and, in fine, almoſt every thing that bore any relation to the civil government, or to the art of war or military exerciſes that prevailed at *Rome*, the *Etruſcans* communicated to the *Romans*.

Agriculture, planting of vines, all kinds of inſtruments thereto, mills, architecture, particularly that order called the *Tuſcan*, muſic, and a great variety of muſical inſtruments, many ſorts of plays and diverſions, eſpecially tragedies, various kinds of garments, and even the rudiments of phyſic, ſeem to have been introduced into *Italy* by the *Etruſcans*.

The art of conſtructing of ſhips and navigating them; the various branches of naval exerciſe and diſcipline; the method of equipping fleets; the forming of magazines, and all kinds of armaments; nay, even the fitting out of corſairs; the *Etruſcans* ſeem to have been acquainted with before the birth of *Romulus*. The *Etruſcans* enjoyed an extenſive commerce in the earlier ages of the world. *Ariſtides* aſſerts the *Indians* to have been the moſt powerful nation in the eaſt, as the *Etruſcans* were in the weſt; and *Diodorus Siculus* tells us, in plain terms, that the latter were lords of the ſea *.

It appears from the antients, that the *Etruſcans* were famed for literature as well as for their civil and religious inſtitutions: and we learn of *Cicero* and *Livy*, that the *Romans*, in the early ages of the republic, ſent their ſons for education into *Etruria*; which country they conſidered as the principal ſeat of literature. *Suidas* mentions a *Tuſcan* author who wrote an hiſtory of the creation of the world, and a diſſertation

* Dempſter. Scip. Maff. Marian. Gor. Diod. Sic. l. v. Ariſt. orat. in Bacch.

upon the completion of it in six days. *Censorinus* from *Varro* cites several *Etruscan* historians, who described every age of the *Etruscan* empire, and predicted its destruction in the tenth. The *Greek* and *Roman* writers make mention of a great number of *Etruscan* authors, whose works have long since been lost, many of them relating to the *Tuscan* mysteries and superstitions, having been burnt and destroyed by the earlier Christians. According to *Athenæus*, *Aristotle* wrote a particular treatise upon the *Etruscan* institutions. *Theophrastus*, *Sostratus* the emperor, *Claudius*, and many others, also wrote concerning the *Tuscan* nation*.

Many particulars are mentioned by *Cicero*, *Pliny*, and other authors, relating to the *Etruscan* augury and divination, which the ancestors of the *Tuscans*, according to *Scipio Maffei*, seem to have brought out of the east. The augural discipline had for its object both the celestial and terrestrial globes, and, in order to facilitate the augural operations, the heavens were divided into sixteen parts.

The *Etruscans* believed one supreme being, whom they called *Jove*, and considered as the great governor of the universe, and as the principle of life and motion. They were firmly persuaded of the immortality of the soul, and therefore believed a future state of rewards and punishment, tho' in later times they seem to have followed the system of *Pythagoras*, and to have adopted the metempsychosis, or transmigration of that philosopher. The generality of the *Tuscans*, however, adhered to the *Sabian* superstition, as did most of the inhabitants of the east.

Music the *Etruscans* considered as a divine art, and they seem to have been greatly delighted with it. They were likewise famous for their curious researches into the productions, operations, and phenomena of nature, and were also acquainted with poetry, frequently celebrating the praises of their gods, and relating the great atchievements of their heroes, as well as describing the arcana of astronomy, philosophy, *&c.* in verse. The *Etruscans* had a peculiar taste for all kinds of theatrical representations, to which we may add, that they abounded with actors, who danced not ungracefully. Their attention to naval affairs must have led them to cultivate astronomy and the mathematical sciences. They were famous for military learning; and *Romulus*, according to *Plutarch*, was instructed in some important points by the *Etruscans*. The *Tuscan* mechanics and artificers were in high repute among the *Greeks*; and *Tarquin* sent to *Etruria* for workmen, when he resolved to build a temple to *Jupiter Tarpeius*. According to *Tacitus* and *Athenæus*, horse-races and gladiators passed to *Rome* from

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* Cic. de leg. f. 2. Liv. l. ix. Val. Max. l. i. Suid. in voc. Τυῤῥηνία. Censorin de die nat. Plut. in parallel.

Etruria. The *Etruſcans* had brought painting to great perfection before the birth of *Romulus*; and the colours on many *Etruſcan* vaſes lately diſcovered appear as freſh and recent, as if done not many years ago *.

Not long after the diſperſion at *Babel*, the poſterity of *Javan* are thought to have ſettled themſelves in *Etruria*, which was afterwards peopled by colonies, at different times, from *Aſſyria*, *Egypt*, *Phœnicia*, *Lydia*, and other countries. *Javan*'s poſterity, *Moſes* tells us, ſettled in the iſles of the Gentiles, and *Bochart* and Biſhop *Stillingfleet* have proved, that the iſles of the Gentiles comprehended both *Greece* and *Italy*. The leader of the ſons of *Javan* is ſuppoſed to have been the *Janus* of the *Latins*, who ſeems to have been the firſt king of *Etruria*, and the moſt antient of the *Italian* deities †.

The *Etruſcans* ſettle in *Italy* a few centuries after the deluge.

He was ſuppoſed, by ſome of the antients, to have erected a town, or city, on one of the ſeven hills of *Rome*, from him called *Janiculum*, and there to have held his reſidence. The *Etruſcans* were inſpired by him with proper ſentiments of religion, and he alſo taught them agriculture and the uſe of wine. The introducing of this liquor, however, proved his ruin; for after he had civilized his ſubjects, he was deſtroyed by a body of them intoxicated with wine, who imagined themſelves to be poiſoned by him. *Numa Pompilius* paid a great regard both to his civil and religious inſtitutions, and from him denominated the firſt month of the year *Januarius*. *Vanilia* is mentioned as the wife, and *Cameſes* as the ſiſter of *Janus*. The former, it is ſaid, bore him a ſon; and the tract about *Janiculum* received the name of *Janiculum* from the other. According to ſome, *Janus* had one ſon and four daughters. His ſon, named *Tiberinus*, they ſay, ſucceeded him, and had for his ſucceſſor *Vertumnus*, or *Vadimon*, who was ſucceeded by *Aunus* ‡.

According to *Valerius Maximus*, the *Etruſcans*, or *Pelaſgi*, were deſcended from the *Curetes*, who are demonſtrated to have been the ſame with the *Cretans*, *Crethites*, *Cerethites*, or *Philiſtines*. This accounts for the affinity of the cuſtoms, manners, arts, and learning of the *Etruſcans* and *Phœnicians*. As the *Philiſtines* came from *Caphtor*, or *Crete*, to *Canaan*, a conſiderable time before *Abraham*'s arrival there, we may reaſonably ſuppoſe the *Philiſtines*, *Crethites*, or *Pelaſgi*, to have detached a colony from *Crete* to *Italy* in *Abraham*'s days, though other colonies afterwards from different parts helped to people the country. When the firſt *Pelaſgic* ſet-

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* Senec. nat. queſt. l. ii. Strab. l. x. Ant. Fran. Gor. ut ſupra. Dempſter. Athen. Deipnoſoph. l. iv. vi. and x. Plut. in Rom. Cic. de divinat. l. i. Plin. l. 35. † Boch. Phal. l. iii. Stillingfl. Orig. Sacræ. l. iii. Ovid. Metam. l. xiv. Dempſter. ‡ Franc. Marian. ut ſupra. Macrob. Sat. l. i. Dempſter. Dion. Halic. Bochart.

tlement

The first form of government in *Etruria*.

tlement in *Etruria* happened, the conſtitution introduced into *Italy* by *Janus* ſtill prevailed. But, ſoon after the *Lydian* colony under *Tyrſenus*, this received a very conſiderable alteration; for he divided *Etruria* into twelve tribes, or dynaſties, over which their reſpective princes preſided, who in extraordinary emergencies only were ſubject to one ſupreme head.

The *Pelaſgi* migrate from *Æmonia* into *Italy*.

Etruria was alſo peopled by a colony of *Pelaſgi* from *Æmonia*. Theſe *Pelaſgi* being expelled from *Æmonia* by *Deucalion*, went to their old kindred about *Dodona*; but afterwards, finding the country too ſmall for them, they, by the admonition of the oracle, proceeded to *Italy*. Part of them ſettled at one of the mouths of the *Po*, called *Spines*, and built a city there, to which they gave the name of *Spina*; while another part of them penetrated into the inland part of *Italy*. Thoſe who fixed at *Spina* fortified themſelves, got great ſupplies of proviſions by ſea, in a ſhort time made themſelves maſters of the *Adriatic*, and long poſſeſſed the ſovereignty of that ſea. The *Pelaſgi*, who left their brethren at *Spina*, advanced to *Reate*, where they entered into an alliance with the *Aborigines* againſt the *Umbri*. The new allies made an irruption into *Umbria*, and took by aſſault *Croton*, or *Cortona*, a fortreſs of great ſtrength. The *Pelaſgi* and *Aborigines* made this city their principal magazine and place of arms, and afterwards reduced many other *Umbrian* towns. Some time after, they undertook an expedition againſt the *Siculi*, ſeized upon ſeveral of their towns, and, at laſt, forced them to retire to *Sicily* *.

This retreat of the *Siculi*, however, muſt have happened many years after the alliance of the *Pelaſgi* and *Aborigines*, as it is placed by *Hellanicus*, *Leſbius*, and *Philiſtus* of *Syracuſe*, quoted by *Dionyſius*, only about three generations before the *Trojan* war. Theſe *Æmonian Pelaſgi* ſeem not to have remained long in a flouriſhing condition; for, according to another author quoted by *Dionyſius*, the country they inhabited was ſo parched by an immoderate drought, about two generations before the *Trojan* war, that it became entirely barren, and the air being alſo infected by the violent heats, and a mortality prevailing, they, for the moſt part, returned to *Greece*, where they were known by the name of the *Tyrſenian Pelaſgi*, on account of their late intercourſe with thoſe in *Italy*. Thoſe *Æmonian Pelaſgi*, who ſtill remained in *Italy*, appear to have been fixed about *Cortona*; and *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus* ſeems to intimate, that their poſterity continued in poſſeſſion of that city almoſt to his time.

From an author cited by *Athenæus* it appears, that the *Etruſcans* were a maritime power in the time of the *Argo-*

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* Dion. Halicarn. Dempſter. Scip. Maf. Anton. Franc. Gor. Cluver.

nauts, with whom they are ſaid to have had a bloody engagement, which probably happened in the bottom of the *Adriatic*, not far from *Tergeſte*, now *Trieſte*, as *Jaſon*, according to *Pliny* and *Strabo*, paſſed by there. The *Etruſcans* appear, therefore, to have made a figure at ſea before the *Greeks*, and to have demanded reſpect on the watery element a generation before the *Trojan* war; nay, much earlier, according to *Ariſtides*, cited above *.

Upon the departure of the *Æmonian Pelaſgi*, the *Tyrſenians* poſſeſſed themſelves of the cities and towns they had abandoned, and remained maſters of them till they were obliged to ſubmit to the *Roman* yoke. From the departure of the *Æmonian Pelaſgi* to the concluſion of the *Trojan* war, the *Tyrſenians* probably made a conſiderable figure, though we find little ſaid of them in antient hiſtory.

Mezentius, king of *Etruria*, being alarmed at the arrival of *Æneas* in *Italy*, entered into a league with the *Rutuli* againſt the new intruders, and took the field with a powerful army. An engagement happened near *Lavinium*, betwixt him and the *Latin* and *Trojan* forces, headed by *Æneas*, when both ſides behaved with great bravery. *Mezentius*, however, ſeems to have had the advantage; for *Æneas* being puſhed to the banks of the *Numicius*, was drowned in that river, upon which the army he commanded retired to *Lavinium* †. According to *Livy*, *Etruria* at this time was a very powerful ſtate, and the whole continent of *Italy*, from the *Alps* to the ſtreights of *Sicily*, was filled with the fame of its great exploits. *Mezentius* joins the *Rutuli* againſt the *Trojans* and *Latins*.

Cornificius in *Feſtus* affirms, that king *Latimus* himſelf was ſlain in the battle of the *Numicius*. After that action *Mezentius* fortified himſelf at a ſmall diſtance from *Lavinium*, which ſo terrified *Eurilion*, ſurnamed *Aſcanius*, the young king of *Latium*, then only fourteen years of age, that he made overtures for an accomodation. *Mezentius*, elated with his ſucceſs, preſcribed to the *Latins* the ſevereſt conditions, particularly demanding all the wine produced every year in the territory of *Latium*. The *Latins* being highly incenſed at his demands, *Eurilion* broke off the negotiation, and ſoon after attacked *Lauſus*, the ſon of *Mezentius*, who was poſted near one of the gates of *Lavinium*. *Lauſus* ſuffering himſelf to be ſurprized in the night, the whole *Etruſcan* army was thrown into diſorder, and obliged to retire with conſiderable loſs, *Lauſus* himſelf being among the ſlain. *Mezentius*, with the remains of his troops, being next morning inveſted by the *Latins*, agreed to a peace, by which the river *Tiber* was made the common boundary of *Etruria* and *Latium*. This treaty was ſo religiouſly obſerved by the *Latins*. A peace betwixt *Mezentius* and the

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* Plin. l. iii. Strab l. i. Val. Flac. Orgon. l. iv. Dempſter.
† Dion. Halic. Liv. l. i. Juſt. l. 43.

Etruſcans, that they never afterwards interfered with the *Latin* affairs. There is no account extant of the tranſactions of the *Etruſcans* from the death of *Æneas* to the birth of *Romulus*; but as it cannot in the leaſt be doubted, that the *Etruſcans* had good hiſtorians, and even pontifical annals, ſince the *Romans* received the cuſtom of keeping ſuch annals from that people, ſuch a chaſm is not to be imputed to them, but to the *Romans*.

The *Etruſcans* a powerful people in the time of *Romulus*.

The *Etruſcans* were a powerful and polite nation when *Romulus* founded, or rather reſtored, *Rome*. That prince could not carry the deſigns he had formed into execution without their aſſiſtance, and being indebted to them for the greateſt part of his civil and religious inſtitutions, he probably made thoſe of that nation large offers who choſe to ſettle in his city. *Cæle Vibenna*, a *Tuſcan* general, having led a body of *Tuſcan* troops to *Rome*, *Romulus* placed him upon a hill near the city which had then no name, but ever ſince has been called the hill *Cælius*. When the *Sabines* marched againſt the *Romans* to revenge the rape of their daughters, an *Etruſcan* Lucumo aſſiſted the latter with a body of troops. The *Sabines* in the engagement which enſued were at firſt repulſed; but *Romulus* being wounded and carried off ſenſeleſs, they recovered their courage and fell with fury on the *Romans*. The Lucumo, in the mean time, oppoſed them with great bravery till *Romulus* recovered himſelf and rallied his troops, when he was ſlain with a javelin after he had penetrated into the *Sabine* legions, which were at length defeated*. *Livy* takes not the leaſt notice of the ſuccours the *Etruſcans* afforded *Romulus* in the *Sabine* war.

He receives ſuccours from them againſt the *Sabines*.

A rupture between the *Etruſcans* and the *Romans*.

Some years after, a rupture happened between the *Etruſcans* and the *Romans*, on account of the city *Fidenæ*, which the latter had ſeized. As this city ſtood on the north ſide of the *Tiber*, the whole *Tyrſenian* body were extremely uneaſy at its being taken by the *Romans*. The *Veientes* thinking themſelves more affected by this event than any of the other *Etruſcan* Lucomonies, ſent an embaſſy to Rome to demand the reſtoring of the *Fidenates* to their liberty, and the reinſtating them in the lands that had been taken from them. The anſwer of the *Romans* not being ſatisfactory, the *Veientes* marched with an army againſt *Fidenæ*, but were defeated by *Romulus*, with conſiderable loſs. As *Veii* was at this time as large and populous as *Athens* was in the time of *Dionyſius*, the *Veientes* again took the field; but in a ſecond battle were totally overthrown by the *Romans*, and purſued to the walls of *Veii*. *Romulus* ravaged the country of the *Veientes*, plundered their camp, and took a great many priſoners, among whom was the old king of *Veii*. The *Veientes* greatly

* Dion. Halicarn. Tacit. annal. l. iv. Plut. in Rom. Dempſter.

affected

ly affected with their losses in these two expeditions, solicited a peace, which was granted them on the following conditions. They surrendered up to the *Romans* a small district on the banks of the *Tiber*, in which were seven small towns, and also resigned to the conquerors their right in some salt-pits which were near the mouth of the river, at the same time giving many of their chief citizens as hostages for their fidelity.

A peace betwixt the *Veientes* and the *Romans*.

The *Romans*, in the reign of *Tullus Hostilius*, having some dispute with the *Albans*, the *Veientes* and *Fidenates* took that opportunity of forming a design of shaking off the *Roman* yoke, intending to fall upon the *Romans* and *Albans* after they should have weakened each other by a battle. They were prevented from putting their design in execution, and the *Romans* having had notice of their intention, *Tullus*, the year following, summoned the *Fidenates* to appear before the senate, to justify their late conduct. The *Fidenates* refused such a submission, and, at the instigation of *Fuffetius*, an *Alban* general, took arms against *Rome*. *Fuffetius*, who was trusted with the command of one wing of the *Roman* army, suffered the *Fidenates* to take possession of his ground; but *Tullus* declaring to the *Romans*, that he had acted so by his order, his troops so exerted themselves, that in the end he gained the victory. The *Fidenates* being soon after besieged by *Tullus*, were again obliged to submit to the *Romans*, who suffered them, however, to live under the same form of government as before.

A fresh rupture betwixt them.

The *Fidenates* obliged to submit to the *Romans*.

Ancus Martius, the successor of *Tullus*, seized on the hill *Janiculus*, which belonged to the *Etruscans*. His pretext for this encroachment was, that the *Etruscans* made frequent incursions upon the banks of the *Tiber*; that the *Roman* merchants had been often plundered by them there; and, that they had rendered the navigation upon the river very unsafe. The neighbouring nations were doubtless greatly disgusted with this encroachment, and we find that the *Fidenates* revolted a second time, a few years after this affair happened. *Ancus* laid siege to their city, and having taken it by sap, treated the citizens with tolerable lenity, but left a strong garrison in the place, to keep them in awe.

They revolt, and are again reduced.

The *Veientes*, about five years after, having made an incursion into the *Roman* territories, the *Romans*, in return, invaded the dominions of *Veii*. *Ancus* made himself master of the camp of the *Veientes*, and, the year following, gave them a total overthrow, which obliged them to submit to a peace upon the former terms.

In the beginning of the reign of *Tarquinius Priscus*, who succeeded *Ancus*, and was by birth an *Etruscan*, the *Latins* and *Sabines* entered into a confederacy against the *Romans*. Five cantons of the *Etruscans*, namely, that of *Clusium*, of *Rusellæ*, of *Volaterræ*, *Aretium*, and *Vetulonia*, joined the *Latins*, and, upon the arrival of their reinforcements at the

Latin

Latin camp, a general action enſued, which proved fatal to the allies. The *Latins* being obliged to ſubmit to the *Romans*, the *Etruſcans* returned to their own country with the remains of their forces.

A few years after, the *Gauls*, having paſſed the *Alps*, de-
A general confidera-cy of the *Etruſcans* againſt *Rome.* feated the *Etruſcans* on the banks of the *Ticinus*, and ſeized a large extent of territory. Another body of *Gauls* having ſoon after defeated the *Umbri* and *Etruſcans*, and extended their conqueſts on the *Po*; the *Etruſcans* were more ſollicitous to oppoſe the *Romans* than the *Gauls*, and accordingly, in a national diet, agreed to unite the whole power of *Etruria* againſt *Rome*, decreeing, that if any city preſumed to ſtand neuter, it ſhould never, for the future, be entitled to the protection of the *Etruſcan* body. Their army having paſſed the *Tiber*, and taken poſſeſſion of *Fidenæ*, ravaged the *Roman* territories during the whole campaign. The war ſeems to have been owing to an arbitrary proceeding of the *Romans*, who, inſtead of granting a favourable anſwer to the *Etruſcan* ambaſſadors, who were ſent to demand ſome priſoners, detained the envoys as hoſtages for the fidelity of their nations.

Tarquin, the following ſpring, having aſſembled all his legions and auxiliaries, gave part of them to his couſin *Egerius* or *Collatinus*, who marched againſt *Fidenæ*, while the king made an incurſion into the territories of the *Veii*. The *Etruſcans* in *Fidenæ* ſurpriſed the camp of *Egerius*, and routed his different detachments diſperſed in the country; but *Tarquin* was more ſucceſsful in the lucumony of *Veii*, where he committed dreadful depredations, and, after defeating the *Etruſcans* in two engagements, retired into his own dominions. Soon after, the *Etruſcans* were defeated near *Fidenæ* by the *Romans*, who thereupon made themſelves maſters of that city. They made the *Etruſcan* gariſon priſoners of war; whipped with rods, and then beheaded, all who were ſuſpected of betraying the city to the enemy; diſtributed the lands of the *Fidenates* among their own troops, now left to guard the place, and ſent the former citizens into perpetual baniſhment. The *Etruſcans* ſeem to have been excited by this extreme ſeverity to make an ex-
They are obliged to aſk a peace. traordinary effort againſt the *Romans*; but their army being totally routed at *Eretum*, a ſmall city of the *Sabines*, by the *Romans*, they were forced to aſk a peace of the conquerors, which was granted them upon reaſonable terms.

This war, which laſted nine years, being thus concluded,
They aſſiſt the *Romans* againſt the *Sabines.* the *Etruſcans* enjoyed repoſe for ſome time; but being ſtill jealous of the *Romans*, they ſent ſome troops to the aſſiſtance of the *Sabines*, which were, however, defeated by *Tarquin*. Two years after, *Tarquin*, in the ſame war, received a reinforcement of *Etruſcans*, and by their aſſiſtance gave the *Sabines* a moſt memorable defeat. In the reign of *Servius Tullius*, the Lucomonies of *Cære* and *Tarquinii* aſſiſted the *Veientes*

cites againſt the *Romans*, but were defeated by *Tullius*. About four years after, *Servius* attacked and diſperſed another army of *Etruſcans*. Not many years after, all the Lucomonies of *Etruria* joined to diſtreſs the *Romans*; but being defeated by *Servius* in ſeveral battles, they were obliged again to beg a peace.

It appears from *Herodotus*, that the *Etruſcans*, about this time, made a conſiderable figure at ſea; for he tells us, that a *Phocæan* ſquadron, after a bloody engagement in the ſea of *Sardinia*, put to flight a ſtrong fleet compoſed of an *Etruſcan* and *Carthaginian* ſquadron. This event is placed by Archbiſhop *Uſher* in the year before *Chriſt* 543, which coincides with the year of *Rome* 208. About twenty years after this, *Dionyſius* relates that the *Etruſcans* inhabiting the coaſt of the *Ionian* ſea, in conjunction with the *Umbri*, and other *Italian* nations, undertook an unſucceſsful expedition againſt the city of *Cumæ* in *Campania*. In the year of *Rome* 242, the *Etruſcans* renewed the treaty with *Tarquin*, II. which they had concluded with his predeceſſor *Servius*.

The *Etruſcans* powerful at ſea.

Two years after, however, a rupture happened between the *Romans*, and the *Vcientes* and *Tarquinienſes*, who undertook to reſtore *Tarquin* lately baniſhed from *Rome*. The two armies fought with great obſtinacy, and when night parted them, neither ſide could claim the victory; but the *Etruſcans* abandoning their camp before morning, the *Romans* plundered it, and returned as conquerors to *Rome*.

They attempt to reſtore *Tarquin* king of *Rome*.

After this battle, *Tarquin* took refuge at *Cluſium*, the reſidence of king *Porſena*, who ſent a threatning embaſſy to *Rome* in his behalf. The *Romans* not returning a ſatisfactory anſwer, *Porſena* undertook to reſtore *Tarquin* by force of arms, and advanced towards *Rome* with a formidable army, which greatly alarmed the ſenate, eſpecially as a conſiderable body of *Latins* had joined the *Etruſcans*. *Porſena* arriving at the *Tiber*, took the fort *Janiculum* by aſſault, and obliged the *Roman* garriſon to retire into the city with great precipation. The conſuls, with the utmoſt expedition, paſſed the river, and drew up their troops to oppoſe the enemy; but, after an obſtinate engagement, were defeated, and obliged to repaſs the river by the bridge *Sublicius*, which *Horatius Cocles* and *Sp. Lartius* defended for ſome time againſt the whole *Etruſcan* army, till it was broke down by their countrymen. *Porſena* having fixed his head quarters upon the hill *Janiculus*, ſent part of his forces over the river in boats; where having fortified themſelves, they ravaged the *Roman* territories, and greatly diſtreſſed the city. The conſuls, by giving out that they intended to ſend ſome cattle to paſture from the gate *Eſquilina*, drew the *Etruſcans* into an ambuſcade, and cut off five thouſand of their men. *Mucius Cordus* alſo having made an attempt to aſſaſſinate *Porſena*, that king began to be convinced of the obſtinacy of the *Romans*, and gave an audience to their deputies, who came to juſtify their baniſhment of

They beſiege *Rome*.

Tarquin.

Tarquin. The reaſons alledged by the *Romans* for the expulſion of their ſting, prevailed with *Porſena* to make him abandon his intereſt. He accordingly retired with his army from *Janiculum*, but required of the *Romans* a reſtitution of the diſtrict ceded to *Romulus* by the people of *Veii*; which the ſenate agreed to without heſitation. When the peace was concluded, *Porſena*, in the moſt generous manner, made a preſent of his camp, well ſtored with all kinds of proviſions, to the *Romans*. The goods were ſold by auction; and the *Romans*, to ſhew their gratitude for ſo ſeaſonable a preſent, made proclamation at the ſale in the following words: *Theſe are* Porſena's *goods*. This expreſſion was repeated ever afterwards when any effects belonging to the public were to be ſold. *Porſena*, before he returned home, ſent his ſon *Aruns* with a body of troops to reduce *Aricia*, but the expedition proved unſucceſsful, *Aruns* being killed, and his army defeated. The remains of his troops took refuge in the *Roman* territories; and being conducted to *Rome* by orders of the conſuls, were received with the greateſt humanity. They had quarters allotted them, were maintained and cured of their wounds at the expence of the public. The kind reception they met with being publiſhed all over *Etruria*, had ſuch an effect upon the *Etruſcans*, that many of them choſe to incorporate with the *Roman* citizens. The part of the city aſſigned them to dwell in, was ever afterwards called the *Etruſcan* ſtreet. In the year of *Rome* 261, the *Romans* being threatned with a famine, the *Etruſcans* relieved them by ſending proviſions down the *Tiber* to *Rome*.

Porſenna agrees to a peace with the *Romans*.

New diſputes betwixt the *Romans* and *Veientes*.

A few years after, the *Romans*, under the conſul *Servius Cornelius*, made an irruption into the territories of *Veii*, where they committed dreadful devaſtations. The *Veientes*, by ſending ranſoms for the redemption of their captives, and by diſtributing a ſum of money among the leading people at *Rome*, obtained a truce for a year. Three years after, the *Veientes* ravaged the *Roman* territories, which excited the *Romans* to lead an army into their country. The army of *Veientes*, being reinforced from the other Lucomonies, gained a victory over the *Romans*, and plundered their camp, where they found a great quantity of proviſions. This ſucceſs animating the *Etruſcans*, each of their cantons, the following year, ſent reinforcements to the army of *Veii*. The *Romans* raiſed two conſular armies to oppoſe them, and marched into the *Etruſcan* territories; but for ſome time kept their troops within their camp, which ſerved to heighten their ardour, and render the *Etruſcans* fooliſhly confident. The *Roman* troops at length threatning to mutiny, the conſuls led them out of their camp. The *Etruſcans* being confident of victory, began the engagement with the greateſt intrepidity, and threw the left wing of the *Romans* into diſorder: but the *Romans* before the action having taken an oath either to die or conquer, fought with great obſtinacy, and at length repulſed the *Etruſcans*.

Etruſcans. During the action a body of the *Veientes* forced the *Roman* camp, but were ſoon after obliged to abandon it. The *Etruſcans*, by quitting their camp the night following, and retiring farther into the country, reſigned the honour of the victory to the *Romans*, who had ſuffered very conſiderably in the action.

The *Romans*, the following year, invaded the territories of the *Veientes*, who fell upon them when diſperſed and put many of them to the ſword. They were prevented from gaining a complete victory over them, by ſome reinforcements that joined them under *Siccius*, and afterwards under *Fabius*. Theſe generals retreating ſoon after, the *Veientes* made incurſions as far as the hill *Janiculus*, and inſulted *Rome* itſelf. The *Roman* legions being then diſbanded, the *Fabian* family raiſed a body of troops at their own expence, and carried on the war with ſucceſs againſt the *Veientes* upon the frontiers. Having fortified an advantageous place upon the *Cremera*, now the *Valca*, they from thence terribly galled the *Veientes*, who, not being able to reduce the fortreſs by their own ſtrength, prevailed on all the *Etruſcan* Lucomonies to ſend them auxiliaries. The united army of the *Etruſcans*, however, was defeated the following year by the conſul *Æmilius*, who having taken their camp, gave the plunder of it to his troops, who were greatly enriched by it. The *Veientes*, upon this defeat, ſued for peace; which was granted them on condition of their ſupplying the *Roman* troops with corn for two months, and paying the expence of the war for ſix. The *Etruſcans* about this time attacked the city of *Cumæ* both by ſea and land. The *Cumæans* having obtained a conſiderable fleet from *Hiero*, king of *Syracuſe*, attacked and defeated that of the *Etruſcans*, which obliged them to raiſe the ſiege.

A peace betwixt the *Romans* and *Veientes*.

The *Etruſcans* make an unſucceſsful attack upon *Cumæ*.

The *Etruſcans*, upon hearing of the ſeparate peace concluded between the *Romans* and *Veientes*, cited the latter to appear in a national aſſembly, and declared their precipitation in reconciling themſelves to *Rome* criminal. That the *Veientes* might have a pretence for breaking with *Rome*, the other Lucomonies adviſed them to inſiſt, that the fort lately raiſed by the *Fabii* ſhould be demoliſhed. The *Romans* refuſing to agree to this, both ſides prepared for war. The *Etruſcans* began with the ſiege of the fort, which withſtood their efforts for a conſiderable time. The greateſt part of the gariſon at length being decoyed into an ambuſcade, were cut off by the *Etruſcans*, who putting the heads of thoſe they had ſlain on the tops of their lances, advanced towards the fort, which they made themſelves maſters of, putting all the *Romans* to the ſword. The *Etruſcans* ſoon after defeated the conſul *Menenius*, and made themſelves maſters of the *Roman* camp. After this they paſſed the *Cremera*, ſpread themſelves over the *Roman* territory, and ſeized the hill *Janiculus*; which obliged the *Romans* to recall the other conſul, *Horatius*, from the *Volſcian* war to defend the city. Soon after his arrival,

New hoſtilities betwixt the *Etruſcans* and the *Romans*.

there happened two brisk actions between the *Etruscans* and the *Romans*, in which neither side could claim any great advantage. The following year the new consuls resolved to attempt the recovery of *Janiculus*, and having passed the *Tiber* about midnight with all the *Roman* forces, attacked the *Etruscans* the day following. The engagement was bloody and obstinate, but in the end the *Etruscans* were obliged to retire to their camp on the top of the hill, which they abandoned however the night following. The next year the *Sabines* declared war against the *Romans*, and sent an army towards *Veii* to act in conjunction with the *Etruscans*. Before the *Sabines*, however, could join the *Etruscans*, they were defeated by the consul *Valerius*. He soon after engaged the *Etruscans*, who disputed the victory a long time with great bravery, but were at last obliged to retire into their entrenchments, which being attacked by the *Romans*, they were also forced to abandon them. The *Romans*, after resting one day, presented themselves before *Veii*; but not being in a condition to form the siege of that city, and the *Etruscans* declining an engagement, *Valerius* pillaged their lands, and turned his arms against the *Sabines*. The following year, the city of *Veii* being blocked up by a *Roman* army under the consul *Manlius*, the *Veientes* were obliged to sue for peace, which was granted them for forty years, on condition that they paid the expence of the war for one year, and furnished *Manlius* with corn to subsist his troops for two months.

Fidenæ revolts from *Rome.*

In the year of *Rome* 315, the city of *Fidenæ* revolted from *Rome* to the *Veientes*; and when the *Romans* sent ambassadors thither, to know the reason of the revolt, the *Fidenates* massacred the envoys, contrary to the law of nations. *Tolumnius*, king of *Veii*, and supreme head of the *Etruscan* nation, assembled an army to protect the *Fidenates*, and passing the *Anio*, advanced towards *Rome*. An engagement happening betwixt him and the consul *Sergius*, he thought proper to repass the *Anio*, and being reinforced by a body of *Falisci*, he encamped before the walls of *Fidenæ*. Not long after, however, he was defeated and slain by the *Roman* dictator, *Mamercus Æmilius*, who afterwards ravaged the whole territory of *Veii*. The following year the *Romans* again entered the territories of the *Veientes*, took several prisoners, but could not reduce any of the towns, in which the *Etruscans* had shut themselves up. The year after, the *Veientes* and *Fidenates* passed the *Anio*, and penetrated almost to *Rome*. They were soon obliged to retire from the city by the dictator *Q. Servilius Priscus*, who followed them with an army, and defeated them near *Nomentum*. The dictator soon after making himself master of *Fidenæ*, the *Veientes* and *Falisci* were greatly alarmed, and applied to the whole nation of the *Etrusians* for succours. But the general diet answered them, that as they had begun a quarrel with *Rome* without imparting their design to the *Etrusian* body, they must not

expect

expect any ſuccours. Two years after, the *Veientes* again endeavoured to bring the *Etruſcan* nation to a declaration of war againſt *Rome*, but without effect.

Though they were thus leſt to themſelves, they did not, however, ſue for peace, and about ſix years after, when the *Romans* had invaded their territories, they attacked and defeated them. The *Etruſcan* body, neverthcleſs, ſtill refuſed to join in alliance againſt *Rome*, but allowed a good number of volunteers to join the *Veientes*. The *Fidenates* who had again become ſubject to the *Romans*, having, about the ſame time, maſſacred all the new inhabitants ſent thither from *Rome*, joined the *Veientes*, which obliged the *Roman* army to retire under the walls of *Rome*. The dictator, *Æmilius*, however, ſoon after advanced againſt *Fidenæ*, when a bloody engagement enſued. In the heat of the action a body of *Fidenates*, dreſſed like furies, ſallied out of their city with lighted torches in their hands, and threw the left wing of the *Romans* into great diſorder, which, however, was ſoon remedied by the dictator, who at length gained a complete victory. The *Veientes*, who fled to the *Tiber*, were ſlaughtered in great numbers, and the *Romans* entering *Fidenæ* with the inhabitants, took poſſeſſion of the place. This blow ſo terrified the *Veientes* that they begged a truce with the *Romans* for twenty years.

The *Veientes* and *Fidenates* defeated by the *Romans*.

In the conſulate of *C. Sempronius Abratinus* and *Q. Fabius Vibulanus*, *Vulturnum*, a city of the *Capuans*, called afterwards *Capua*, was ſeized upon by the *Samnites*. They having tired out the *Etruſcans* by a long and bloody war, prevailed upon that nation to permit them to ſettle in this city and its territory. Some time after, they treacherouſly maſſacred all the antient inhabitants the night after a ſolemn feſtival, when they were oppreſſed with ſleep and feaſting. From this we may infer, that the *Etruſcans* had long and bloody wars with the *Samnites* before the year of *Rome* 330, no particulars of which have been tranſmitted down to us by any antient hiſtorian, and that the *Etruſcan* nation was not at that time confined within the limits of *Proper Etruria*. About eight years after this event, the *Veientes* made preparations for a new war with the *Romans*; but before they began hoſtilities, the *Tiber* having overflowed its banks, and damaged their lands, they were terrified by the omen, and laid aſide all thoughts of a rupture. After the truce was expired, the *Romans* demanded ſatisfaction of the *Veientes*, for the injuries done by them to their republic; but the people of *Veii* repreſenting that their city could not comply with their demands for a year to come, becauſe they were then diſturbed with domeſtic broils, the *Romans* reſted ſatisfied. The following year the *Roman* ambaſſadors being treated with great inſolence at *Veii*, the year after, the *Romans* marched with an army againſt that city; and though it was ſtrongly fortified, and ſituated on an eminence almoſt impregnable, they beſieged it in form. This enterpriſe occaſioned the aſſembling

The *Romans* lay ſiege to *Veii*.

of a general diet of the *Etruſcans*, who nevertheleſs came to no reſolution to aſſiſt the *Veientes*.

Little was done by the *Romans* in the ſecond year of the ſiege; in the third, the *Veientes* made an alteration in their form of government, and created themſelves a king, which gave great offence to the other lucomonies, as the new king was perſonally odious to them on account of his haughtineſs, he having, ſome years before, interrupted the celebration of their public games by carrying off the greateſt part of the actors, who were his ſlaves. The *Etruſcans* therefore determined to refuſe their aſſiſtance to the *Veientes* as long as they continued under abſolute regal government. This decree, which none dared to publiſh at *Veii*, being known at *Rome*, the *Romans* were thereby animated to puſh forward the ſiege; but after they had with much labour raiſed a moveable terras, and advanced their galleries to the foot of the wall, they were unexpectedly burnt and deſtroyed by the beſieged, who at the ſame time ſlew a great many *Romans*. The following campaign, the *Capenates* and *Faliſci*, two *Etruſcan* nations, marched to the relief of *Veii*, and fell upon the *Romans*, who being at the ſame time attacked by the beſieged, ſuffered ſo conſiderably, that, according to *Livy*, they were forced to abandon the ſiege, which, however, was reſumed by them the year following, when the *Capenates* and *Faliſci* were alſo ſhut up within their own walls. The ſiege advanced very ſlowly both this and the following year; but in the third campaign, the *Romans*, who had ſuffered much in the rigorous winter before, employed their whole force on the ſide of *Etruria*, in order to haſten the reduction of *Veii*. The *Capenates* and *Faliſci* this year again attempted the relief of the beſieged, but were almoſt all cut off by the *Romans*, who, during the two following years, made but very little progreſs in the ſiege, being partly employed in ravaging the country of the *Faliſci* and *Capenates*, and in draining the lake of *Alba Longa*, which an *Etruſcan* diviner had declared muſt be firſt effected, before *Veii* could be taken. The year after, the *Tarquinienſes*, another *Etruſcan* canton, committed hoſtilities againſt the *Romans*; but they were ſurpriſed and routed by a body of volunteers.

The *Etruſcan* ſtates refuſe to aſſiſt the *Veientes*.

The ſtates of *Etruria*, in the mean time, were applied to by the *Capenates* and *Faliſci*, in behalf of the *Veientes*; but they ſtill refuſed to eſpouſe their cauſe, alledging, that a clan of *Gauls* had lately ſettled in their neighbourhood, with whom they had no aſſurance of laſting peace. The *Romans* ſent a body of troops, the following year, to act againſt the *Capenates* and *Faliſci*, and to hinder their advancing to the relief of *Veii*; but they were decoyed into an ambuſcade by the *Etruſcans*, who entirely defeated them. At length, *Camillus* the dictator made himſelf maſter of *Veii* by a mine, by which he introduced into the city a great number of his troops.

troops. The *Veientes*, after fighting for ſome time with great obſtinacy, were at length forced to ſurrender at diſcretion. The *Romans* put vaſt numbers of the inhabitants to the ſword, and ſold the reſt for ſlaves. They plundered the town, the riches of which was ſo immenſe, that the *Roman* general ſeemed to be afraid the gods themſelves would envy him ſuch a conqueſt. *Veii* taken by the *Romans*.

It might have been expected, that the reduction of *Veii* ſhould have cemented more cloſely all the remaining members of the *Etruſcan* body. But it had no ſuch ſalutary effect. Their diſunion and civil diſſentions rendered them an eaſy prey to an encroaching and rapacious ſtate, which from its origin had diſcovered a ſtrong diſpoſition to enſlave all its neighbours. The year after the reduction of *Veii*, the *Capenates* and *Faliſci* were invaded by the *Romans*, and the former were obliged to ſubmit to that proud republic. The *Capenates* and *Faliſci* reduced by the *Romans*.

Camillus ſoon after, at the head of a formidable army, entered the territories of the *Faliſci*, ravaged their lands, and having defeated their troops, inveſted their city, without, however, puſhing the ſiege with any vigour. While he lay before the city, the ſchoolmaſter, or inſtructor of the *Faliſcan* youth, treacherouſly conducted the ſons of the nobility into his camp, and delivered them up to him. *Camillus*, being of too generous a diſpoſition to give the leaſt countenance to ſuch perfidy, ſent back the traitor with ignominy, which paved the way for a reconciliation between *Rome* and the *Faliſci*, who offered to receive a *Roman* gariſon into their capital; but *Camillus*, who was left ſole arbiter of the peace, in a generous manner, required them only to defray the expences of the preſent campaign.

The *Volſinienſes* and *Salpinates* having ſoon after invaded the *Roman* territories, that republic declared war againſt the *Volſinienſes*, but, on account of a famine and peſtilence, were obliged to defer the proſecution of it till the year following, when they ſent two armies into the field. The *Volſinienſes* were eaſily routed, and eight thouſand of them being ſurrounded, were obliged to ſurrender at diſcretion, which defeat ſo terrified the *Salpinates*, that they kept themſelves within their walls, while the *Romans* pillaged their territories. The *Romans* granted a truce for twenty years to the *Volſinienſes*, on condition that they reſtored all the booty that they had taken from them, and gave their ſoldiers one year's pay. Who alſo defeat the *Volſinienſes*.

Before this truce was concluded, the *Gauls* had made an irruption into *Etruria*, having been incited thereto by *Aruns*, a nobleman of *Cluſium*, whoſe wife had been debauched by a young lucumo, who had been his pupil. *Aruns* having prevailed on the *Gauls* to eſpouſe his cauſe, by making them a preſent of ſome *Etruſcan* wine, they began their march, and reduced all the country between *Ravenna* and *Picenum*, where they ſpent ſix years in ſettling themſelves, whilſt the *Etruria* invaded by the *Gauls*.

Romans were carrying on the ſiege of *Veii*. *Aruns*, at laſt, conducted their king *Brennus* to *Cluſium*, and perſuaded him to form the ſiege of that place. The *Gauls* having ſtruck a great terror into the *Etruſcans*, the latter ſollicited the aſſiſtance of the *Romans*. In an action that happened ſoon after tween the *Cluſinians* and the *Gauls*, *Brennus* obſerving the *Roman* ambaſſadors heading the *Etruſcan* forces, cauſed a retreat to be ſounded, with the reſolution of taking vengeance on the *Romans*, and the year after made himſelf maſter of *Rome*, which he ſacked and burnt. The *Etruſcans* thinkbeing this a proper opportunity for repairing their former loſſes, invaded the *Roman* territories, and encamped in the neighbourhood of *Veii*, with the deſign to lay ſiege to it; but they were ſurpriſed, and entirely defeated by the gariſon. Another body of *Tuſcan* troops, that made an irruption on the ſide of *Oſtia*, met with the ſame fate.

A new confederacy of the *Etruſcans* againſt *Rome*.

About two years after *Rome* had been taken by the *Gauls* all the *Etruſcan* lucumonies entered into a confederacy againſt the *Romans*, and raiſing an army, made themſelves maſters of *Sutrium*. Some few hours after the place ſurrendered, it was ſurpriſed by *Camillus*, who killed a great number of *Etruſcans* upon the ſpot, and took all the reſt priſoners, whom he ſold for ſlaves at *Rome*. The next year the *Romans* marched an army into the lucomony of *Tarquinii*, and having taken two cities named *Cortueſa* and *Contenebra*, entirely deſtroyed them. Two years after, the *Etruſcans* made themſelves maſters of *Nepete*, and beſieged *Sutrium*; but they were ſoon forced to raiſe the ſiege by *Camillus*, who cut many of their men in pieces, and, not long after, took *Nepete* by aſſault, when he put all the *Etruſcan* gariſon to the ſword.

The *Tarquinienſes* invade the *Roman* territories but are defeated.

About the year of *Rome* 395, the *Tarquinienſes* invaded the *Roman* territories, to revenge which inſult, the conſul *C. Fabius Ambuſtus* marched againſt them the year after, but met with a repulſe. The war was committed next year to the conſul *Cn. Manlius*; but the *Tarquinienſes* and *Fuliſci*, who had joined together, behaved with ſuch reſolution, that they obliged the *Romans* to retire. The year following, the *Etruſcans* defeated the conſul *Fabius* at the firſt encounter, by placing their prieſts in the front of their army, dreſſed like furies. The *Romans*, however, ſoon recovering from their conſternation, totally routed the *Etruſcans*, and took poſſeſſion of their camp. Soon after, the whole *Etruſcan* nation, according to *Livy*, took up arms againſt the *Romans*, and advanced as far as the ſalt-pits, towards the mouth of the *Tiber*. Their motions were carefully watched by the dictator *Cn. Marcius Rutilus*, who at length ſurpriſed and took their camp, and made eight thouſand of them priſoners. The *Tarquinienſes*, about two years after, were defeated by the conſul *Q. Pennus*, who put a great many of his priſoners to death in cold blood, and cauſed three hundred

dred and fifty-eight of his chief captives to be beheaded at *Rome*, after they had been ſcourged with rods in the *forum*.

The following year, the *Tarquinienſes* and *Faliſci* being joined by the *Cerites*, the combined army plundered the country round the *Roman* ſalt-pits without oppoſition; but, not long after, the dictator *Manlius* leading an army againſt the *Cerites*, obliged them to ſue for peace, which was granted them, in conſideration of their having received the *Roman* images into their city, when *Rome* was taken by the *Gauls*. After the peace with the *Cerites*, the dictator ravaged the lands of the *Faliſci*, and returned to *Rome*. Two years after, a *Roman* army marched againſt the *Tarquinienſes*, while another attacked the *Faliſci*, who being both greatly exhauſted by the war, ſued for peace, and obtained a truce for forty years. The *Faliſci*, about eight years after, entered into a treaty of alliance with *Rome*, and, by that means, became in reality a part of the *Roman* dominions. A peace granted to them.

From this period to the conſulſhip of *C. Junius Brutus* and *Q. Amilius Barbula*, the *Roman hiſtorians* make little mention of the *Etruſcans*. When *Barbula* was conſul, a war broke out betwixt the *Romans* and *Etruſcans*; and the latter having raiſed an army to lay ſiege to *Sutrium*, *Barbula* took the field againſt them, and a deſperate battle was ſoon fought, in which both parties ſuffered ſo conſiderably, that the reſt of the campaign paſſed without any action. The year following the *Etruſcans* again propoſed to beſiege *Sutrium*, but were prevented by *Fabius*, who defeated them not far from thence, forced their camp, and obliged them to take ſhelter in the *Cuminian* foreſt. *Cæſo Fabius*, the brother of the general, who was bred up in *Etruria*, whither the *Romans* of diſtinction then ſent their ſons for education, offered to examine the foreſt, and, if poſſible, to find a paſſage for the *Roman* army. Being attended with a ſlave, he penetrated as far as the territory of the *Camartes* in *Umbria*, and concluded a treaty with that people, who engaged to join the *Romans* with a body of auxiliaries, and ſupply their army with proviſions for thirty days, upon their arrival in that country. The general, upon *Cæſar*'s report, accordingly advanced through the foreſt, and gained the ſummit of the hill *Ciminus*, from whence the foreſt deduced its name. The *Etruſcans*, who judged it impracticable for an enemy to advance that way, had taken no precautions for their defence; ſo that the *Romans*, without any oppoſition, now pillaged a large extent of territory. All *Etruria*, and part of *Umbria*, alarmed at the progreſs of *Fabius*, aſſembled an army with the utmoſt diſpatch, and reſolved to march towards *Sutrium*, but were prevented by *Fabius*, who entirely defeated them near *Peruſia*,, with the loſs of ſixty thouſand men. Immediately after this defeat, the lucumonies of *Cortona*, *Arretium*, and *Peruſia* ſent ambaſſadors to *Rome* to ſue A new war betwixt the *Etruſcans* and *Romans*

The *Romans* penetrate into *Etruria*.

for peace, and obtained a truce for thirty years from the republic.

The next campaign, while *Fabius* was engaged againſt the *Umbri*, whom he defeated, the *Etruſcans* aſſembled a moſt formidable army near the *Vadimon* lake, not far from *Viterbo*. According to ſome, the ſoldiers had made a vow either to conquer or die; and every common ſoldier was allowed to chuſe himſelf a companion to fight by him. Others ſay, that all the *Etruſcan* youth, capable of bearing arms, were commanded to appear in the field under pain of death. In the engagement which followed betwixt them and the *Romans*, they cut to pieces the firſt line of the enemy, and threw the ſecond into diſorder, but were at laſt repulſed with great loſs, and forced to abandon their camp. The year following, *Etruria* was invaded by the conſul *Decius*, who granted a truce to the *Tarquinienſes* for forty years, on condition of their furniſhing his army with proviſions. The *Etruſcans*, not being in a condition to oppoſe the *Romans*, begged a peace, but could only obtain a truce from *Decius* for one year, and that on condition of their paying his troops, and furniſhing every *Roman* ſoldier with two ſuits of cloaths.

The *Etruſcans* ſuffer great loſſes.

About five years after, a tumult happened at *Arretium*, raiſed by the envy and jealouſy of the citizens, who pretended to be apprehenſive of the great wealth and power of the *Cilnian* family. The *Etruſcans* taking arms to expel that family by force, the *Romans* ſent an army into *Etruria*, under the command of *Valerius Corvus* the dictator, to quell the commotion. During the abſence of the dictator, the *Etruſcans* drew his maſter of the horſe into an ambuſcade, and cut off the greateſt part of his detachment; but they themſelves were quickly after defeated with great loſs, and obliged to purchaſe a truce for two years, by giving the dictator's troops a year's pay, and furniſhing them with proviſions for two months.

The *Gauls* invade *Etruria*.

Before the expiration of this truce, the *Gauls* made an irruption into *Etruria*, and were hired by the *Etruſcans* to aſſiſt them againſt the *Romans*; but thoſe barbarians, after they had received the money, refuſed to march into the *Roman* territories. The hoſtile intentions of the *Etruſcans* being known at *Rome*, *Valerius Corvus* came and ravaged their territories, and the year following *Scipio* again led an army into *Etruria*. Having routed the *Etruſcans* in a pitched battle, he pillaged all the open country, and burnt the caſtles and villages. A body of *Samnites*, about two years after, having fled from *Decius* the *Roman* general into *Etruria*, ſollicited the *Etruſcans* to puſh on the war with vigour againſt *Rome*. That republic hearing that the *Etruſcans* were ſolliciting the *Gauls* and *Umbrians* to join them, ſent two large armies into *Etruria*, under the command of the conſuls *Appius* and *Volumnius*,

Iunnius, who defeated the confederates, and pillaged their camp.

The war ſtill continued, and the following year, while *Fabius* the general was abſent, the *Gauls* cut to pieces one of his legions, detached under the command of *Scipio*. The *Gauls* and *Sammites*, excluſive of the *Etruſcans* and *Umbri*, are ſaid to have amounted to 140,334 effective men; and it was agreed, that they only ſhould engage the *Romans*, while the *Etruſcans* and *Umbri* attacked their two ſeparate camps. *Fabius* being informed of theſe meaſures by three deſerters, ordered ſome troops that had been left to cover *Rome* to enter *Etruria*, and to ravage it, and the *Etruſcans* and *Umbri* withdrawing to oppoſe this body, he, in their abſence, after a moſt bloody and obſtinate engagement, entirely defeated the *Gauls* and *Sammites*. A ſeparate body of *Peruſian* and *Cluſinian* troops, according to *Livy*, endeavoured to oppoſe the *Romans*, who were ravaging *Etruria*, but were defeated, with the loſs of three thouſand men and twenty colours.

The *Romans* gain great advantages in *Etruria*.

Fabius, upon defeating the *Gauls* and *Sammites*, ſeems to have left *Etruria*; for the *Etruſcans*, at the inſtigation of the *Peruſini*, having again appeared in the field, and committed many diſorders, *Fabius*, it is ſaid, returned thither again, and routed and diſperſed them. Four thouſand five hundred of the *Peruſini* were killed upon the ſpot, and one thouſand, ſeven hundred and forty made priſoners of war, each of whom paid for their ranſom three hundred and ten pounds of braſs.

The conſul *Poſthumius* the following year ravaging the lands about *Volſinii*, the inhabitants aſſembled to oppoſe him, but were defeated under the walls of that city. The conſul afterwards marched into the diſtrict of *Ruſellæ*, and having plundered it took that city by ſtorm, killing near two thouſand men, and making above two thouſand priſoners. The lucumonies of *Volſinii*, *Peruſia*, and *Arretium*, being now weary of the war, ſent deputies to *Rome*, and obtained a truce for forty years, on condition of giving each of the ſoldiers in the army a military habit, and paying 1,500,000 pounds of braſs.

Several *Etruſcan* ſtates defeated by the *Romans*.

The following year, while the *Roman* forces were in *Sammium*, the *Faliſci* declared war againſt them, and were joined by many others of the *Etruſcans*, upon which inſurrection the conſul *Carvilius* entered *Etruria*, killed two thouſand four hundred men, and took ſeveral places. The *Faliſci* being thereupon intimidated, aſked a peace, but obtained only a truce for one year, upon paying about eight thouſand three hundred pounds of braſs. The truce being perfidiouſly broke by the *Faliſci*, the *Romans* ravaged *Etruria*, and carried off an immenſe quantity of ſpoil.

About the year of *Rome* 469, the *Senones*, a nation of *Gauls*, threatning to beſiege *Arretium*, the *Arretii* ſollicited the aſſiſtance of the *Romans*, who ſent ambaſſadors to the

Gauls

Gauls in their behalf. The *Senones*, without any regard to the law of nations, having cauſed the ambaſſadors to be murdered, laid ſiege to *Arretium*, and defeated a *Roman* army that came to the relief of the beſieged. The *Romans* in this action loſt thirteen thouſand men, beſides the conſul *Cæcilius*, ſeven legionary tribunes, and the greateſt part of the *Roman* knights. *Manius Curius*, who ſucceeded *Cæcilius*, inſtead of marching to the relief of *Arretium*, croſſed *Sabinia* and *Picenum*, and entered the enemies territories, which he ravaged in the moſt dreadful manner. Though the *Roman* general, according to *Polybius*, rendered the country of the *Senones* wholly deſolate, they nevertheleſs puſhed on the ſiege of *Arretium* with the utmoſt vigour. At laſt, reflecting that their habitations were deſtroyed, and their wives and children carried into captivity, they marched directly towards *Rome*, to wreck their vengeance on that city; but they were met by *Cn. Domitius*, who cut them almoſt entirely off. Thoſe who eſcaped fled to the *Boii* and *Etruſcans*, who had taken the field with the deſign of acting in concert with the *Senones* againſt the *Romans*. This army was ſoon after defeated on the banks of the lake of *Vadimon* by *Dolabella*, who almoſt wholly deſtroyed them. The faint efforts they made the following year ſerved only to haſten their ſubjection. The *Etruſcans* and *Boii* were forced to ſue for peace, and enter into an alliance with the *Romans*, upon the terms they thought fit to preſcribe. The *Roman* hiſtorians, however, mention, that the remains of the *Etruſcans* and *Boii* on the one hand, and the *Lucani*, *Brutii*, and *Samnites*, on the other, conſpired together the next year againſt their republic. They are ſilent as to any tranſactions that happened in *Etruria* the year following; though from the *Faſti Capitolini* it appears, that *Q. Marcius Philippus* then triumphed over the *Etruſcans*. The ſame *Faſti* alſo aſſert, that the year after the conſul *Coruncanius Nepos* triumphed over the *Volcinienſes* and *Volcientes*. Mention is alſo made, that this year the *Etruſcans*, *Umbri*, and *Gauls* were in vain excited to a revolt, from whence it appears, that *Etruria* was then under the domination of the *Romans*.*

The *Gauls* defeat the *Romans* in *Etruria*.

The *Etruſcans* obliged to enter into an alliance with the *Romans*.

Year of *Rome* 472.

* Dion. ap. Fulv. Urſin. Polyb. l. 2. Liv. Faſt. Capitol. Flor. Epit. Oros. l. iii. Appian. ap. Fulv. Urſin.

BOOK

BOOK XIV.

THE ROMAN HISTORY.

CHAP. I.

The State of Italy *before the building of* Rome.

SECT. I.

DESCRIPTION *of* ITALY.

The different names of *Italy*.

THIS country, in the early times of antiquity, was known by the names of *Saturnia*, *Oenotria*, *Heſperia*, and *Auſonia*. It was called *Saturnia* for having, as it is ſuppoſed, afforded refuge to *Saturn*, when he was expelled from *Crete* by his ſon *Jupiter*. It owed its names *Oenotria* and *Auſonia* to its antient inhabitants the *Oenotrians* and *Auſonians*; and its name *Heſperia* to its weſtern ſituation in reſpect to *Greece*. The name of *Italia*, or *Italy*, which has prevailed for theſe many ages paſt, is derived by ſome from *Italus*, king of the *Siculi*, and by others from the *Greek* word *Italos*, ſignifying an *ox*, the oxen of this country being remarkable for their largeneſs and beauty; but others think that this country was ſo called from *Ætolia*, a *Grecian* ſtate, ſome of the inhabitants of which might have ſettled here.

Italy is ſurrounded on every ſide by the ſea, excepting towards the north-weſt, where it is divided from *Germany*, *Swiſſerland*, and *France* by a long ridge of mountains called the *Alps*. Its greateſt length, according to *Cluverius*, is about 900 miles. Its breadth is very unequal. Towards the foot of the *Alps* it is about 560 miles broad. At the mouth of the *Tiber*, about 136; but in ſome of the ſouthern parts not 30 miles.

Its principal diviſions.

This fertile peninſula, in the remote ages of antiquity, was divided into a great number of petty ſtates and kingdoms; but, in after ages, the number of thoſe ſtates diminiſhed, and a three-fold diviſion took place. The northern parts, inhabited by the *Gauls*, were known by the name of *Gallia Ciſalpina*; the middle provinces retained the name of *Italy*; and the ſouthern parts, which were inhabited by *Greek*

Greek colonies, were diſtinguiſhed by the name of *Magna Græcia*.

Gallia Cisalpina.

The epithet of *Togata* was applied to *Ciſalpine Gaul* on account of the *Roman toga* or *gown*, which was adopted by the inhabitants as part of their dreſs; but *Polybius*, *Cicero* and ſome other authors, diſtinguiſh it by no other name than that of *Italy*. Its limits extended from the *Alps* and the rivers *Varus* and *Arſia* to the river *Aeſis*, and even a few miles beyond it; according to *Pliny*, to the city of *Ancona*. It was parted from *Etruria* by the *Appennines*, and on the ſouth was waſhed by the *Ligurtic* ſea. The nations inhabiting this tract were known by the names of the *Vediantii*, or *Veſtiantii*, the *Vagienni*, the *Taurini*, the *Seguſiani*, the *Salaſſi*, the *Lepontii*, the *Libicii*, and the *Canini*. The *Vediantii* were ſituated betwixt the *Alpes Maritimæ* and the ſea, having the *Varus* on the weſt, and *Nicæa* on the eaſt. Betwixt the *Alpes maritimæ* and the *Po* were the *Vagienni*; and on the north ſide of the *Po* lay the *Taurini*, their capital *Taurafia*, afterwards *Auguſta Taurinorum*, being waſhed by that river. Among the *Alps*, on the north of the *Taurini*, lay the *Seguſiani*, ſubject to *Cottius*, from whom the mountains in thoſe parts were called *Alpes Cottiæ*. Their capital was *Segufio*, now *Suſa*. The territory of the *Salaſſi* was bounded on the north by the *Alpes Graiæ*, and on the ſouth extended near to the river *Seſſites*, now the *Seſſia*. *Auguſta Prætoria*, now *Aoſta*, and *Eporedia*, now *Ivrea*, were their chief cities. The *Lepontii* inhabited the territory between the *Salaſſi* and the *Lacus Verbanus*, now *Lago Maggiore*; and adjoining to them were the *Libicii*, whoſe territory was watered by the *Seſſites*. The *Canini* inhabited the country between the lakes *Verbanus* and *Larius*. Theſe ſeveral people were by *Strabo* and *Livy* counted among the *Ligurian* nations, and their country reckoned within the confines of antient *Liguria*.

The proper *Liguria* was bounded on the weſt and eaſt by the rivers *Varus* and *Macra*, on the ſouth by the *Liguſtic* ſea, and on the north by the *Po*. Its chief cities were *Nicæa*, now *Nizza*, built by the *Maſſilienſes*; *Portus Herculis Monaci*, *Albintemelium*, *Albingaunum*, *Vada Sabbata*, *Genua*, *Portus Delphini*, and *Portus Lunæ*, now *Vintimiglia*, *Albenga*, *Vado*, *Savona*, *Genoa*, *Porto Fino*, and *Golfo delle Spezie*, all ſituated on the coaſt. The inland cities of this province were *Pollentia*, *Alba Pompeia*, *Aſta*, *Aquæ Statiellæ*, *Forum Fulvii* or *Valentium*, *Induſtria*, *Dertona* and *Iria*, now *Pollenzo*, *Alba*, *Aſti*, *Acqui*, *Valenza*, *Tortona*, and *Voghera*.

Next to *Liguria* lay *Gallia Ciſpadana*, ſo called, becauſe it lay on the ſide of the *Po* next to *Rome*. It extended from the *Trebia* to the city of *Ancona*, and was parted from *Etruria* on the ſouth by the *Appennines*. It was inhabited by the *Boii*, the *Lingones*, and the *Senones*, and contained a conſiderable number of cities.

On the north ſide of the *Po*, and of the territories of the *Lepontii*, *Libicii*, and *Canini*, lay *Gallia Tranſpadana*, bounded on the eaſt by the *Adriatic* ſea and the river *Formio*, and on the north by the *Alpes Rhæticæ* and *Carnicæ*. It was inhabited by the *Orobii*, the *Inſubres*, the *Lævi*, the *Cenomani*, the *Euganei*, and the *Veneti*, and contained many large and populous cities.

Italy, properly ſo called, extended on the north from *Ancona* to the river *Trento*, now the *Fortore*, and on the ſouth from the *Macra* to the *Silarus*, now the *Sele*. It comprehended *Etruria*, *Umbria*, *Sabinium*, *Latium*, *Picenum*, and the countries of the *Veſtini*, *Marrucini*, *Peligni*, *Marſi*, *Trentani*, *Sammites*, *Hirpini*, *Campani*, and *Picentini*. *Italy* properly ſo called.

Etruria extended along the *Tyrrhenian* ſea from the *Macra* to the *Tiber*, and was bounded on the north by the *Appennines*. The *Tuſcans*, or *Tyrrhenians*, who inhabited it, were, as we have already mentioned, divided into twelve different tribes, or lucomonies.

Umbria extended from *Ravenna* on the *Adriatic* to the river *Nar*, which was its ſouthern boundary. The river *Æſis*, now *Fiumicino*, bounded it on the eaſt, and the *Tiber* on the weſt.

The country of the *Sabini* lay between the *Nar* and the *Anio*, now the *Teverone*. *Cures*, which gave the name of *Quirites* to the *Romans*, was antiently the capital of the *Sabini*.

Latium was bounded on the north, by the *Anio*, and extended along the lower ſea from the *Tiber* to the *Circean promontory*; but after the reduction of the *Æqui*, *Hernici*, *Volſci*, and *Auſones*, the *Liris*, now the *Garigliano*, became its ſouth-eaſt boundary. Its chief cities were *Rome*, *Tibur*, *Præneſte*, *Gabii*, *Tuſculum*, *Aricia*, *Lanuvicum*, *Alba Longa*, *Lavinium*, *Laurentum*, *Oſtia*, *Antemnæ*, *Collatia* and *Ardea*. The antient inhabitants of *Latium* were the *Latins*, the *Rutuli*, the *Volſi*, and the *Auſones*.

Picenum extended along the *Adriatic* from the *Æſis* to the *Aternus*, now the *Peſcara*; and towards the weſt bordered on *Umbria* and *Sabinium*. It contained *Ancona*, a maritime city once poſſeſſed by the *Gauls*, *Caſtrum Novum*, *Caſtellum Truentinum*, and ſeveral other cities.

Eaſt of *Picenum* lay the country of the *Veſtini*, containing *Angulus*, *Pinna*, and *Avia*, or *Avella*. Next to them lay the *Marrucini*, who had but one city; namely, *Teate*, now *Chieti*. The *Peligni* were ſituated between the *Veſtinii* and *Marrucini*, on the north; and the *Appenines* on the ſouth. The *Marſi* inhabited the *Appennines*, and bordered, towards the eaſt, on the *Peligni* and *Marrucini*; towards the north, on the *Veſtini*; towards the weſt and ſouth, on the *Sabini* and *Æqui*. On the ſouth-eaſt of the *Marrucini* and *Peligni*, lay the *Trentani*; and between them and the *Campani* were ſituated the *Sammites*. Between *Samnium* and the river *Silarus*, lay the

the country of the *Hirpini*, having *Apulia Daunia* on the north-eaſt, and *Campania* on the ſouth-weſt.

The province of *Campania* extended from the *Liris* to the promontory of *Minerva*, having *Samnium* on the north-weſt, and the *Hirpini* on the ſouth-eaſt. This pleaſant and fertile tract contained a great number of populous cities, particularly *Liternum*, *Baia*, *Miſenum*, *Puteoli*, *Neapolis*, *Herculaneum*, *Pompeii*, and *Surrentum*, on the coaſt; and in the inland country, *Capua*, *Sueſſa Aurunca*, *Venafrum*, *Caſilinum*, *Teanum Sidicinum*, *Calatia*, *Cales*, *Atella*, *Acerræ*, *Nola* and *Nuceria*. The ſmall territory between the promontory of *Minerva* and the river *Silarus*, was inhabited by the *Picentini*, who were a colony of the *Picentes*.

Magna Græcia.

The third great diviſion of *Italy* was called *Magna Græcia*, and comprized *Apulia*, *Lucania*, and the country of the *Brutii*. *Apulia* extended from the river *Frento*, along the *Adriatic*, to the moſt eaſtern promontory of *Italy*. It was divided into three parts; namely, *Daunia*, between the *Frento* and the *Auſidus*, *Peucetia* extending from the *Auſidus* to the *Iſthmus* between *Brunduſium*, and *Tarentum*, and *Meſſapia*, called alſo *Calabria* and *Japygia*. It was a very fruitful province, and contained a great number of cities, which were almoſt all inhabited by *Greek* colonies.

Lucania extended on the lower ſea from the *Silarus* to the *Laus*, which laſt parted it from the country of the *Brutii*. It was divided by the *Bradanus*, or the *Bradano*, from *Peucetia*; and from *Calabria* by the upper part of the bay of *Tarentum*. It was antiently extremely populous, and was chiefly inhabtied by *Greeks*.

The peninſula which extends from *Lucania* to the ſouthern promontory of *Italy*, was poſſeſſed by the *Brutii*. Their territory contained a great number of *Greek* cities, and their capital city was *Conſentia*, now *Conſenza*.

The chief rivers of Italy.

One of the chief rivers of *Italy* was the *Padus*, or *Eridanus*, now the *Po*, which riſes in the *Alps*, and, after receiving into its channel above thirty different rivers, diſcharges itſelf into the *Adriatic* ſea by ſeven different ſtreams. All the rivers in *Lombardy*, except the *Atheſis*, empty themſelves into the *Po*, which is the nobleſt river in *Italy*. The *Arnus* and the *Tyber* ſpring from the *Apennines*; and the laſt receives the *Clanis*, the *Nar*, and the *Anio*. Other rivers of note are the *Liris*, *Silarus*, the *Sybaris* and *Crathis*, the *Auſidus*, the *Aternus*, and the *Metaurus*.

The moſt remarkable mountains.

The chief mountains of *Italy* are the *Alps* and the *Appennines*; the latter of which form a ridge in the middle of it from north to ſouth, and divide it into almoſt two equal parts. Beſides theſe famous ridges, the following mountains were alſo remarkable; namely, *Maſſicus*, near *Sueſſa*; *Gaurus*, between *Puteoli* and *Baiæ*; *Tifata*, near *Capua*; *Veſuvius*, in the neighbourhood of *Naples*; and *Garganus*, in *Apulia*.

SECT.

SECT. II.

Summary of the antient State, and first Inhabitants of Italy.

Introduction.

THE years not only before, but even long after, the foundation of *Rome*, contain ſome events entirely improbable; more like fabulous inventions than hiſtorical facts grounded on authentic memoirs. Antiquity, fond of what excels and ſurprizes, delighted in embelliſhing with the marvellous the beginnings of great cities and powerful ſtates, and introducing ſome deity to render their origin ſacred and auguſt. All the *Roman* hiſtorians that have reached our times, authors, in other reſpects, of great ſenſe and judgment, thinking this method indiſpenſible, have inſerted in their writings, facts and events, which a popular tradition tranſmitted from age to age, and antient as *Rome* itſelf, obliged them to pay ſome regard to *; though, indeed, they neither tell us that they themſelves believed them, nor do they deliver them to us as truths. On the contrary, they have taken care, from time to time, to acquaint us what credit they deſerve, by plain intimations of their own private opinion: and *Livy* begins his hiſtory with an expreſs declaration, that he intends neither to aſſert nor refute the wonderful things advanced concerning *Rome*. He only ſays †, "That if it be allowable for any people to render their origin venerable by referring it to a Deity; ſuch is the glory, ſuch are the conqueſts of the *Romans*, that if they claim the god of war for father to themſelves and to their founder, the other nations ſhould be as ready to grant them that privilege as they were to ſubmit to their empire." Fables of this kind, even though they ſhould ſeem to be received and embraced by the hiſtorians, do not, however, affect the truth of the facts with which they are joined; neither ought they to throw any ſuſpicion or doubt on the hiſtory in general.

Rome, according to *Dionyſius* of *Harlicarnaſſus* ‡, owed its origin to the *Greeks*. It is, indeed, certain, that ſeveral *Grecian* colonies came at different times and ſettled in *Latium*, or the neighbouring countries ||, whoſe firſt known inhabitants were called *Siculi*, a barbarous people, natives of the country; that is, whoſe origin is not traced in hiſtory. Some believe the *Aborigines*, from whom the *Romans* deſcend, to have been alſo natives of *Italy*, and ſo named as being ſons of

First inhabitants of *Italy*, the *Siculi*.

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* Liv. l. vii. c. 6. † Id. in Proœmio. ‡ Antiq. Roman. l. i. p. 1--57. || Liv. l. i. c. 1, 2, 3.

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the ſoil; that is, ſprung originally from thence: whilſt *Dionyſius* will have the *Aborigines* to come from *Arcadia*, and to have been ſo called from their living upon the mountains *.

Arcadians. Many years before the ſiege of *Troy*, a colony of *Arcadians*, under the conduct of *Oenotrus*, ſettled in *Italy*, which then received the name of *Oenotria*. Afterwards *Italus*, a deſcendant of *Oenotrus*, it is ſaid, left it his name, which it retains to this day. *Portius Cato*, the Cenſor, and ſeveral other noted authors, hold the *Aborigines* to be deſcended from theſe *Arcadians*.

Pelaſgi. In proceſs of time, a colony of *Pelaſgi*, natives of *Peloponneſus*, but inhabitants of *Theſſaly*, compelled to abandon their country, took refuge among the *Aborigines*. The two nations

Siculi, united their forces, and drove out the *Siculi*, who were then in poſſeſſion of the country where *Rome* was afterwards built. The *Siculi* retired to an adjacent iſland, named *Trinacria* from its three promontories, and held in part by the *Sicani* †, a people originally from *Spain*. This iſland was afterwards called *Sicily*. Theſe, with the *Arunci* and *Rutuli*, were, at dif-

Arunci and *Rutuli.* ferent times, the firſt inhabitants, that we know of, of *Old Latium*, which, from the narrow limits of the *Tiber* towards the weſt, the *Circæan* promontory on the ſouth, the river *Anio* on the north, and mount *Algidus* (only eighteen miles from *Rome*) on the eaſt, roſe, by degrees, to be the ſeat of an empire which knew no other bounds than thoſe of our hemiſphere.

Volſci, Oſci, Fidenates, &c. In *New Latium*, which reached to the *Liris*, lived the *Volſci*, a very warlike people, of whoſe origin authors do not inform us; the *Oſci*, the *Auſones*, the *Coriolani*, the *Fidenates*, and the *Sicani*. The *Oſci*, who are alſo called *Opici*, and *Obſci*, were deſcended from the *Auſones*, who came originally from *Greece*, and were one of the moſt antient colonies that ſettled in *Italy*, which afterwards took from them its name of *Auſonia*. The *Coriolani* were a colony of the *Volſci*, and the *Fidenates* of the *Albani*.

The *Hetruſci.* *Hetruria*, the tract which lies between the *Adriatic Sea* and the *Appennines*, and joined to *Old Latium*, was firſt inhabited by the *Tyrhenians*; who, as is generally thought, came originally from *Lydia*, under the conduct of *Tyrrhenus*, from whence their name, which is alſo diverſified into that of *Hetruſci*, *Etruſci*, *Tuſci*, and ſometimes *Thuſci*. Theſe people extended their conqueſts beyond the *Apennines*, made themſelves maſters of the territories of *Nola* and *Capua*, and of almoſt the whole coaſt of the lower ſea, which from thence took the name of *Tyrrhenian*.

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* The etymology of their name muſt in this caſe be ἀπ' ὀρέων γενῶ, natives of the mountains. † Dion. Hal. l. i. p. 17.

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The *Umbrians* were one of thoſe early colonies which firſt came to *Italy* out of *Aſia*. Their territories were bounded on the weſt by a line drawn from the *Ufens*, now the *Montone*, to the heads of the *Tiber*, and from thence to the confluence of the *Tiber* and the *Nar*; on the eaſt, by the middle of the *Æſis*, now the *Fiumeſino*; on the north by the *Adriatic*; and on the ſouth by the *Nar*. The *Umbrians* were ſeparated by the *Arno* from the *Ligures*, of whoſe origin hiſtorians ſcarcely pretend to give us any account. The *Crotoniates*, *Locrenſes*, *Tarentini*. *Meſſapii*, *Apuli*, *Salentini*, *Calabri*, and *Japyges*, were undoubtedly of *Greek* extraction, and ſettled in that part of *Italy* which from them was called *Great Greece*, long after the *Umbri*, *Siculi*, and *Auſones*, who are reckoned, by moſt of the ancients, among the natives of *Italy* who did not derive their origin from any other nation. *Umbri*. *Ligures*.

The *Sabines* were a branch of the *Umbrians*, according to ſome, or, as others will have it, of the *Oſci*, or *Opici*. Their country was bounded on the north by *Umbria* and *Picenum*; on the ſouth by *Latium*; on the weſt by part of *Umbria* and *Etruria*; and on the eaſt by the territories of the *Picentes*, *Veſtini*, and *Marſi*, petty ſtates, which derived their origin from the *Sabines*, and were ſoon ſwallowed up by others more powerful. *Sabini*.

The *Frentani*, *Marrucini*, *Peligni*, *Æqui*, *Hernici*, and the *Samnites*, deſcended from the *Sabini*; and from the *Samnites* deſcended the *Hirpini*, *Lucani*, *Brutii*, and *Campani*. *Samnites*, &c.

The *Oenotrii* and *Pucetii* were originally *Arcadians*, who, according to moſt of the antient writers, croſſed the *Ionian* ſea, and ſettled in *Italy*, under the conduct of *Oenotrius* and *Peucetius*, two ſons of *Lycaon*, king of *Arcadia*. *Peucetius* landed at the *Japygian* promontory, and gave his name to the inhabitants of *Apulia* and *Calabria*, whom he conquered. Thence alſo that tract was called *Apulia Pucetia*. *Oenotrius* landed on the oppoſite coaſt, and poſſeſſed himſelf of *Lucania* and *Brutium*, which, from him, received the general name of *Oenotria*. *Oenotrii* and *Pucetii*.

About ſixty years before the *Trojan* war, *Evander*, baniſhed from *Peloponneſus*, arrived with his *Arcadians* in *Italy*. *Faunus*, who then reigned over the *Aborigines* in the little territory of *Italy*, called *Latium*, gave them, being few in number, a civil reception, with as much land as they wanted. There they built a ſmall town, which they called *Palentium*, in remembrance of their native place of the ſame name in *Arcadia*. The *Romans* afterwards called it *Palatium*, and from thence mount *Palatine* took its name. *Evander* ſucceeded *Faunus*. Year of the world 2760. Before *Chriſt* 1244. *Evander* arrives in *Italy*.

Some years after the arrival of theſe *Arcadians*, *Hercules* came into *Italy* with a powerful army, to conquer that country, having ſubdued *Iberia*. He had vanquiſhed and ſlain *Geryon*, feigned by the poets to have three bodies, And *Hercules*

 becauſe

becauſe he was king of three large kingdoms in *Spain*. He brought with him *Geryon*'s oxen, which were remarkably beautiful, and for ſtealing ſome of which the famous robber *Cacus*, whoſe ſtory is ſo elegantly ſung by *Virgil*, and has not been refuſed a place by *Livy* in his hiſtory, was killed by *Hercules*. *Evander* commanded then in thoſe parts, rather honoured for his accompliſhments, than obeyed as a ſovereign. The art of writing, an unheard-of prodigy to men ignorant of all arts, gained him reſpect. He taught the people among whom he lived the knowledge of the *Greek* alphabet, which were the firſt letters uſed by the antient *Latins*. But nothing procured him the veneration of theſe uncivilized people, ſo much as the reputation of his mother *Carmenta*, (the *Themis* of the *Greeks*,) who was reckoned a goddeſs. She was the oracle of theſe nations, before the arrival of the ſibyls in *Italy*. *Evander*, pretending to have heard long before, from *Carmenta's* own mouth, that a *Hercules*, ſon of *Jupiter* and *Alcmena*, was deſtined by the fates to be a god, no ſooner heard the name of the vanquiſher of *Cacus*, but he reſolved to merit his protection by being the firſt to pay him divine honours. Accordingly, he inſtantly erected an altar, and after imparting to him the prediction of the oracle, ſacrificed a young bull to his honour. It was decreed, at the requeſt of *Hercules*, and with the conſent of the whole nation, that this ſacrifice ſhould be for ever annually celebrated after the *Grecian* rights, which he taught them himſelf; and two of the nobleſt families, the *Potitii* and the *Pinarii*, were ſelected to preſide at the ceremony. *Hercules*, when he went away, left in *Italy* ſome of his *Grecian* followers, who, uniting with the *Aborigines*, lived with them in the ſame city in ſo good underſtanding, that they might have been deemed the ſame people.

Latinus, king of the *Aborigines*.

About fifty-five years after the departure of *Hercules*, *Latinus*, the reputed ſon of *Faunus*, but the real ſon of *Hercules*, was king of the *Aborigines*. From him the people were called *Latines*, and the country *Latium*, which was then of very narrow extent. In his reign, ſome ſay about the thirty-fifth year of it, the *Trojans* who had eſcaped the flames of *Ilium*, with *Æneas*, landed at *Laurentum* on the *Tyrrhenian* coaſt, near the mouth of the *Tiber*, in the country of the *Aborigines*. *Æneas* brought with him the ſtatues of the greater gods, and the *Palladium*, which was afterwards depoſited in the temple of *Veſta*, and committed to the cuſtody of the veſtal virgins, with ſtrict orders not to expoſe it to view. The *Aborigines* immediately drew together under the command of their king *Latinus*, to oppoſe theſe foreigners. But *Latinus*, inquiring into the reaſon of their landing in his dominions, and being informed that they were *Trojans*, who, under the conduct of *Æneas*, ſon of *Anchiſes* and *Venus*, were in ſearch of a place to ſettle and found a city, beheld, with admiration and reſpect, that illuſtrious

Æneas lands in *Italy*.

people,

people, and the hero their commander, equally ready for war or peace, and gave *Æneas* his hand in token of friendſhip. Mutual congratulations paſſed between the two armies. *Latinus* received *Æneas* into his palace, and, to ſtrengthen their alliance, gave him, in the preſence of their houſhold gods, his daughter *Lavinia* in marriage. A city was founded by *Æneas*, and called *Lavinium*, from his new conſort, by whom he ſoon had a ſon, named *Aſcanius*.

Marries *Lavinia*, and builds *Lavinium*.

Turnus, king of the *Rutuli*, inhabitants of the maritime parts of the preſent *Campagna di Roma*, to whom *Lavinia* had been promiſed before the arrival of the *Trojan* prince, enraged to ſee the preference given to a ſtranger, denounced war againſt both the *Trojans* and the *Aborigines*, and gave them battle, which proved unfortunate to both ſides. The *Rutuli* were defeated; but the conquerors loſt *Latinus*, who commanded in perſon. *Turnus* and his followers, conſcious of the bad ſituation of their affairs, implored the aſſiſtance of *Hetruria*. *Mezentius*, ſovereign of that flouriſhing kingdom, kept his court at *Cære*, an opulent city for thoſe days. As he had always looked upon the *Trojan* colony with a jealous eye, and fancied he ſaw in the increaſe of that new power a juſt cauſe of alarm to the neighbouring ſtates, he readily joined in a league with the *Rutuli* *. *Æneas*, wanting the entire affection of the *Aborigines* to reſiſt the ſtorm that threatened him, cauſed his own and that nation to become one for the future, governed by the ſame laws, under the name of the *Latine* people. This ſo gained the *Aborigines*, that they proved as faithful to him, and as ſteady, as the *Trojans*.

War with *Turnus* and *Mezentius*.

Secure of the affection of his ſubjects, whoſe union daily increaſed, *Æneas* boldly met his formidable enemies. *The Latines* obtained a ſecond victory, which was the laſt action of *Æneas*, and the period of his mortal life. His tomb was ſtill to be ſeen in *Livy's* time on the banks of the river *Numicus*, now only a ſmall rivulet, called *Rio di Nimi*. Divine honours were paid him by the name of *Jupiter Indiges* †.

His ſon *Aſcanius* was not yet fit to reign; but, during his minority, the government was ſo ſucceſsfully managed by *Lavinia*, a princeſs of great ability and application, that ſhe reſigned to the young king his father's and grandfather's inheritance, in the ſame ſtate ſhe had received it. It is queſtioned, whether this prince was *Lavinia*'s ſon, or another *Aſcanius*, ſurnamed *Julus*, born to *Æneas* by *Creuſa*, before the deſtruction of *Troy*, and from whom the *Julian* family boaſted their extraction and name. However this be, it is certain he was ſon to *Æneas*.

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* Liv. † The heroes who by their actions had merited the Apotheſis, were ſtiled *Dii Indigetes*.

Ascanius founds *Alba Longa.*

Ascanius seeing *Lavinium* very populous, and as flourishing as cities could be at that time, left his mother to reign there, and founded on mount *Alban* another city, called *Alba Longa*, because it was extended in length along the side of the hill. The kingdom of *Alba*, according to the computation of *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*, lasted four hundred and thirty years, from the arrival of *Æneas* in *Italy* to the foundation of *Rome*. The interval between the building of *Lavinium* and of *Alba* was scarce thirty years; and yet so considerable was the *Latine* power now grown, especially after the defeat of the *Hetrurians*, that neither *Mezentius* nor any other neighbouring prince, dared to attack them; not even after the death of *Æneas*, or during the regency of *Lavinia*, or minority of *Ascanius*. By a treaty of peace, the river *Albula*, since called the *Tiber*, was made the boundary of the two nations.

Succession of the kings of *Alba.*

Ascanius left the crown to his son *Sylvius*, so called, from his having been accidentally born in a wood. His son and successor was *Æneas Sylvius*, father of *Sylvius Latinus*, founder of some colonies known by the name of the *Antient Latines*. All the kings of *Alba* bore the name of *Sylvius*. After *Latinus*'s death, *Alba*, *Atys*, *Capys*, *Capetus*, and *Tiberinus* succeeded from father to son. This last being drowned in attempting to pass the river *Albula*, which has immortalised his name by retaining it ever since, the kingdom fell to his son *Agrippa*, and, after him, to *Romulus Sylvius*, who being killed by lightning, was succeeded by *Aventinus*, the place of whose burial was from him called *Mount Aventine*, one of the seven hills on which *Rome* was afterwards built.

Amulius dethrones *Numitor.*

Proca, son and successor of *Aventinus*, had two sons, *Numitor* and *Amulius* *. At his death he bequeathed the kingdom to his eldest son *Numitor*; but the ambition of *Amulius* respected neither the last will of a father, nor the rights of an elder brother. Not content with usurping the throne, he caused his nephew *Ægestus* to be murdered, and placed his neice *Rhea Sylvia* among the vestals, on pretence of doing her honour, but in reality to deprive her of all hopes of children.

The birth of *Romulus* and *Remus.*

Notwithstanding these precautions, the vestal became mother of twins, *Romulus* and *Remus*. Some authors ascribe these children to *Amulius* himself. *Rhea* declared, that she was ravished by *Mars*; whether she believed so, or only pleaded it in excuse for a fact, which, without the authority of a god, would have been considered as sacrilege, and punished with death. But, says *Livy*, neither gods nor men delivered either herself or her sons from the king's cruelty. He commanded her to be closely imprisoned, and her children to be thrown into the *Tiber*.

Who are exposed.

* Dion. Hal. l. i. p. 57-76. Liv. l. i. c. 4-7. Plut. in Rom.

By

By good chance, the river was then ſo much overflown, that its current was inacceſſible. The men who were charged with drowning the youg children, believing they would as ſoon periſh in ſtanding water, ſtopped at the firſt inundation, and there expoſed them in their cradle, thinking they had ſufficiently executed the king's orders. It is ſaid, that the cradle, after floating ſome time, was left on dry ground by the waters retiring, and that a wolf, deſcending from the mountains to drink, ran at the cry of the children, and gave them ſuck. They are alſo reported to have been fed by a woodpecker. *Fauſtulus*, the king's ſhepherd, chancing to find theſe children, carried them home, and delivered them to his wife *Laurentia* to nurſe. The lewd life of this woman is ſaid by ſome to have gained her from the ſhepherds the nick-name of *Lupa*, or *Wolf*, which gave occaſion to this fabulous ſtory.

But found by *Fauſtulus*.

An air of diſtinction, which appeared in the two foundlings, even from their very infancy, ſeemed to ſpeak them of noble birth. They were ſent, ſays *Plutarch*, to *Gabii*, to be inſtructed in literature, and all other things proper for children of quality. They led, however, a ſhepherd's life with the reſt, working for their livelihood, and building their own huts. One of theſe huts is affirmed by *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis* to remain in his days by the name of *Romulus*'s houſe. It was looked upon as ſomething ſo ſacred, that the people, whoſe buſineſs it was to keep it up, dared not add any ornament to it, but only repaired the decays occaſioned by age and weather.

And educated privately.

In proceſs of time, the two brothers, diſdaining an idle paſtoral life, applied themſelves to hunting in the neighbouring foreſts. Grown, by this exerciſe, robuſt and intrepid, and no longer content with attacking wild beaſts, they fell upon robbers, carried off their booty, and divided it among the ſhepherds. Crowds of youths joining them daily, they were at laſt able to hold aſſemblies, and celebrate games.

One day, as the feſtival called *Lupercalia* *, formerly inſtituted by *Evander*, was ſolemnizing in the country, a band of robbers,

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* This feſtival was ſacred to *Pan*, the god of the country, and was chiefly celebrated in the villages. Some have imagined the *Lupercalia* were inſtituted in memory of the wolf that preſerved *Romulus* and *Remus*; but as that ſtory is very probably a mere fiction, the other opinion, that they were brought into *Italy* by *Evander*, is more likely. The name is derived from Αὐκαιος, for ſo *Pan* is called in *Greek*, perhaps from λὐκος, a wolf, in *Latin lupus*, becauſe *Pan*'s chief buſineſs was the protecting of ſheep from ſuch beaſts of prey. The prieſts were called *Luperci*. The ceremonies were theſe. Two goats (*Pan* is ſuppoſed to have goat's feet)

robbers, who fought an opportunity to be revenged of the two brothers, found means to ſurprize them. *Romulus* eſcaped out of their hands; but *Remus* was taken and carried before the king by the robbers. As they accuſed him and his brother, among other crimes, of making incurſions, and committing robberies with a band of vagabonds on *Numitor*'s lands, *Amulius* ſent the priſoner to *Numitor*, that he might do himſelf juſtice.

Fauſtulus had all along flattered himſelf, that the twins he had under his care were of the royal blood. He knew that they were found by him about the time of *Amulius*'s expoſing the ſons of *Rhea* on the *Tiber*. But, perſuaded that the time was not yet come, he was waiting till a favourable juncture, or neceſſity, ſhould compel him to reveal the ſecret. The danger the priſoner was in forced him to open the matter to *Romulus*. On the other hand, *Numitor* had juſt learnt that *Remus* had a twin brother. This circumſtance, the age of the two brothers (they were paſt eighteen), with their noble inclinations, all brought his grandſons to his remembrance; and the queſtions he put entirely convinced him that his priſoner was *Remus*. From that time nothing was thought of but the tyrant's deſtruction. *Romulus*, not having a ſufficient number to go in a body and force the palace, ordered his people to repair thither by different ways, at an hour appointed. They did ſo; he joined them; and, followed by *Numitor*'s domeſtics, attacked *Amulius*, and killed him.

Romulus kills *Amulius*.

Numitor, at the firſt outcry, artfully publiſhed that the enemy had ſurprized the city, and was then maſter of the palace. By this falſe alarm he drew to the citadel, as to a place of defence, all the men of *Alba* capable of making reſiſtance. But as ſoon as he ſaw the conſpirators come to him with an air of triumph, he aſſembled the *Albans*, put them in mind of his brother's outrages to him, related the origin and birth of his grandſons, their education, and the manner of his knowing them. He concluded with informing

The brothers reſtore *Numitor*.

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fect) and a dog (the ſhepherd's companion) were ſacrificed, and the foreheads of two noble youths were ſtained with the bloody knife by the *Luperci*, and the blood wiped off with locks of wool, the two boys laughing all the while. This done, the ſkins of the goats were cut into thongs and whips for the two youths, who ran about the ſtreets and fields, all naked except the middle, laſhing all they met. The young women never avoided the ſtrokes, becauſe they fancied them to be great promoters of conception and delivery. This feſtival was celebrated on the 15th of *February*. There were at firſt two colleges of *Lupercalian* prieſts, the *Fabiani* for *Romulus*, and the *Quinctiani* for *Remus*. A third was added by the ſenate, in honour of *Julius Cæſar*. Plut. in Rom. Sext. Pomp. Feſtus. Ovid. Faſt. Dion. Caſs.

them

them of the tyrant's death, and declared himſelf the author. *Romulus* and *Remus* then advanced with their followers into the midſt of the aſſembly, proclaimed their grandfather king, and by their examble, the title and authority of ſovereign was confirmed to him by the unanimous acclamations of the people.

The two brothers, leaving *Numitor*, the kingdom of *Alba*, reſolved to build a city in the very place where they had been expoſed and brought up. They were joined by a multitude of *Albans* and *Latines*, beſides a great number of ſhepherds, which inſpired them with hopes that the city they were going to found would ſoon outſhine *Alba* and *Lavinium*.

The deſire of reigning, fatal paſſion, and the vice of their family, ſeized then the two brothers, and created a difference between them, which, though managed with ſome moderation at firſt, ended in a tragical manner. As birthright in the caſe of twins, eſpecially in theirs, could not claim a precedence, they both agreed to conſult the flight of birds, to know for which the tutelar gods had reſerved the honour of naming and governing the riſing city. To this end, *Romulus* was placed on mount *Palatine*, and *Remus* on mount *Aventine*. *Remus* firſt diſcovered *Vultures*, to the number of ſix: but the moment he declared it, *Romulus* ſaw twelve. Upon this, two parties were formed: one declared for him that firſt ſaw the vultures; the other for him that ſaw moſt. Conteſts enſued, paſſions were raiſed, the quarrel grew bloody, and *Remus* was killed in the fray. Others relate his death thus. As *Romulus* was ordering the ditch, which was to ſurround the walls of the new city, *Remus* jeſted on the narrowneſs of the work, and adding inſult to raillery, contemptuouſly leaped over the ditch, to expoſe his brother. *Romulus*, enraged at the affront, ſtruck him dead, ſaying, *Thus periſh all who dare act like him*. *Cicero* conſiders *Remus*'s raillery as a poor excuſe for *Romulus*'s criminal ambition, by which he was prompted to this murder for the ſake of reigning alone; and notwithſtanding his reſpect for the deified founder of *Rome*, he expreſsly condemns him *.

Death of *Remus*.

Some authors think *Rome* more antient than *Romulus*, by whom, ſay they, it was only reſtored. Some make the *Pelaſgi* the firſt founders of that city, and derive its name *Rome* from the *Greek* word Ῥώμη, *ſtrength*. Others ſay it was built by ſome *Trojans*, among whom was a woman of note called *Roma*. *Solinus* ſays *Evander* was the founder of it. The author of a late diſſertation on the uncertainty of the five firſt ages of the *Roman* hiſtory, endeavours to ſhew that it cannot be made appear by whom or when *Rome* was founded.

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* Peccavit igitur pace vel Quirini vel Romuli dixerim. Cic. Offic. l. iii. c. 41.

We ſhall, in that reſpect, follow the generally received opinion, according to which,

Romulus founds *Rome.*

Romulus, become ſole maſter by his brother's death, applied himſelf with freſh ardour to raiſing the walls of the city, and building the houſes they were to incloſe *. The colony was pretty numerous at firſt; but the diſſention of its leaders, followed by a conflict, deſtroyed many, and made others withdraw. It was now reduced to three thouſand foot and three hundred horſe. *Romulus* had marked out, with a plough, a ſquare round mount *Palatine*, making a continued furrow, to ſhew where the foundations of the walls were to be laid, except in the places deſigned for the gates, where, holding up the plough, he carried it without continuing the furrow. Hence the word *porta*, a gate, *à portando*. This ceremony was ever after obſerved on the like occaſion. A ſpace was left within between the walls and the houſes, on which it was not lawful to build, and another without, which was not to be ploughed. The line marked out by the plough was called *Pomærium* †; from whence the phraſe *pomærium proferre*, to ſignify the enlarging of the city. *Romulus* dedicated the new city to his reputed father the god *Mars*.

Year of the world 3253. Before Chriſt 751.

In this rude ſtate, *Rome*, deſtitute of civil laws and magiſtrates, was more like a camp of ſoldiers than a city, and ſerved only as a place of ſecurity to men of deſperate fortunes, whom impunity, or hopes of booty had drawn together from various places. *Greeks*, *Latins*, *Albans*, and *Tuſcans*, moſt of them ſhepherds and robbers, but all men of reſolute valour, were the firſt inhabitants of this proud city. The conquerors of the world owed their origin to a neſt of thieves.

Cato places the foundation of *Rome* on the eleventh of the calends of *May*, (that is, the twenty-firſt of *April*) in the firſt year of the ſeventh Olympiad, which anſwers to the year 751 before *Chriſt*, and of the world 3253. On that day a paſtoral feſtival, called *Palilia*, was ever after celebrated at *Rome*; but whether ſolely in commemoration of the founding of the city, or whether it was inſtituted before, in honour of *Pales*, goddeſs of the ſhepherds ‡, or whether on both accounts, is not certainly known.

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* Liv. l. i. c. 8. Dion. Hal. l. ii. p. 77-87. Plut. in Rom.

† From *pone mœnia*. Plut.

‡ See a deſcription of the ſuperſtitions uſed by the ſhepherds on that day in *Ovid de faſtibus*, iv. v. 771, &c. The ſame day was alſo called *Urbis natalis*,

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

The Monarchical Government of Rome, *under her ſeven Kings, who are ſaid to have reigned* 244 *Years.*

AS ſoon as the neceſſary buildings were finiſhed, *Romulus* aſſembled the people, and bid them chuſe what form of government they thought beſt. They immediately gave the preference to monarchy, as the moſt conſiſtent with their favourite paſſions, liberty and empire; and immediately proclaimed *Romulus* king of *Rome*; which he, after conſulting the auguries, agreed to. At the ſame time they declared him the head of their religion, the chief magiſtrate of the city, and general of the ſtate *. Beſides other guards, he had twelve lictors †, who always attended him when he appeared in public. Each lictor was armed with a battle-ax ſurrounded with a bundle of rods, which was the ſymbol of ſovereignty among his neighbours the *Hetrurians*. But, with all this pomp of royalty, his power was confined to very narrow limits ‡; and he had little more authority than to call together the ſenate and the aſſemblies of the people; to propoſe affairs to them; to march at the head of the army when war was reſolved upon by a public decree; and to give directions about the diſpoſal of the public money. *Romulus* choſen king.

The firſt care of the new prince was to make ſeveral laws concerning religion and civil government; which, however, were not publiſhed without the conſent of the whole people. It is not well known what was the form of worſhip in theſe diſtant ages: we only learn from hiſtory, that the religion of the firſt *Romans* had a great conformity with their origin. Beſides, the *Palilia* and the *Lupercalia*, mentioned before, *Plutarch* || ſpeaks of a god called *Conſus*, who preſided over councils, and whoſe only temple was a grotto under ground §. *Romulus* inſtituted ſome new feſtivals, whereby religion became an eaſe and relief to the labouring people. But the chief religion of thoſe rude times lay in the *aruſpices* and *augurs*. The former inſpected the entrails of the victims, and the latter foretold future events by the flight, the ſinging, or the feeding of birds. The flight of a raven on the left, and

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* Dion. Hal. l. ii. p. 81. † Liv. c. 8. ‡ Dion. l. ii. Plut. in Rom. || In Romul. § A myſtic turn has ſince been given to what was perhaps then merely the effect of chance or neceſſity; and we are told, that this temple was contrived under ground, in order to teach men, that the deliberations of councils ſhould be ſecret.

of a crow on the right, were good omens; ſo was alſo a clear ſhrill note *. As for the feeding of chickens, the *pullarius*, or keeper, let them out of their coop, and threw down a handful of crumbs, or grain. If they ſeized the meat greedily, and ſcattered part on the ground, the omen was favourable. On the contrary, if they refuſed to eat, the omen was fatal. The ſtory of *P. Claudius*, the conſul, is well known, † who, ready to engage at ſea in the firſt *Punic* war, and hearing that the chickens would not come out of their coop, ordered them to be thrown into the ſea, with this jeſt, *If they will not eat, let them drink.* He was conquered indeed; but it need not be ſaid that his defeat was cauſed by his raſhneſs, and not by his contempt of ſo ſilly a ceremony.

The ſecond way of taking Aruſpices, was from certain obſervations in the heavens. The augur marked in the air with the *lituus*, or augural ſtaff, bent at the end, a certain ſpace, to obſerve what ſhould paſs there. This ſpace was called *templum*, as well as the ſpace where he ſtood to make his obſervations. This ceremony is largely deſcribed by *Livy* ‡.

The pleaſure of the gods was alſo conſulted by the inſpection of the entrails of victims. To this office were appointed the Aruſpices. Theſe were of much leſs conſideration than the Augurs, who were always choſen out of the prime nobility.

All theſe religious ceremonies were very antient. They were brought from *Chaldea* to *Greece*, from thence to the *Hetrurians*, of whom they were borrowed by the *Latins* ||. In after-times, the ſenate ordered ſix young *Roman* noblemen to to be ſent every year to *Hetruria*, to be inſtructed in theſe matters.

The *pious* frauds of Aruſpices, which owed their eſtabliſhment merely to the ignorance of the firſt ages, became afterwards one of the great myſteries of ſtate: and it is ſaid that *Romulus* cauſed himſelf to be appointed the firſt Augur of *Rome*, leſt others ſhould gain the confidence of the multitude by the help of thoſe ſuperſtitions, in which the vulgar had great faith. By a law made purpoſely for that end, he decreed, that no election ſhould be entered upon, nor any perſon, for the future, be raiſed to the royal dignity, the prieſthood, or any of the public magiſtracies; nor any war be undertaken, till the Aruſpices had firſt been conſulted. In the ſame ſpirit of religion, and with very wiſe policy §, he forbad all worſhip of foreign deities, which might have bred diviſions among his new ſubjects. By the ſame law, the prieſthood was to be for life; prieſts could not be elected till the age of fifty, and none but their wives were allowed to

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* Cic. de Divin. l. i. p. 12. Liv. l. x. c. 40. † Val. Max. l. i. c. 4. ‡ Liv. l. i. c. 18. || Onuphr. de civ. Rom. c. 17. Cic. de Divin. l. i. p. 92, § Dion. Hal. l. ii.

perform

perform the function of prieſteſſes. Their ſons, who were called *Camilli*, were to wait at the altars till the age of puberty; and their daughters, called *Camillæ*, ſo long as they continued virgins. After the diviſion of the people into different claſſes, the chief miniſters of the gods were choſen from among the patricians; and the inferior prieſts, out of ſuch families only as were honourable. The ſacerdotal families were exempted from paying taxes and bearing arms; and the prieſts were obliged to be acquainted with the laws and cuſtoms of their country, and to write its principal events: ſo that they were the firſt hiſtorians and firſt lawyers of the *Romans*.

Romulus having numbered the inhabitants of *Rome* †, found that they amounted to three thouſand three hundred men. Theſe he divided into three equal tribes, and aſſigned to each a part of the city to inhabit, under the command of a Præfect or Tribune. Each tribe was divided into ten Curiæ, or companies of one hundred men, under the command of a Centurion; and every Curia was ſubdivided into ten Decuriæ, which were commanded by their reſpective officers. A prieſt, who was called Curio, had the care of the ſacrifices of each Curia; and two of the principal inhabitants, called Duumviri, diſtributed juſtice between man and man.

Numbers his people and diviſesthem into tribes Curiæand Decuriæ.

After this, *Romulus* divided his ſmall territory, not above five or ſix miles in extent, and originally dependent on the city of *Alba*, into three, but not equal, parts. One was conſecrated to the expences of religious worſhip; another was reſerved for the king's revenue, and the exigencies of the ſtate; and the third, which was the moſt conſiderable, was divided into thirty portions, to anſwer to the thirty Curiæ. The ſhare of each private man did not exceed two acres §.

Portions out the territory of *Rome*.

The next thing *Romulus* did, was to diſtinguiſh the people, according to their birth and dignity, into Patricians and Plebeians. The former were to take care of the religious rites and ceremonies, and to hold all the civil and military dignities; the latter were to till the ground, feed cattle, and follow trades. To prevent the murmurings which this diſtinction between citizens of one and the ſame republic might occaſion, *Romulus* endeavoured to bind them to each other by reciprocal ties and obligations. Every plebeian ‡ was allowed to chuſe, out of the body of the patricians, a patron, or protector, who was obliged to aſſiſt him with his advice and power. In return, the client was bound, upon all occaſions, to adhere to the intereſt of his patron; to aſſiſt him with money, if required, towards paying his debts, portioning his daughters, or ranſoming him, or his children, if taken in war. The patron and client were never to accuſe each other, or take contrary ſides. Any breach of this

Divides the people into Patricians and Plebeians.

Patrons and Clients, their reſpective duties.

† Ibid. ‡ Ibid.

covenant

covenant was looked upon as a ſacrilege; and the offender became ſo infamous, that no puniſhment was inflicted on whoever killed him.

Eſtabliſhment of the ſenate.

To theſe regulations ſucceeded the inſtitution of the ſenate. The king named the firſt ſenator, who was ſtiled the Prince of the Senate; and ordained, that in his abſence he ſhould have the government of the city. Each tribe elected three members, and each of the Curiæ the like number; making in all one hundred ſenators; who were choſen from among the patricians, and were to be at the ſame time the king's miniſters and the protectors of the people. Functions no leſs noble than hard to execute well.

All affairs of importance were brought before the ſenate. The prince, as head, preſided *, but he had only his ſingle vote, like a private ſenator; and all queſtions were decided by a plurality of voices. The ſenators were called Patres, fathers; and the name of Patricians was given to their deſcendants, who were the origin of the firſt nobility among the *Romans*. All civil and military dignities, and the prieſthood, belonged to the Patricians only.

Origin of the *Roman* knights.

The ſenate being thus eſtabliſhed, *Romulus* ordered the Curiæ to chuſe him a guard of three hundred young men; ten out of each Curia. Theſe were called Celeres; either from their firſt captain, whoſe name was *Celer*, or from the ſwiftneſs with which they executed the orders they received. They fought either on foot or on horſeback, as occaſion required. The ſtate found them a horſe; from whence they were called Equites, knights; and they were diſtinguiſhed by a gold ring. They were commanded by a Tribune called *Tribunus Celerum*, three Centurions, and other inferior officers. This was the origin of the *Roman* knights.

Privileges of the king, ſenate, and people.

The king's office at home was to take care of religious affairs; to be the guardian of the laws and cuſtoms; to decide the weightier cauſes between man and man, referring thoſe of leſs moment to the ſenate; to call together the ſenators, and aſſemble the people; firſt giving his opinion of what was propoſed, and then ratifying, by his conſent, what was agreed on by the majority. Abroad, and in time of war, he was to command the army with abſolute authority, and to take care of the public money. The ſenate were not only to be judges in all cauſes that were referred to them, but likewiſe to debate and reſolve upon ſuch public affairs as the king propoſed, and to determine them by the plurality of voices. To the people was committed, the creating of magiſtrates, the electing of the king himſelf, the enacting of laws, and the reſolving upon any war that was propoſed by the king; but in all theſe things, the approbation of the ſenate was neceſſary.

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* Dion. Hal. l. ii. † Liv. l. i. c. 8.

Such

Such was the fundamental conſtitution of this ſtate, neither purely monarchical, nor entirely republican. The king, the ſenate, and the people, were in a ſort of mutual dependance; from whence reſulted a balance of authority which moderated that of the prince, and at the ſame time ſecured the power of the ſenate and the liberty of the people.

Romulus opens an aſylum.

The new colony being thin of inhabitants, *Romulus* opened an aſylum for debtors, fugitive ſlaves, outlaws, murderers, and every ſort of criminals. To this end he erected a temple to a new ſort of divinity, which he called the *Aſylæan* God, under whoſe protection all ſorts of criminals were to be ſecure. Multitudes flocked to him from the neighbouring countries. They were not, indeed, at firſt received within the walls, but had the hill *Saturnius*, afterwards called *Capitolinus*, aſſigned them for their habitation. Afterwards, when *Romulus* enlarged his city, the aſylum was incloſed within the walls; and thoſe who had fled to it, being brought under ſome regulation, became citizens of *Rome*.

Year of *Rome* 2.

The prudent regulations in the government of *Rome*, and eſpecially the liberty which her ſubjects enjoyed, attracted likewiſe, from all parts, numbers of more valuable citizens. *Romulus* made them all ſoldiers; and his new ſtate began already to grow formidable to its neighbours, and wanted nothing but women to ſecure its duration.

Year of *Rome* 3.

Romulus ſent deputies to demand intermarriage with the *Sabines* and other neighbouring nations, and to propoſe a ſtrict alliance between them and *Rome*. His offers were rejected with ſcorn. "Why," ſaid the *Sabines* *, "does not your "prince open an aſylum for vagabond women and fugitive "female ſlaves, as he has done for men? He might then "make marriages wherein neither party could upbraid the "other."

Year of *Rome* 4.

Incenſed at this anſwer, he determined to take by force what he could not obtain by gentle means. The chief of the ſenate approved of his deſign. Accordingly, *Romulus* proclaimed a ſolemn feaſt, and public games, in honour of the god *Conſus*, or *Neptune*, *creator of the horſe*, as ſome interpret this word. This brought together a great concourſe of people, ſome to ſee the ſhew, and ſome the new city. The *Sabines*, being neareſt to *Rome*, were the moſt numerous. In the midſt of the ſolemnity, the *Romans*, upon a ſignal given by *Romulus*, ruſhed, ſword in hand, into the aſſembly, ſeized all the daughters of the ſpectators, and, by main force, carried them to their houſes, where they were kept till the next day, without any farther inſult being offered them. They were in all ſix hundred and eighty-three; and *Romulus* choſe ſo many huſbands for them.

Rape of the *Sabine* women.

This violence was highly reſented by the neighbouring people, and occaſioned a war which laſted ſeveral years.

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* Liv. l. i. c. 9.

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The *Cæninenſes* commence war, but are defeated by *Romulus*.

The *Cæninenſes* were the firſt that armed to revenge the inſult. They entered the lands of the *Romans*: *Romulus* engaged and defeated them; killed their king, *Acron*, with his own hand; took their city, razed it, and ſent all the inhabitants to *Rome*, where they were allowed the ſame privileges as the moſt antient citizens. For this victory, *Romulus* decreed himſelf the honours of a triumph. He returned to *Rome*, laden with the armour of the vanquiſhed king, which he conſecrated to *Jupiter Firetrius*. Theſe ſpoils were called, by way of diſtinction, *ſpolia opima*, *rich ſpoils*; or, *ſpoils difficult to be obtained*; becauſe they were taken by the general of the *Roman* army from the enemy's general, after having killed him with his own hand. The whole *Roman* hiſtory affords but two more inſtances of ſuch ſpoils, and they were taken by *Coſſus* and *Metellus*. The *Antemnates* and *Cruſtumini*, who had likewiſe taken up arms, had no better fortune than the *Cæninenſes*. They alſo were overcome, and their cities were taken. *Romulus* would not deſtroy them; but, their countries being fruitful, he ſettled in them colonies which were a barrier on that ſide againſt the incurſions of other enemies. The inhabitants were removed to *Rome*, and admitted to all the privileges of *Roman* citizens. By this conduct, the reputation of his clemency, as well as bravery, became ſo great, that ſeveral cities of *Hetruria* voluntarily ſubmitted to him. *Cælius*, an *Hetrurian* general, led all the troops under his command to *Rome*, and ſettled on an hill near the city, which, from him, took the name of Mount *Cælius*.

Origin of the Triumph.

Romulus reduces *Cruſtumini* and *Antemnæ*.

Year of *Rome* 7.

Romulus, being now obliged to enlarge the compaſs of his city, took in the hill *Saturnius*, called afterwards *Mons Capitolinus*; and on the top of it built a ſtrong citadel, which he committed to the government of a noble *Roman* named *Tarpius*.

The *Sabines* declare war.

Tatius, king of the *Curetes*, in the country of the *Sabines*, was the laſt, but not leaſt formidable, enemy that attacked the *Romans*. He ſurprized the city of *Rome*, and penetrated to the very *forum*, where an obſtinate and bloody fight enſued. The victory was doubtful, when the *Sabine* women, who were become the wives of the *Romans*, and who, in general, had children by them already, threw themſelves into the midſt of the combatants, and by their prayers and tears ſuſpended their animoſity. An accomodation was agreed upon: the two nations made peace; and that the union might be the ſtronger, moſt of theſe *Sabines*, who before lived diſperſed in the country, or in ſmall towns, came and ſettled at *Rome*, and increaſed the number of her citizens, whoſe privileges were allowed them. *Romulus* was wounded in this fight, the concluſion of which coſt him alſo a part of his ſovereignty; for he was obliged to admit *Tatius* to an equal ſhare in the royalty, and to receive an hundred of the nobleſt of his people into the ſenate, with the ſame

And ſurpriſe the city.

The *Romans* and *Sabines* become one people.

title

title and privileges as the *Romans* *. The two kings reigned jointly, and with great harmony, for five years; *Romulus* holding his court on the hill *Palatinus*, and *Tatius* residing on the hill *Tarpeius*. The *Sabines* settled on an hill called by them *Quirinalis*; either in memory of their city *Cures*, or in honour of their god *Quiris*. The space between the *Palatine* and *Tarpeian* hills became a common market-place for the two united nations, and was called the *Forum*. The union of the two nations soon produced a mixture of manners, customs, and religion. They unanimously instituted the festival called *Matronalia*, in memory of the peace concluded by the mediation of the *Sabine* women; and, as a farther mark of distinction, every one was commanded to give way to them; all immodest discourses were forbidden in their presence; in capital causes they were exempted from the jurisdiction of the ordinary judges, and their children were allowed to wear a golden ball hanging down their necks, and a particular robe, called *prætexta*, to distinguish them from the vulgar.

The only military expedition under the two kings, was the conquest of *Cameria*, a city in the neighbourhood of *Rome*. Four thousand of its inhabitants were transplanted to *Rome*, from whence a colony was sent to *Cameria*. *Cameria* made a *Roman* colony.

In the sixth year of *Romulus* and *Tatius*, the latter, having provoked the *Lavinians* by injudiciously protecting some of his friends, who had ravaged their territories, was murdered by them at the foot of the altar, while he and *Romulus* were offering a sacrifice in the city of *Lavinium*. *Romulus*, who never liked an equal in authority, was suspected of being concerned in this affair. However, he carried his colleague's dead body to *Rome*, and interred it honourably on Mount *Aventine*. From this time he reigned alone. Year of *Rome* 14. Death of *Tatius*.

Not long after, a plague, attended with a great famine, breaking out at *Rome*, the *Camerini* attempted to shake off the *Roman* yoke. *Romulus* marched against them, killed six thousand of them on the spot, and, returning to *Rome*, entered the city in triumph. The like success attended him against the *Fidenates*, whose city, standing about forty furlongs from *Rome*, he took, and made it a *Roman* colony. The *Veientes* claimed *Fidenæ*, as a city within their jurisdiction, and laid siege to it: but they were defeated in two battles, and forced, in order to obtain a truce for an hundred years, to give up seven small towns on the *Tiber*, with some salt-pits near the mouth of that river, and to send fifty of their chief citizens to *Rome*, to be kept there as hostages. This war procured *Romulus* the honour of a third triumph. Years of *Rome* 15, 16, 17. *Romulus* defeats the *Camerini*, *Fidenates*, and *Veientes*.

* The *Roman* and the *Sabine* senators assembled at first separately, at the houses of their respective kings; but afterwards met at the same place, which was from thence called the *Comitium*.

This

This was the laſt war in which *Romulus* engaged. The remaining part of his life was employed in ſettling the civil government of his ſtate. He made many good laws; but we have only ſome fragments of them remaining. The firſt relates to marriages, and forbids a wife to leave her huſband upon any pretence whatever; but allows the huſband to put away his wife, and even to puniſh her with death, in caſe ſhe were convicted of adultery, poiſoning, making falſe keys, or only of drinking wine. *Romulus* thought this laſt interdiction neceſſary to prevent adultery, which he looked upon as the too natural effect of that dangerous liquor. Each huſband was confined to one wife; their goods were in common between them, but under the adminiſtration of the huſband. His laws, with reſpect to the power of fathers over their children, are the moſt cruel that were ever heard of. The former had an abſolute power over the lives and fortunes of the latter; ſo that, by their own private authority, they could impriſon them, ſell them for ſlaves, and even put them to death, at any age, and in any ſtation *. He appointed no puniſhment for real parricide, but called all murder ſo, thinking the latter a deteſtable crime, but the former impoſſible: and indeed it was unknown in *Rome* for near ſix hundred years, as divorces were, notwithſtanding the huſband's power, for five hundred and twenty years †. Well knowing that the power of a ſtate conſiſts not ſo much in its extent, as in the number of its inhabitants, he made it criminal to kill, or even ſell, an enemy in war, if he yielded. The deſign of his wars was only to conquer men: being ſure he ſhould never want lands, while he had troops ſufficient to poſſeſs themſelves of them.

Laws of *Romulus*.

His behaviour provokes the ſenate.

Romulus, in the latter end of his reign, whether too much elated with his former ſucceſſes, or carried away with notions of arbitrary power, began to extend his prerogative beyond due bounds, and to pay no longer any deference to his great council. The ſenate was indeed aſſembled, but only for form ſake, and to ratify his commands. Incenſed at this haughty and arbitrary behaviour, they reſolved his death, and ſoon after effected it. *Romulus* having appointed a review of his troops on a plain without the city, the ſenate attended him thither. Whilſt he was haranguing them, a ſudden ſtorm diſperſed the army, and the ſenators remained alone with the king, who never was ſeen after. To appeaſe the people, and remove their ſuſpicions of what had happened, the ſenators gave out, that, in the midſt of the ſtorm, *Romulus* was, on a ſudden, ſurrounded by a flame, and ſnatched up into Heaven. *Julius Proclus*, a ſenator of great diſtinction, having aſſembled the Curiæ, ſwore to the

He is murder'd.

Year of *Rome* 37.

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* Dion. Hal. l. ii. p. 92. A. Gell. c. 23. Plut. Inſtit. Juſtin. l. i. † Plut. ubi ſupr.

truth

truth of this ſtory, and aſſured them, that *Romulus* had appeared to him, and enjoined him to acquaint his people, that it had pleaſed the Gods to take him back to Heaven, from whence he came; but that he would always be a propitious god to them, under the name of *Quirinus* *. His death happened on the 7th of *July*, in the thirty-ſeventh year of his reign, and the ſixtieth, or, as ſome ſay, fifty-fifth year of his age. Thus ended one of the greateſt heroes of antiquity, the firſt founder and law-giver of the *Romans*, who, in a few years, formed out of a gang of ſlaves and profligates, a people which, in proceſs of time, became maſters of the world, and were yet more renowned for their virtue, than for their courage or conqueſts; who, from three thouſand three hundred men, with which he firſt began, increaſed his ſubjects to forty-ſeven thouſand ſoldiers, all inſpired with the ſame ſpirit of preſerving their own liberty, and making themſelves maſters of that of others.

Interregnum.

By the death of *Romulus*, who left no iſſue, the ſupreme authority devolved on the ſenators, who divided it among themſelves, and each governed in his turn five days, with the title of *Inter-rex*, and enjoyed all the honours of ſovereignty. This new form of government laſted ſomewhat more than a year; when the people, weary of having ſo many lords, inſiſted on a change. The ſenate gave them their option, either to elect a king, or chuſe annual magiſtrates. The people, out of reſpect, referred the choice to them. Several of the ſenators, willing to keep the power in their own hands, inclined to the republican ſtate; but the chief of that body, who ſecretly aſpired to the crown, got a vote paſſed in favour of monarchy. A general aſſembly of the people † was held; and the ſenator who had laſt performed the office of *Inter-rex*, addreſſing himſelf to them, ſaid, "Elect yourſelves a Form of "king, O *Romans*; the ſenate give their conſent: and if electing "you make choice of a prince worthy to ſucceed *Romulus*, kings. "the ſenate will confirm him in that ſupreme dignity."

The ſenate conſiſted of two ſorts of ſenators; the old *Numa* ones, and thoſe that had been added to them in the reign of *Pompilius Tatius*. The former demanded a *Roman*; the latter, one of elected their own country. After great diſputes, it was agreed, that king. the old ſenators ſhould name the king of *Rome*; but that they ſhould chuſe him from among the *Sabines*. Their choice fell upon *Numa Pompilius*, ‡ a man of virtue, wiſdom, mode- His cha-ration, and equity; but no great ſoldier. This worthy racter.

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* Dion. Hal. l. ii. Plut. Liv. l. i. c. 16.

† The *aſſembly of the people* included not only plebeians, but alſo the ſenators, knights, and all the *Roman* citizens in general, who had a right of ſuffrage. The plebeians, being more numerous than the two other orders, generally had the deciſion of affairs on theſe occaſions.

‡ Liv. Plut. Dion. Hal.

Year of *Rome* 40.

prince reclaimed his ſubjects from their ſavage fondneſs for war and plunder, and taught them the arts of peace, and the happineſs of civil and ſocial life, by inſtructing them in the great duties of religion, or piety towards their gods, and in the laws of juſtice and humanity, which contained their duty towards their fellow-creatures. The reign of this good prince, which laſted forty-three years, was the moſt happy period of time *Rome* ever knew, from her foundation to her diſſolution. He diſmiſſed the royal guard of three hundred *celeres*, ſaying, it would ill become him to reign over a people he diſtruſted, or to diſtruſt a people that compelled him to reign over them.

He diſmiſſes the guard of three hundred Celeres.

Divides the miniſters of religion into eight claſſes.

The more effectually to divert the *Romans* from the purſuit of their favourite paſſion, war; *Numa* increaſed the pomp, and multiplied the ceremonies, of religion, the miniſters of which he divided into eight claſſes, *viz.* *Curiones*, or particular prieſts of each *curia*; *Flamines*, ſo called from the faſhion or colour of their caps; *Celeres*, attendants on the prieſts; *Augurs*, whoſe province was divination; *Veſtals*, devoted to the goddeſs *Veſta*, in whoſe temple they were obliged to keep the ſacred fire perpetually burning *; *Salii*, or guardians of the *ancilia* †; *Feciales*, or heralds, whoſe buſineſs was to demand ſatisfaction for injuries done by enemies, to proclaim war againſt them, and to take care that all treaties were faithfully obſerved; and laſtly, *Pontifices*, the moſt venerable of all the claſſes, whoſe office was to ſuperintend the other prieſts, to regulate the feaſts and ſacrifices, and to give ſentence in all cauſes relating to religion. Theſe laſt had a preſident, ſtiled *Pontifex Maximus*, whoſe office was one of the moſt honourable in the ſtate.

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* The ſafety of the empire was thought to depend upon the perpetuity of this fire. The veſtals were held in the higheſt honour ſo long as they preſerved their virginity, and took care of this fire. Lictors carried faſces before them, as before the kings; and they had the privilege of ſaving the life of any criminal, if they chanced to paſs by the place where theſe unhappy creatures were. In return, the leaſt fault in a veſtal was puniſhed with the utmoſt ſeverity. If ſhe chanced to let the ſacred fire go out, ſhe was beaten with rods, like a ſlave; and for a breach of chaſtity ſhe was buried alive.

† The *Ancilia* were twelve ſhields, exactly alike, which *Numa* ordered to be made for the greater ſafety of preſerving a ſhield, which he pretended fell down from heaven into his hands, during a converſation he had with the nymph *Egeria*; and on the preſervation of which, that nymph aſſured him, the welfare and duration of *Rome* depended. They were hung up in the temple of *Mars*, and guarded by twelve young *Romans* of diſtinction, who were called *Salii*.

Numa

Numa introduced a new kind of deities, called *Termini*, or *Boundaries*, which he cauſed to be placed upon the borders of the *Roman* ſtate, and of each man's property. To remove them was deemed ſacrilege, and any one might kill the offender with impunity. A feſtival, called *Terminalia*, was inſtituted in honour of them. He erected an altar to *Fides*, or *Good Faith*, and dedicated a temple to *Janus*, the ſymbol of prudence, which looks two ways, to examine what is paſt, and what may come. This temple ſtood open in time of war, and was ſhut in time of peace.

Introduces new deities, erects altars, and builds a temple to *Janus*.

The reformation of religion was followed by an improvement of the laws, in which particular regard was had to the preſerving of modeſty in women. Huſbands were, however, permitted to lend their wives to others, whoſe wives were barren; but they ſtill retained their former power over them, and could call them home, or lend them to others, at their pleaſure. He reformed the law by which *Romulus* had given parents an abſolute power over their children; for he would not ſuffer a father to ſell his ſon after marriage; thinking it unjuſt, that a woman, who had married a freeman, ſhould be obliged to live with a ſlave.

Improves the laws.

He parcelled out the lands of the ſtate, and diſtributed them into *pagi*, or villages, each of which had a chief, whoſe buſineſs was to keep an eye ever the huſbandmen, to encourage the diligent, and puniſh the ſlothful, and report the progreſs of agriculture to the king, who frequently advanced the induſtrious to the firſt dignities in the ſtate. By this means the lands were cultivated, and the city diſburthened of the idle ſoldiery, who had been accuſtomed, under *Romulus*, to live by rapine*.

Encourages agriculture.

But the maſter-piece of *Numa*'s policy was, his diſtributing the citizens of *Rome* into diſtinct bodies, according to their ſeveral trades and occupations. Each had its particular privileges, feſtivals, ſacrifices, *&c.* By this means, the people became more intimately united, and the diſtinction of *Romans* and *Sabines*, which had frequently given riſe to factions, was ſoon forgot†.

Diſtributes the citizens into diſtinct bodies.

To fix the due order of the feſtivals, it was neceſſary to regulate the days and months of the year. In *Romulus*'s time, the year conſiſted of only ten months, and began in *March*. But as this did not agree with either the ſolar or the lunar year, *Numa* added the months of *January* and *February* to the beginning of the year. He likewiſe introduced the diſtinction between lucky and unlucky days, *faſti* and *nefaſti*. The courts of juſtice were allowed to ſit, and the people to be aſſembled, on the former of theſe days, but not on the latter.

Reforms the Calendar.

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* Plut. in Numa. † Ibid.

Death of *Numa*. Year of *Rome* 82.

Numa died in the eighty-second year of his age, ſincerely regretted by all his people, who looked upon him as their father and beſt of friends. He left but one daughter, named *Pompilia*, who was married to *Numa Marcius*, by whom ſhe had *Ancus Marcius*, the fourth king of *Rome*. *

Tullus Hoſtilius, 3d king of *Rome*.

After a ſhort inter-regnum, the *Romans* choſe for their third king, *Tullus Hoſtilius*, a prince of a bold, enterpriſing genius, fonder of war than of peace, and determined to preſerve his ſtate by the ſame means that it had been founded. *Tullus*, whoſe private fortune was very great, began his reign with an act of generoſity which gained him the hearts of all his people. He diſtributed among ſuch of them as had no poſſeſſions, the lands which had been ſet apart for the expences of the king.

Year of *Rome* 86.

His war with the *Albans*.

Cælius, or, as ſome call him, *Cluilius*, chief of the *Albans*, jealous of the growing power of *Rome*, gave private directions to ſome of his ſubjects to lay waſte the *Roman* territories. The *Romans*, in their turn, attacked the *Albans*, and, as *Cælius* expected, a quarrel enſued between the two nations, and both took the field. The armies ſoon met, and ſeemed juſt ready to engage, when the *Alban* general, either fearing the ſucceſs of a battle, or perhaps only deſirous to ſpare the effuſion of blood, propoſed to the *Romans*, to refer the fate of both nations to three combatants on each ſide.

Combat between the *Horatii* and *Curiatii*.

The propoſal was accepted. The *Romans* choſe three brothers, called the *Horatii*, and the *Albans* pitched upon three other brothers, called the *Curiatii*. The champions engaged in the preſence of both armies, and victory ſeemed doubtful for a long time. At length, two of the *Horatii* fell; and the *Alban* camp was filled with ſhouts of joy. The three *Curiatii* were wounded, and the remaining *Horatius* was unhurt and ſtill vigorous. However, not thinking himſelf a match for the three brothers together, he made uſe of a ſtratagem to ſeparate them; artfully retreating as if he had fled. The *Curiatii* purſued him, but at unequal diſtances. The *Roman* champion, watching his opportunity, turned ſhort upon them, and ſlew them all, before one could come up to the aſſiſtance of the other †. The *Albans* immediately acknowledged *Rome* for their ſuperior.

Horatius kills his ſiſter.

Horatius, returning into the city, laden with the arms and ſpoils of his enemies, met his ſiſter, who was to have been married to one of the *Curiatii*. Seeing her brother dreſſed in her lover's coat of armour, which ſhe herſelf had wrought, ſhe burſt into a flood of tears, tore her hair, and, in the tranſports of her ſorrow, uttered the moſt violent imprecations againſt her brother. He, warmed with his victory, and incenſed at the grief which his ſiſter expreſſed, with ſuch unrea

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* Plut. Dion. Hal. & Liv. l. i. c. 21.

† Dion. Hal. l. 3 & Liv. Decad. 1. l. i. c. 25.

unreaſonable paſſion, in the heat of his anger, ſtabbed her to the heart. "Begone, ſaid he, to thy lover, and carry "him that degenerate paſſion which makes thee prefer a "dead enemy to the glory of thy country." Every one was amazed and ſhocked at the deed. *Horatius* was immediately ſeized, and carried before the *Duumviri*, who condemned him to death. By the king's advice, he appealed to an aſſembly of the people, who, rather thro' admiration of his courage, than for the juſtice of his cauſe, revoked this ſentence *. However, that the crime might not go wholly unpuniſhed, he was ſentenced to paſs under the yoke †; an ignominy which it was uſual to inflict on priſoners of war, who had cowardly ſurrendered their arms; and expiations were appointed to pacify the gods.

Is condemned by the *Duumviri*, but pardoned by the people

The behaviour of the *Fidenates* having been ſuſpicious during the war with the *Albans*, *Tullus* cited them to appear before the *Roman* ſenate, to anſwer for their conduct: but they, conſcious of their guilt, and in private intelligence with *Fuffetius*, chief of the *Albans*, who wanted to ſhake off the *Roman* yoke, refuſed to obey, and, in conjunction with the *Vcientes*, took the field. *Fuffetius*, thinking to conceal his treachery, joined *Tullus* with the *Alban* troops; but the day before the battle, he acquainted his principal officers with his deſign, which was, to ſtand neuter, till fortune had declared for one ſide, and then join the conqueror. While the armies were in motion to engage, *Fuffetius* accordingly retired with his troops to a riſing ground, to watch the event of the battle. The *Fidenates* and *Vcientes* were entirely defeated by the *Romans*; whereupon *Fuffetius*, coming down from his hill, fell upon their ſcattered remains.‡

Tullus makes war upon the *Fidenates*.

Treachery of the *Albans*.

Tullus, concealing his knowledge of *Fuffetius*'s treachery, which he had been informed of before the battle, went privately in the night to *Rome*, to conſult the ſenate, and returned to the camp by break of day. He then detached *Horatius* who had conquered the three *Albans*, with a choſen body of troops, to demoliſh *Alba*; and, in the mean time, commanded both the *Roman* and *Alban* troops to attend him unarmed, but with private inſtructions to the *Romans* to conceal their ſwords under their garments. When they were aſſembled, he acquainted them with *Fuffetius*'s perfidy, and ordered him to be torn aſunder by horſes. His accomplices were put to the ſword. The reſt of the *Alban* ſoldiers were carried to *Rome*, with the citizens, and the chief men among them were admitted into the ſenate;

Alba demoliſhed, and the *Albans* tranſplanted to *Rome*.

Year of *Rome* 87.

* This appeal ſhews plainly, that the ſupreme power was in the people.

† The *yoke* was formed by two upright poſts, with a beam laid acroſs on the top, like a gallows. It was called *ſororum tigillum*, or the *ſiſters rafter*.

‡ Liv. l. i. c. 27.

others were made knights, and all, without exception, enjoyed the privileges of *Roman* citizens *. Thus fell the rich and populous city of *Alba*, the mother of *Rome*. This increaſe of inhabitants obliging *Tullus* to enlarge the limits of the city, he took in mount *Cælius*, and built himſelf a palace there. The nex ſpring, he marched againſt the *Fidenates*, defeated them in a pitched battle, and reduced them to ſuch ſtreights, that they ſurrendered at diſcretion, and were made dependent upon *Rome*. This victory procured *Tullus* the honours of a triumph †.

Tullus defeats the *Fidenates*,

The power of *Rome* being now greatly increaſed, *Tullus* turned his arms againſt the yet unſubdued *Sabines*, who, after two years obſtinate reſiſtance, were defeated in two great battles, the laſt near *Eretum*, a town about thirteen miles from *Rome*, and forced to accept a peace upon the conqueror's terms ‡. A ſecond triumph was decreed him for this victory. The *Sabines* revolted again, a few years after, and were again made ſenſible of the ſuperiority of *Rome*.

And the *Sabines*.

All the *Latine* towns, which had been dependent on *Alba*, were ſummoned to ſubmit to the *Roman* laws. On their refuſing to comply, their harveſt was deſtroyed, their country laid waſte, and their city of *Medulia* taken, and put out of a condition of reſiſting again, at leaſt for many years.

And takes *Medulia*.

Authors diſagree as to the manner of *Tullus*'s death. Some ſay that he was killed by lightning, with his wife, children, and family; and others, that he died by the hands of *Ancus Marcius*, his ſucceſſor, who ſlew him and his whole family, while they were performing a domeſtic ſacrifice, and then ſet fire to the palace, to conceal his crime. *Tullus* reigned thirty-three years, and left the city greatly increaſed, but the dominions much the ſame as in the time of *Romulus* §.

His death.

Year of *Rome* 114.

Ancus Marcius, grandſon of *Numa*, was elected in the room of *Tullus Hoſtilius*, by the aſſembly of the people, and the ſenate afterwards confirmed the election. The new king began his reign by endeavouring to reſtore the religious ceremonies, which had been neglected under his predeceſſor, and to revive huſbandry, and cultivate the arts of peace: a conduct which gained him the affections of his ſubjects. But he ſoon found by experience, that a throne requires other virtues than piety. His neighbours, and particularly the *Latines*, holding him in contempt for his pacific diſpoſition, ſoon began to make incurſions on the frontiers of the *Romans*. A herald was ſent to demand ſatisfaction; and on its being refuſed, war was declared againſt the invaders. *Ancus* took the field, made himſelf maſter of ſeveral cities of *Latium*, and ſent their inhabitants to *Rome*, where he ſettled

Ancus Marcius king.

Defeats the *Latines*.

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* Dion. Hal. l. iii. p. 165. † Liv. l. i. c. 30. ‡ Dion. Hal. p. 175. Liv. l. i. c. 30. § Liv. l. i. c. 31.

them

them on the hill *Aventinus*. The *Latines* raised all the forces they could, but were defeated, and *Ancus* triumphed at *Rome* for his advantages over them.

The *Fidenates*, *Veientes*, and *Volsci*, felt likewise the effects of the *Roman* power. The *Fidenates* had revolted during the *Latine* war. *Ancus* marched against them, and took *Fidenæ* by sap; which is the first instance we meet with in the *Roman* history of that kind of attack. He next went against the *Sabines*, who had renewed their hostilities, defeated their united forces, and granted them peace upon honourable terms. Over the *Veientes* he obtained two complete victories, for which a triumph was decreed him by the senate *.

Defeats the *Fidenates*, *Sabines*, *Veientes*, and *Volsci*.

Ancus spent the latter years of his reign in improving and enlarging the city, and enriching its inhabitants. He took in the *Aventine* hill, and the hill *Janiculus*, which last, lying on the other side of the *Tiber*, he made a sort of citadel for *Rome*, and opened a communication between it and the city, by a bridge which he built over the river. He likewise extended the territories of *Rome*, at the expence of the *Veientes*, quite to the sea, where he built the port and city of *Ostia*, to secure the advantages of trade to his subjects. He died after a reign of twenty-four years, and left two sons, one an infant, and the other about fifteen, under the guardianship of *Tarquin* the elder, who, though a stranger, and but lately settled at *Rome*, found means so to ingratiate himself with the people, by his gallant behaviour and great liberality, that he was elected king, in prejudice to the children of *Ancus*.

Year of *Rome* 138.

Tarquin elected king.

Tarquin's first war was with the *Latines*, whom he defeated in three engagements, and took several of their cities. On his return to *Rome* he was honoured with a triumph †, and employed the spoils of the conquered cities of *Latium* in building a *circus* ‡ for the *Roman* games.

Defeats the *Latines*.

The war with the *Latins* was scarce ended, when all *Hetruria* combined against *Tarquin*, and entered into an agreement, that if any city stood neuter, it should be cut off from the general alliance. By this means the *Hetrurians* raised a considerable army, ravaged the *Roman* territory, and made themselves masters of *Fidenæ*, by the treachery of some of its inhabitants. The king did not take the field in person the first year; but the next he armed all his legions, summoned his allies, and, early in the spring, divided his army into two bodies, putting himself at the head of the *Romans*, and giving the command of the allies to his cousin *Collatinus*. This last was defeated; but *Tarquin* routed the *Hetrurians* twice, and re-took *Fidenæ*, which was a key to the *Roman* dominions. Such of the *Fidenates* as were suf-

Subdues the *Hetrurians*.

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* Dion. Hal. l. iii.
† Dion. Hal. l. iii. Liv. l. i.
‡ The *Circus Maximus*.

pected of having been concerned in betraying it to the *Hetrurians*, were whipped to death; the reſt were ſent into baniſhment, and their lands were divided by lot among the *Roman* ſoldiers. This done, *Tarquin* fell upon the *Hetrurians* once more, before their whole ſtrength could be aſſembled, and overthrew them with great ſlaughter near *Eretum*; for which the ſenate decreed him a triumph *. The vanquiſhed *Hetrurians* ſued for peace, which was granted, on their acknowledging the ſovereignty of the *Romans*. This war laſted nine years.

Who ſubmit, and acknowledge him for their king.

Year of *Rome* 159. An interval of reſt ſucceeding this war, *Tarquin* turned his thoughts to the beautifying, cleanſing, and fortifying of *Rome*. He rebuilt the walls of the city, with hewn ſtone; made thoſe famous common ſewers, which have ſince been numbered among the wonders of the world †; ſorrounded the *forum* with galleries, in which were ſhops for tradeſmen, and built temples in it, with ſchools for the youth of both ſexes, and halls for the adminiſtration of public juſtice.

Tarquin embelliſhes *Rome*

His war with the *Sabines*. Theſe works were ſcarce ended, when the *Romans* engaged in a war with the *Sabines*, under pretence of their having aſſiſted the *Hetrurians*. Both armies engaged on the confines of *Sabinia*; the battle laſted the whole day, with ſo little advantage on either ſide, that the generals ſtanding in awe of each other, retired to their reſpective camps, and ſoon after returned home, without attempting any thing more that campaign. *Tarquin* employed the winter in making the neceſſary preparations againſt the next year. His infantry was ſufficiently numerous, but he wanted cavalry, and therefore reſolved to add ſome new bodies of knights to thoſe of *Romulus*'s inſtitution, they being all the horſe the *Romans* had. In any leſs ſuperſtitious ſtate, *Tarquin*'s deſign would have been put in execution without the leaſt difficulty; but in this it was looked upon as an innovation, and therefore met with great oppoſition. The augurs were conſulted, and it was at laſt reſolved, not to increaſe the number of the corps of horſe, but to augment the number of knights of each corps, ſo as to make the *Roman* cavalry amount in all to eighteen hundred men. From this time no determination was made, either in the camp or city, without the approbation of the augurs.

Defeats them. *Tarquin* took the field early in the ſpring; but the *Sabines*, who had received conſiderable reinforcements from

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* Liv. l. i. c. 35.

† Theſe ſewers, built of hard ſtone, and arched over ſo ſtrongly as to bear the weight of houſes upon them, were high and wide enough for a cart loaded with hay to paſs eaſily through them under ground. The ſtanding waters, which before infected *Rome*, and the mud and filth, which rendered the ſtreets impaſſable, were carried off through theſe ſewers into the *Tiber*.

Hetruria,

Hetruria, were before-hand with him, and had encamped near the mouth of the *Anio* and the *Tiber*. The *Hetrurians* were poſted on one ſide of the *Tiber*, and the *Sabines* on the other, having a communication by a bridge of boats. *Tarquin*, who had encamped on an hill near the *Anio*, ſet fire to this bridge, by ſending down the river flat-bottomed boats, filled with combuſtible matters. The *Sabines* haſtened to extinguiſh the flame, and, in their hurry, left their camp unguarded. *Tarquin*, ſeizing the opportunity, attacked and made himſelf maſter of it; whilſt a detachment of the *Romans*, having paſſed the *Tiber* in the night, fell ſuddenly on the camp of the *Hetrurians*. The enemy, thus attacked on both ſides, fled in ſuch confuſion, that moſt of them periſhed, in the flames, by the ſword, or in the river. The arms of the enemy, which floated down the ſtream, brought the news of this victory to *Rome*, before the arrival of the meſſengers diſpatched by the king ‡.

Tarquin, purſuing his advantage, entered the territory of the *Sabines*, laid it waſte, and forced them to ſue for peace: but he granted them only a truce; at the end of which they paſſed the *Anio* again, and made incurſions on the *Roman* lands. The *Romans* attacked, and entirely defeated them a ſecond time. The *Sabines* appeared again in the field early the next year, but declined a battle. *Tarquin*, not thinking it adviſeable to attack their camp, ſurrounded it on all ſides, and, by cutting off their communication with the neighbouring county, reduced them to ſuch ſtreights, that they muſt all have periſhed, or laid down their arms, had not their general taken advantage of a dark and ſtormy night to march them off, unobſerved by the *Romans*.

Defeats them a 2d time, and reduces them to great ſtreights.

The *Romans* and *Sabines* met again the next year, and their generals agreed to put the whole to the iſſue of a battle. The fight was obſtinate, and laſted the whole day; but in the end the *Romans* gained a complete victory; and the *Sabines*, to obtain peace, put them in poſſeſſion of all their ſtrong places. Their priſoners were delivered up without ranſom; and *Tarquin*, returning to *Rome*, entered the city in triumph*.

He defeats them a 3d time,

The ſons of *Ancus Marcius* had hitherto lived quietly under the government of *Tarquin*, hoping to reign after him; but when they found he was taking meaſures to continue in his family the crown, which they thought themſelves intitled to, their reſentment knew no bounds. They hired two young men, who, dreſſing themſelves like wood-cleavers, with hatchets on their ſhoulders, began a feigned quarrel near the palace, and inſiſted on being judged by the king. *Tarquin* ordered them to be brought before him; and, while he was liſtening attentively to what one of them ſaid, the other

but is aſſaſſinated.

‡ Liv. l. i. c. 37. * Ibid.

other gave him a great blow on the head with his hatchet, and, leaving his weapon in the wound, fled with his companion. They were overtaken and secured; and, being put to the torture, confessed, that they had been employed by the sons of *Ancus*. The conspirators fled immediately to the *Volsci*, and *Tarquin*'s death was concealed for some days, till his widow, Queen *Tanaquil*, could seat her son-in-law, *Servius Tullius*, on the throne.

Year of *Rome* 175. *Servius Tullius*, sixth king of *Rome*,

Servius Tullius was born a slave †, and, by his merit, rose to the rank of a patrician and senator. *Tarquin*, who had a great regard for him, married him first to a *Roman* lady of distinction, called *Gegania*: and, upon her death, to his daughter *Tarquinia*. The beginning of his reign was not without disturbances. The sons of *Ancus* had a strong party among the patricians, who thought it beneath them to be governed by a man born in slavery, and who had likewise taken the power into his own hands without any previous inter-regnum, and without the order or consent of the people. The senators therefore agreed among themselves, to force the new king, the first time they should meet, to lay down his authority, to establish an inter-regnum, and then proceed to the free election of another king. *Servius*, in this

gains the people to his interest,

emergency, made it his study to gain the people, and secure their suffrages against the senate. He succeeded therein by promising to protect them against the patricians, to pay all their debts, and to divide among them the lands taken from the enemy. A promise which he punctually performed.

Though *Servius* was naturally more inclined to peace than to military exploits, he found himself obliged to embark in a long war with the *Veientes*, and the rest of the *Hetrurians*, who had shaken off the yoke, pretending, *that their obligations to be subject to* Rome *were dead with* Tarquin, *who had subjected them*. *Servius*, taking the field, soon subdued them a-new, and depriving them of their lands, transferred the property of them to such of the new citizens of *Rome* as had yet no lands. For this victory he obtained, by the favour of the people, in spite of the senate, the honours of a triumph, and entered *Rome* with all the pomp which *Tarquin* had introduced in these public shews ‡.

and defeats the *Hetrurians*.

Servius, finding the people entirely attached to his interest, resolved to take advantage of their present favour, to render his title to the throne less disputable. Accordingly, he assembled the citizens, and, in a moving speech, complained of a design formed by the patricians to take away his life and bring back the sons of *Ancus*. In the close of his speech he left the kingdom to their disposal, begging them to determine between him and his pupils, the sons of *Tarquin*, on one

† Dion. Hal. l. iv. Plut. de fort. Rom.

‡ Fast. Capit. & Dion. Hal.

side;

ſide; and their competitors on the other. The people immediately cried out, *Let the* curiæ *be aſſembled without delay, that we may elect* Servius *to be our king*. A day was accordingly appointed, and *Servius* was elected by the *curiæ* with greater unanimity than any of his predeceſſors *.

Soon after his election, *Servius* marched againſt the rebellious *Hetrurians*, reduced them again, and was honoured with a ſecond triumph. After this victory, he applied his thoughts to the adorning and enlarging the city. He took in the hills *Eſquilinus* and *Viminalis*, and fixed his own reſidence on the *Eſquilinus*, in order to draw inhabitants thither. He likewiſe added a fourth tribe to the three originally eſtabliſhed by *Romulus*. The public taxes were raiſed by laying a certain ſum on every tribe; and hence ſubſidies were called *tributes*; thoſe who commanded the tribes in war, *tribunes*; though that name was afterwards given to ſeveral ſorts of magiſtrates. As each inhabitant was obliged to continue in the tribe in which he was born, a great regularity was thereby eſtabliſhed in levying both the militia and the taxes. *Servius* made likewiſe a law, that a piece of money ſhould be paid, upon every death, into the temple of the goddeſs *Libitina*, who preſided over funerals; another into the temple of *Juno Lucina*, upon every birth; and another into the temple of *Youth*, as ſoon as any perſon was paſt childhood. By this means, the number of *Roman* citizens was exactly known; eſpecially of ſuch as were able to bear arms. Hitherto, no regard had been had to ſlaves; but *Servius* extended his care even to them, ordering little oratories to be erected to the *Dii Competales* in all the croſs-ways of the city; and enacting, that none but ſlaves ſhould be prieſts of theſe gods; and, that they ſhould have their particular feſtival, on which they ſhould be excuſed from all labour. This act of humanity ſecured him their good will †.

He enlarges *Rome*, creates a 4th tribe,

To eſtabliſh in the country the ſame order as in the city, *Servius* divided the whole *Roman* territory into diſtinct tribes, commanding that each ſhould have a place of ſafety and refuge, its particular temple, tutelary god, and magiſtrates; and likewiſe its peculiar feſtival, called *paganalia*, when every perſon was to pay into the hands of thoſe who preſided at the ſacrifices, a piece of money, the men of one kind, the women of another, and the children of a third. By this means, an exact computation was made of the men, women, and children, in each tribe ‡.

divides the *Romans* into tribes,

All this was only preparatory to that maſter-piece of policy which *Rome* made uſe of ever after, and by which the too great power of the people was effectually curbed, and a perpetual order and regulation eſtabliſhed in all the mem-

inſtitutes the *cenſus*,

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* Liv. l. i. c. 41. Dion. Hal. l. iv. † Liv. l. i. c. 43, 44.
‡ Dion. Hal. p. 220.

bers

bers of the ſtate, with reſpect to wars, the public revenues, and the ſuffrages of the *comitia*. Hitherto, the moſt indigent had been ſubjected to the ſame taxes as the rich, and were equally obliged to take the field when ordered. The conſequence was, that they pretended to an equal authority in the *comitia*; and, as they were the moſt numerous, the election of kings and magiſtrates, the making of peace and war, and the judging of criminals, were, in fact, in the hands of an ignorant and obſtinate populace. To remedy theſe evils, and transfer the chief authority into the body of the nobility and patricians, from whom juſter views and leſs paſſion might be expected, *Servius* procured a law to be paſſed, whereby all heads of families were enjoined, under ſevere penalties, to deliver in upon oath, a juſt eſtimate of their effects, together with their names and places of abode; and all the *Roman* citizens, without exception, were commanded to give in their names and ages, and thoſe of their fathers, wives, and children. Provided with theſe accounts, (by which there was found to be then in *Rome* and its territories upwords of fourteen thouſand citizens able to bear arms) *Servius* undertook to eaſe the poor by burthening the rich; and, at the ſame time, to pleaſe the latter by encreaſing their power *.

and divides the citizens into *claſſes* and *centuries*.

To this end, he divided the *Roman* people into ſix *claſſes*. The firſt, which conſiſted of thoſe whoſe eſtates and effects amounted to ten thouſand *drachmæ*, was ſubdivided into eighty *centuries*, or companies of foot; to which were joined eighteen *centuries* of *Roman* knights. The ſecond claſs comprehended thoſe whoſe eſtates were valued at ſeven thouſand five hundred *drachmæ*, and was divided into twenty centuries, all foot. To theſe were added two centuries of carpenters, ſmiths, and other artificers. In the third claſs, which was divided into twenty centuries, were thoſe who were eſteemed worth five thouſand *drachmæ*. The fourth claſs was of thoſe who were rated at two thouſand five hundred *drachmæ*, and was likewiſe divided into twenty centuries, with the addition of two centuries of trumpeters and blowers of the horn, for the uſe of the whole army. The fifth claſs included thoſe only whoſe whole ſubſtance did not exceed the value of twelve hundred and fifty *drachmæ*; and this claſs was divided into thirty centuries. The ſixth and laſt claſs, conſiſting of ſuch as were not worth ſo much as thoſe of the fifth claſs, though by far the moſt numerous, was reckoned but as one century †.

Advantages accruing

Servius had the ſatisfaction of ſeeing theſe regulations attended with all the advantages he expected. Levies for the army were no longer raiſed by tribes, nor were taxes laid at ſo much an head, as formerly; but all was levied by centu-

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* Id. l. 4.

† Liv. l. i. c. 43.

ries;

ries. When, for inſtance, an army of twenty thouſand men, or a large ſupply of money, was wanted for the war, each century furniſhed its quota both of men and money; ſo that the firſt claſs, which contained more centuries, tho' fewer men, than all the other together, furniſhed more men and more money for the public ſervice than the whole *Roman* ſtate beſides: and by this means the *Roman* armies conſiſted, for the moſt part, of the richeſt citizens of *Rome*; who, as they had lands and effects to defend, fought with more reſolution, while their riches enabled them to bear the expence of a campaign. As it was but juſt that the king ſhould make the firſt claſs amends for the burden laid on it, he gave it almoſt the whole authority in public affairs, changing the *comitia* by *curiæ*, in which every man gave his vote, into *comitia* by *centuries*, in which the majority was not reckoned by ſingle perſons, but by centuries, how few ſoever there might be in a century. Hence the firſt claſs, which contained more centuries than the other five taken together, had every thing at its diſpoſal. The votes of this claſs were firſt taken; and, if the ninety-eight centuries happened to agree, or only ninety-ſeven of them, the affair was determined; becauſe theſe made the majority of the hundred and ninety-three centuries, which compoſed the ſix claſſes. If they diſagreed, then the ſecond, the third, and the other claſſes, in their order, were called to vote; though there was very ſeldom occaſion to go ſo low as the fourth claſs for a majority of votes: ſo that, by this good order, *Servius* brought the affairs of the ſtate to be determined by the judgment of the moſt conſiderable citizens, who underſtood the public intereſt much better than the blind multitude, liable to be impoſed upon, and eaſily corrupted. We have been the more particular in our account of this new plan of government, becauſe it would be difficult without it to underſtand what we ſhall hereafter have occaſion to relate of the conteſts which aroſe between the ſenate and the people, concerning the government of the ſtate. from this diviſion.

To make this prudent regulation be the more reſpected, and conſequently the more laſting, *Servius* reſolved to ſolemnize it by a public act of religion. To this end, all the citizens were commanded to appear, on a day appointed, in the *Campus Martius*, a large plain between the city and the *Tiber*, formerly conſecrated by *Romulus* to the god *Mars*. The centuries were drawn up in order, as if for battle, and a ſolemn luſtration, or expiatory ſacrifice, conſiſting of a ſow, a ſheep, and a bull, was performed, in the name of all the people. This ceremony was called *luſtrum*. The wiſe king, rightly conſidering that in the ſpace of five years there might be ſuch alterations in the fortunes of private perſons, as to entitle ſome to be raiſed to a higher claſs, and reduce others to a lower, enjoined, that the *cenſus* ſhould be renewed every five years; and, as the *cenſus* was uſually cloſed by the *luſtrum*, The *cenſus* and *luſtrum*.

luſtrum, the *Romans* henceforth began to compute time by *luſtres*, or ſpaces of five years.

Servius reforms the royal power,

Servius, after eſtabliſhing this excellent order among his people, had the courage to reform even the royalty itſelf; his equity, which was the main ſpring of all his actions, leading him to act contrary to his own intereſt, and to ſacrifice one half of the royal authority to the public good. Finding the duties of his office too much for one man to diſcharge well, he committed the cognizance of ordinary ſuits to the ſenate, and reſerved that only of ſtate crimes to himſelf ‡.

and ſecures the fidelity of the *Latines* and *Sabines*.

The welfare of the *Romans* being thus provided for at home, *Servius* formed a ſcheme for attaching the *Latins* and *Sabines* to them, by ſocial ties ſtrengthened by religion. He ſummoned the *Latine* and *Sabine* cities to ſend their deputies to him; and when they were come, he propoſed to them the building of a temple in honour of *Diana*, where the *Latines* and *Sabines* ſhould meet once a year, and join with the *Romans* in offering a ſacrifice to that goddeſs; that the feſtival ſhould be followed by a council, in which all diſputes between the cities ſhould be amicably determined; that proper meaſures ſhould there be taken for their common intereſt; and, that, in order to draw the common people thither, a fair ſhould be kept, at which every one might furniſh himſelf with what he wanted. The king's propoſal was readily agreed to, with this addition, that the temple ſhould be an inviolable aſylum for the united nations; and, that all the cities ſhould contribute towards the expence of building it. This temple was erected on the *Aventine* hill, and the laws which were to be obſerved in theſe general meetings were engraved on a pillar of braſs, and were to be ſeen in *Auguſtus*'s time, in the *Latin* tongue, but in *Greek* characters *.

Servius was now grown old, and it was ſome time ſince he had married his two daughters to his wards, *Lucius Tarquinius* and *Arunx*, the grandſons of *Tarquin*, thinking thereby to ſecure their fidelity, and attach them to him. The elder, *Tullia*, who was of a gentle diſpoſition, was married to *Tarquin*, who was haughty and impetuous; and the younger, *Tullia*, whoſe temper was violent and vicious, was married to *Arunx*, who was mild and peaceable †. Similitude of temper and manners, formed, by degrees, too great an intimacy between *Arunx*'s wife and *Tarquin*. At length, ſhe propoſed to him the murdering of her father, ſiſter, and huſband, that they two might meet and aſcend the throne together. The horrid deed was reſolved on; and they paved their way to an inceſtuous marriage, he by poiſoning his wife, and ſhe her huſband. Their king and father was their next victim. An attempt was made to depoſe him, by a ca-

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‡ Dion. Hal. l. iv, c. 43, 44.

* Ibid.

† Ibid. Liv. l. i.

bal

bal of the patricians; but that miſcarrying, through the interpoſition of the people, who loved *Servius*, *Tarquin* determined to ſtick at nothing to gain his ends. Cloathing himſelf in the royal robes, and cauſing the faſces to be carried before him by ſome of his domeſtics, he croſſed the *Roman* forum, entered the temple where the ſenate uſed to meet, and ſeated himſelf on the throne. Thoſe of his faction were already there; and the reſt, having been ſummoned to aſſemble in King *Tarquin*'s name, made what haſte they could to attend, thinking that *Servius* was dead ſince *Tarquin* aſſumed the title and functions of king. When they were all aſſembled, *Tarquin* made a long ſpeech, reviling his father-in-law, and calling him a ſlave, an uſurper, a favourer of the populace, and an enemy to the ſenate and patricians. While he was yet ſpeaking, *Servius* arrived; and, raſhly giving way to the emotions of his courage, without conſidering his want of ſtrength, drew near the throne to pull his rival from it. *Tarquin*, ſtronger and more vigorous, ſeized the aged king by the waiſt, and, hurrying him through the temple, threw him down from the top of the ſteps into the forum. Two or three of the people, for all the great men had forſaken him, lifted him up, and were conducting him to his palace, when the cruel *Tullia*, appearing in the forum, ſaw her huſband on the top of the ſteps of the temple, and was the firſt who ſaluted him king. Not content with this, ſhe took her huſband aſide, and ſuggeſted to him, that he would never be ſafe ſo long as *Servius* was alive. *Tarquin* inſtantly diſpatched ſome of his domeſtics to take away the remains of the unfortunate king's life. The orders for this wicked parricide were no ſooner given, than *Tullia* mounted her chariot again, with an air of triumph, to return home. The way to her houſe was through a ſtreet called *Vicus Cyprius*, or the *Good Street*. There the aſſaſſins had left the king's body, which was ſtill panting. At this ſight the charioteer, ſtruck with horror, ſtopped. *Why don't you go on?* cried *Tullia* to him: *What ſtops you?* The driver, turning about to her, *Alas!* ſaid he, *it is the body of the king your father!* At theſe words, *Tullia*, catching up a ſtool that was in the chariot, and throwing it at his head, *Go on*, ſhe cried, *and don't be afraid of driving over a dead body.* The coachman obeyed; and the blood of the father is ſaid to have dyed the wheels of the chariot, and even the cloaths of the inhuman daughter. This ſtreet was ever afterwards called *Vicus Sceleratus*, the *Wicked Street*.

Tullia's cruelty.

Servius is murdered by *Tarquin*, who uſurps the throne.

Such was the end of *Servius Tullius*, after he had lived ſeventy-four, and reigned forty-four, years. He was a prince of eminent juſtice and moderation, and made *Rome* more formidable by a peace of twenty years, than his predeceſſors had done by many victories. He was beloved by the people, eſteemed by the patricians, and perhaps would have had no enemies, if he could have preſerved the affections of his

his own family. *Tarquin* not ſuffering his obſequies to be performed with the uſual pomp, *Tarquinia* conveyed the body of her huſband privately by night to his tomb, and, the night following, died herſelf; but whether of grief, or by her own hands, or by the wickedneſs of *Tullia*, is uncertain.

Tarquin the Proud, 7th and laſt king of *Rome*.

Tarquin behaved with as much violence upon the throne, as he had done in the means by which he aſcended it. The ſurname of *Proud* was given him in the very beginning of his reign. He took poſſeſſion of the throne without any previous *inter-regnum*, without even the form of an election, and without conſulting either the ſenate or the people, whom he affected to treat with inſufferable contempt, making and unmaking laws as he thought proper, and baniſhing, fining, and even executing, whom he pleaſed. To prevent the natural conſequences of his tyranny, he endeavoured to ſecure the army by extraordinary liberalities, and kept conſtantly a ſtrong guard about his perſon, conſiſting moſtly of ſtrangers, abſolutely devoted to him. His avarice was equal to his cruelty: wealth and merit became unpardonable crimes. Among numbers of others, he put to death *Marcus Junius*, a noble *Roman*, who was related to him, and one of his ſons, merely to poſſeſs himſelf of their eſtates. *Lucius Junius*, another of *Marcus*'s ſons, who afterwards became one of the chief inſtruments of the ſubverſion of the monarchy, eſcaped by counterfeiting the idiot, to which he owed the ſurname of *Brutus*. The flower of the ſenate retired from the city into voluntary baniſhment. The people, who had rejoiced at firſt to ſee the ſenate humbled, were, in their turn, as ill treated by the ſenators. All their aſſemblies, even for recreation, were prohibited, both in the city and country, and informers were diſperſed in all quarters, to watch the words and behaviour of every one.

Year of *Rome* 219.

His tyranny.

A conduct like this could not but make him infinitely odious. He was ſenſible of it; and, to guard againſt the conſequences, he married his daughter to *Octavius Mamilius*, a man of great intereſt among the *Latines*, whom he invited to a national aſſembly at *Ferentinum*, where he made a new treaty with them, and, by his addreſs, procured himſelf to be appointed general of their armies. The *Hernici*, and two cantons of the *Volſci*, followed their example. This *Latine* aſſociation, which conſiſted of forty-ſeven cities, became afterwards the beſt part of the *Roman* ſtrength, and contributed more than all the reſt of *Italy*, to the conqueſt of the world. To ſecure the fidelity of theſe new allies, *Tarquin* erected, in the midſt of them, on an hill near the ruins of *Alba*, a temple, which he conſecrated to *Jupiter Latialis*. The 27th of *April* was the day appointed for the annual meeting of the confederate cantons, and was called *feriæ latinæ* *. Their aſſemblies were called *latia*.

He enters into an alliance with the *Latins*.

* Dion. Hal. l. iv.

Tarquin

Tarquin propoſed a like confederacy to the *Sabines* and the reſt of the *Volſci*; but his offers were rejected with ſcorn. This was ſufficient for *Tarquin* to declare war againſt them. He defeated their armies, took *Sueſſa Pometia*, one of the moſt conſiderable cities of the *Volſci*, and gave the plunder of it to his troops, reſerving only the tenth part of the ſpoil towards the expence of finiſhing the temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus* *. He gained two complete victories over the *Sabines*, and made their whole nation tributary to *Rome*. Defeats the *Volſci*, and ſubdues the *Sabines*.

Many of the diſcontented patricians had taken refuge at *Gabii*, a city of *Latium*, and prevailed upon the inhabitants to make war upon *Tarquin*. This war laſted ſeven years, with various ſucceſs; but at laſt *Tarquin* became maſter of their city by treachery, and made his ſon *Sextus* king of it. His war with the *Gabini*.

Tarquin declared war againſt the *Rutuli*, under pretence that they had entertained ſome *Roman* exiles, and laid ſiege to their city of *Ardea*. While the army lay before this place, *Sextus Tarquinius* gave, one day, an entertainment to his brother, and his kinſman *Collatinus*. The converſation happened to turn upon the merit of their wives, when each extolled the good qualities of his own. To end the diſpute, they agreed to mount their horſes, and go and ſurprize their wives. She whom they ſhould find employed in the manner moſt becoming her ſex, was to have the preference. They went, and found the king's daughter-in-law feaſting, and *Lucretia*, the wife of *Collatinus*, in the midſt of her maids, ſpinning, and working in wool, though the night was far advanced when they arrived. The preference was unanimouſly given to her, and they returned to the camp the next day †. Siege of *Ardea*. Year of *Rome* 242.

Sextus, ſmitten with her beauty, ſoon found a pretence to return to *Collatia*, where he was entertained by *Lucretia*, in her huſband's abſence, with great civility and reſpect. At midnight he found means to convey himſelf into her bed-chamber, approached her bed with his drawn ſword, and threatened to kill her that inſtant, if ſhe offered to ſtir or ſpeak. He then declared his paſſion, mixing intreaties with menaces, to make her yield to his deſires. Finding that all was in vain, and that even the fear of death could not prevail upon her to conſent, he threatened her with ignominy, telling her, that if ſhe would not yield, he would firſt kill her, then lay one of her ſlaves dead by her ſide, and declare to all the world, that he had only revenged the injured honour of *Collatinus*. The dread of infamy got the better of *Lucretia*'s conſtancy; and *Sextus* having obtained his wiſhes, returned early the next morning to the camp. Rape of *Lucretia*.

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* Liv. l. i. c. 53. † Dion. Hal. l. i. c. 56-60.

Lucretia, no longer able to endure life, wrote to her husband to meet her at her father's house. *Publius Valerius*, afterwards *Poplicola*, was with her father *Lucretius*, and with her husband came *Lucius Junius Brutus*, and many other *Romans* of distinction; for *Lucretia* had acquainted them, that she had an affair of the utmost consequence to impart to them.

Her death

When the assembly was pretty numerous, she disclosed the whole matter in few words, declared her resolution to put an end to her life, and conjured them not to let *Sextus*'s crime go unpunished. Then embracing her father and husband with a flood of tears, she plunged a dagger, which she had concealed under her garment, into her breast, and fell dead at their feet *. The spectators were filled with grief and consternation; but *Brutus*, snatching up the bloody poniard, and shewing it to the assembly, *I swear*, said he, *by this blood, once so pure, and which nothing but the detestable villainy of* Tarquin *could have polluted, that I will pursue* Lucius Tarquinius the proud, *his wicked wife, and their children, with fire and sword; nor will I ever suffer any of that family, or any other whatsoever, to reign at* Rome. *Ye gods, I call you to witness this my oath.* At these words he presented the dagger to *Collatinus*, *Lucretius*, *Valerius*, and the rest of the company, and made them take the same oath. Every one, surprized at this behaviour in an idiot, thought him inspired, and gave themselves up entirely to his counsels. The senate was assembled, and a decree was immediately issued, banishing the king and all his posterity †, and devoting to the gods of hell whoever should attempt to restore them. The people, eager to recover their liberty, gladly confirmed this decree, and took up arms; and the army, from the same motive, revolted too. *Lucretius* was declared *inter-rex*, till a new form of government could be settled. This was already done by *Brutus* and the senate, who had agreed, that the name of kingdom should be changed into that of commonwealth, and that two persons should be chosen annually, who should govern with equal power, and with some more modest and popular title than that of king. *Lucretius*, as *inter-rex*, assembled the people, by centuries, in the *Campus Marcius*, where he acquainted them with the intended regulation, and desired them, if they approved of it, to elect their new governors, who were to be called consuls; at the same time proposing to them, for this new dignity, *Junius Brutus*, the head of the conspiracy against *Tarquin*, and *Tarquinius Collatinus*, the husband of *Lucretia*. The people readily agreed, and the consuls were accordingly proclaimed. *Tarquin* being informed, by some who had got out of the city before the gates were shut, that *Brutus* was rais-

The *Tarquins* banished.

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* Dion. Hal. et Liv. ibid. † Liv. l. i. c. 58, 59.

ing

ing commotions to his prejudice, haſtened to *Rome*, with only a few attendants, little thinking that a conſpiracy was carrying on by one whom he deſpiſed as an idiot. To his great ſurprize, he found the gates ſhut againſt him, and the people in arms upon the walls; and on his return to the camp, the army, which, in his ſhort abſence, had agreed to receive the decree paſſed in the city, refuſed to admit him. The tyrant of *Rome*, thus driven from his capital, and abandoned by his troops, was forced, at the age of ſeventy-ſix, to fly to *Hetruria*, with his wife and children. A truce was made with the *Rutuli*, for fifteen years; the ſiege of *Ardea* was raiſed, and the *Roman* forces returned to *Rome* †. Thus ended the regal ſtate of *Rome*, two hundred and forty-two, or, ſome ſay, two hundred and forty-four years, after the building of the city, and a new form of government was introduced, which ſubſiſted till the times of the emperors, without any conſiderable alteration.

CHAP. III.

The Conſular State of Rome, *from the Beginning of that Government to the burning of the City by the* Gauls.

THOUGH *Tarquin* himſelf was hated by all ranks of people, yet his ſons had a great number of the young debauchees of *Rome* in their intereſt. To theſe, ambaſſadors ſent by the *Tarquinii* of *Hetruria*, to ſollicit the reſtoration of the paternal eſtates of the *Tarquins* *, applied ſecretly, and obtained from each of them a letter to *Tarquin*, confirmed by a ſolemn oath, that they would do their utmoſt to deſtroy the conſuls, and reſtore the king. At the head of this conſpiracy were the two ſons of *Brutus*, and three nephews of *Collatinus*. A ſlave, called *Vindex*, or *Vindicius*, was the firſt that diſcovered it. He went ſtrait to *P. Valerius*, and acquainted him with it. *Valerius* ordered the ſlave to remain at his houſe, whilſt he, with his friends, clients, and domeſtics, went to the houſe of the *Aquilii*, where the conſpirators uſed to meet, and where the embaſſadors lodged; and leaving part of theſe attendants at the door, under the conduct of his brother *M. Valerius*, he himſelf, with the reſt of them, entered the apartment of the ambaſſadors, and ſeized the letters which the conſpirators

againſt the new republic.

The plot diſcover'd.

† Dion. Hal. & Liv. ubi ſupr. * Dion. Hal. p. 278.

had written the night before. Coming out, he met the *Aquilii*, and took them, and all the heads of the conſpiracy, priſoners.

Early the next morning the people were ſummoned to the *Comitia*, where *Brutus* and his collegue ſat on the tribunal of juſtice. The priſoners were brought, and tied to ſtakes, with their hands behind them. *Brutus* began the trial with the examination of his ſons. *Vindicius* appeared againſt them, and his teſtimony was found unanſwerable. Their guilt was likewiſe confirmed by their letters to the *Tarquins*, which were read. The proof being clear, the priſoners made no defence, but with their tears. *Titus*, ſaid *Brutus* coldly to two of the priſoners, without calling them ſons, *and you, Tiberius, what have you to offer in your favour?* They were thrice called upon to make their defence, but tears were ſtill their only anſwer. The ſenators were moved with compaſſion, and a confuſed murmur was heard among them, *Baniſh them; baniſh them. Collatinus* wept; and *Valerius*, ſevere as he was, did not utter a ſingle word. The whole aſſembly trembled, and expected the deciſion with horror. At length, *Brutus* roſe up to give ſentence. A profound ſilence enſued, whilſt he, with a ſteady voice, not interrupted by a ſingle ſigh, turning to the lictors, who were the executioners, ſaid, "*To you, lictors, I deliver them; execute the law upon them.*" At theſe words a loud ſhriek was heard in the aſſembly; diſtreſs was painted in every face; and the mournful looks of the people pleaded for pity. *We give them back to their country, and to their family*, cried the whole aſſembly with one voice. But neither theſe interceſſions, nor the bitter lamentations of the young men, who called upon their father with the moſt endearing names, could ſoften the inflexible judge: he would not even abate of the puniſhment which was, in ſuch caſes, inflicted on the greateſt criminals. The lictors ſeized them, and having ſtripped them naked, and tied their hands behind them, they firſt beat them with rods, and then ſtruck off their heads, *Brutus* all the while gazing on the bloody ſpectacle, with a ſteady look, and unaltered countenance. When this execution was over *Brutus* came down from the tribunal, quitted the *comitia*, and left the reſt of the criminals to the diſcretion of his collegue *.

Brutus condemns his ſons to death.

Collatinus inclined to ſpare his nephews, allowed them one day to clear themſelves; and even ordered that *Vindicius* ſhould be taken out of the hands of the accuſers, and delivered up to his maſters. This rouzed the zeal of *Valerius*, who had promiſed to protect the evidence. The lictors attempted in vain to force the important witneſs from him; and the people called for *Brutus*, inſiſting on his coming

Collatinus inclined to ſpare his nephews.

* Dion. Hal. & Plut. in Poplic. Liv. l. iii. c. 5.

back

back to the *comitia.* The unfortunate father had had but a few minutes to recollect himself, and secretly bewail the misfortunes of his family: however, he appeared again, with the same firmness of mind he had shewn before, and, ascending the tribunal, told the multitude, that what he had done was by virtue of his paternal authority over his children; but that, for the rest of the delinquents, it belonged to them to determine their fate, and either condemn his severity by instances of lenity, or approve his firmness by examples of justice.

Thus three articles of great importance to the rising commonwealth were left to the decision of the *curiæ*, or people; to wit, 1. What punishment should be inflicted on the rest of the conspirators. 2. What punishment the ambassadors of the *Tarquins* deserved: and 3. What reward should be given to the discoverer of the conspiracy. To the first, they determined, that the conspirators should, without exception, suffer as rebels: to the second, that the ambassadors should be spared, out of respect to the law of nations: and as to the third, it was decreed, that *Vindicius* should enjoy that liberty which he had secured to the *Romans*; that he should be rewarded with all the privileges of a *Roman* citizen, and with twenty-five thousand asses of brass, to be paid him out of the public treasury. The confiscation of the estates of the *Tarquins* was confirmed; their palace destroyed, and their lands divided among those indigent citizens who had none of their own.

But they are executed.

The weakness which *Collatinus* had betrayed at the trial of the conspirators, filled the people with suspicions, which soon turned into hatred of him. *Brutus*, jealous of the public welfare, harangued them, in a numerous assembly, and insisted, either that *Collatinus* should be deposed, or that he himself would resign the consulship. *Collatinus* attempted to reply, but none would hear him; and he was upon the point of being deposed with ignominy, and banished by a public decree, when *Spurius Lucretius*, his father-in-law, interposed, and, having obtained leave to speak, advised *Collatinus* voluntarily to resign into the hands of the people that authority which he had received from them. This proposal was agreed to: *Collatinus* resigned the consulship; and *Brutus*, to shew that he had no personal enmity to him, procured him a present of twenty talents out of the public treasury, to which he added five talents of his own *. *Collatinus* retired to *Lavinium*.

Collatinus forced to abdicate the consulship.

Brutus immediately assembled the people for the election of a new consul, when *Publius Valerius*, a man of eminent virtue and eloquence, was chosen. Two consuls of this stamp could not but agree. The first thing they did was,

P. Valerius chosen to succeed him.

* Dion. Hal. p. 286. Liv. l. ii. c. 2. Plut. in Poplic.

to grant a general amneſty to all who had followed the fortune of the *Tarquins*, provided they returned to the city within twenty days. This wiſe precaution deprived the baniſhed king of a great number of friends and ſoldiers, and brought back to *Rome* many perſons of diſtinguiſhed abilities. *Tarquin*, ſtill hoping to obtain by force what he could not get by ſtratagem, applied to the *Veientes*, thoſe old enemies of *Rome*, and engaged them and the *Tarquinienſes* to unite their forces in ſupport of his cauſe. The conſuls marched out to meet them. Juſt as the action was beginning, *Brutus* and *Tarquin*'s ſon *Arunx*, ſingling out each other, ruſhed on to the encounter with ſuch fury, that they were both run through the body. The battle continued doubtful till night, when the *Hetrurians* diſbanded, and returned into their own country. The ſurviving conſul triumphed for this victory, on his return to *Rome* *.

The *Veientes* and *Tarquinienſes* declare for *Tarquin*.

Brutus ſlain in the engagement

Sp. Lucretius ſucceeds him.

Sp. Lucretius, the father of *Lucretia*, was unanimouſly choſen to ſucceed *Brutus*; but he died a few days after his election; ſo that *Valerius* again remained ſole governor. The many proofs which he now gave the people of his zeal for their intereſt, gained him the ſurname of *Poplicola*, or *Popular*, which he ever after retained. He began his adminiſtration by ordering the axes, which were ſo apt to ſtrike terror, to be taken out of the faſces, which he obliged the lictors to lower in the aſſemblies of the people. He made ſeveral laws in favour of the people, and, among others, that famous one, by which every citizen was allowed to appeal from the deciſions of the ſenate and conſuls to the aſſembly of the people. He ordered the public money to be lodged in the temple of *Saturn*, under the care of two ſenators of probity, choſen by the people, and afterwards called *Quæſtors*. After this, he aſſembled the *comitia* for the election of a new conſul, and the choice fell upon *Horatius Pulvillus*. The firſt year of the conſular power expiring ſoon after, *Poplicola* was choſen again, and with him T. *Lucretius*, brother of the famous *Lucretia*. The new conſuls revived the *cenſus* and *luſtrum*, and, on that occaſion, found one hundred and thirty thouſand men at *Rome*, who were at, or paſt, the age of puberty. †

Valerius's laws.

Year of *Rome* 244. *Poplicola*'s ſecond conſulſhip being expired, he was choſen a third time, with *Horatius Pulvillus*, who had before been conſul for a few months. During their conſulſhip, *Porſena*, king of the *Cluſini*, eſpouſed the cauſe of *Tarquin*, and advanced to the very banks of the *Tiber*, at the head of a prodigious multitude of troops. He attacked and took the fort of the *Janiculat*, and obliged the *Romans* to retire over the bridge into the city, whither he would have followed them,

Porſena eſpouſes the cauſe of the *Tarquins*.

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* Dion. Hal. ib. Liv. l. ii. c. 8.

† Dion. Hal. l. v. Plut. in Poplic.

had

had not the brave *Horatius Cocles*, with only two more, kept his whole army at bay in a narrow pafs, till the bridge was broken down. When only a few planks remained, *Horatius* prevailed on his companions to crofs the river over them, whilft he alone fuftained the attack of the enemy. At length, being wounded in the thigh, upon a fignal given him that the bridge was quite demolifhed, he leaped into the river, and gained the oppofite bank, amidft a fhower of darts. Thus, by the wonderful bravery of one man, were the city and republic faved from impending ruin. The *Romans* were fo fenfible of it, that they erected a ftatue of brafs to him in the temple of *Vulcan* ; and the fenate gave him as much land as a plough could incloſe in a circular furrow in one day.

Bravery of *Horatius Cocles.*

The enemy being maſters of the country on both ſides of the river, *Rome* was reduced to great ſtreights by famine. *Porſena* having notice of it, ſent the *Romans* word, that he would deliver them from their diſtreſs, if they would receive their old maſters : but their anſwer was, *That hunger was a leſs evil than ſlavery and oppreſſion**.

The city reduced to great ſtreights by famine.

The ſiege had laſted a long time, and *Rome* was almoſt wearied out, when *Mucius Cordus*, a young *Roman* of illuſtrious birth, formed a deſign which he communicated to the conſuls and ſenators, and which they approved of. He croſſed the *Tiber*, entered the enemy's camp in the diſguiſe of an *Hetrurian*, and made his way quite to the king's tent. *Porſena*'s ſecretary, magnificently dreſſed, was ſitting on the ſame tribunal with the king. *Mucius*, miſtaking him for the king, leaped upon the tribunal, and, with one ſtroke of a poniard, which he had concealed under his garment, laid him dead at *Porſena*'s feet. Every one ſtood amazed at the daring boldneſs of this action. *Mucius* was ſeized. *Thou execrable aſſaſſin*, ſaid the king, *who art thou ? Whence comeſt thou ? Who are thy accomplices ?* *Mucius*, leſs terrified than his judge, replied, *I am a* Roman, *and my name is* Mucius Cordus. *My deſign was to deliver* Rome *from her moſt cruel enemy : diſcharge therefore all thy fury upon me. Thou haſt ſeen my courage, now try my conſtancy with tortures ; and thou wilt be forced to confeſs, that* Roman *bravery has made me capable both of attempting whatever man can do, and ſuffering what human nature can endure.* So ſaying, with a ſteady countenance, and a look which ſpoke his inward rage at having miſſed his blow, he thruſt his right hand into a pan of burning coals, and there held it a great while, without ſhewing the leaſt ſign of pain. *Porſena*'s reſentment was changed into admiration. He granted him his life and liberty, and even reſtored him the dagger with which he had intended to ſtab him. *Mucius* having now loſt the uſe of

Amazing reſolution of *Mucius Scævola.*

* Dion. Hal. l. v.

his right hand, took it with his left; and from this time he was called *Scævola*, that is, *left-handed**.

Porſena forſakes the *Tarquins*, and makes peacewith the *Romans*.

Porſena, ſtruck with admiration at the courage of the *Romans*, and, at the ſame time, diſguſted at the wickedneſs of the *Tarquins*, renounced his alliance with that tyrannical family, made a peace with *Rome*, and returned to *Cluſium*; generouſly leaving the *Romans*, whoſe diſtreſs he knew, but whom he feared to offend by relieving them in a direct manner, his camp, and all the proviſions in it, as a token of his reſpect and friendſhip for them. The ſenate, in return for this noble behaviour, erected a ſtatue to him, and ſent him an embaſſy with a throne adorned with ivory, a ſceptre, a crown of gold, and a triumphal robe†.

After the departure of *Porſena*, the *Romans* firſt rewarded thoſe who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves during the ſiege, eſpecially *Mucius Scævola*, to whom they gave a large piece of ground belonging to the public. Their next care was, to ſhew their gratitude to the gods, by ſome public act of religion; and as the temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus* had not yet been conſecrated, the ſenate ordered the conſecration of it.

The temple of *Jupiter Capitolius* conſecrated.

The honour of performing this ceremony naturally belonged to one of the conſuls, but the ſenate had a right to appoint which of them they pleaſed. The patricians had long been jealous of *Poplicola*'s glory, and therefore, in order to rob him of this new mark of diſtinction, ordered him to march againſt ſome *Latin* troops that committed ravages in the *Roman* territory; and, in his abſence, appointed his colleague, *Horatius Pulvillus*, to perform the ceremony. As he was beginning the conſecration, *Poplicola*'s brother, *Marcus*, cried out, *I give you notice, that your ſon has loſt his life in a battle.* This was not true; but he hoped by theſe words to interrupt the ceremony. But *Horatius*, without ſhewing the leaſt concern, coldly replied, *Then let him be buried.* Thus *Poplicola* ended the glorious year of his third conſulſhip, with receiving a mortification which could not but ſenſibly afflict him.

Lartius and *Herminius* conſuls.

Sp. Lartius, and *T. Herminius*, the two who, with *Horatius Cocles*, had defended the bridge ſo bravely againſt *Porſena*'s forces, were choſen conſuls for the next year, which proved a year of peace. The ſurname of *Cocles* was given to that gallant *Roman*, on account of his having but one eye; a defect which, joined to the lameneſs that remained all his life, occaſioned by the wound in his thigh, prevented his being ever elected conſul‡.

Lartius and *Herminius* were ſucceeded by *M. Valerius*, brother to *Poplicola*, and *P. Poſthumius*. Theſe conſuls

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* Liv. l. ii. c. 12. Plut. in Poplic. † Dion. Hal. Liv. l. ii. c. 14. Plut. in Poplic. ‡ Liv. l. ii. c. 9, 10. Dion. Hal. l. v.

gained

gained two great victories over the *Sabines*, for which a triumph was decreed them, and they entered *Rome* in the same chariot. As a farther reward, the republic built *Valerius* a house, the door of which, to distinguish it from all others, opened outwards to the street; and *Posthumius* was allowed to have a burial-place for himself and his family, within the walls of *Rome*; a privilege, never before granted to any one *.

M. Valerius and *P. Posthumius* defeat the *Sabines*.

The next year, *Poplicola* being consul the fourth time, the *Sabines* renewed the war. *Actius Clausus*, the most considerable man in *Sabinia*, for riches, valour, and eloquence, opposed the design of his countrymen as long as he could; but finding them absolutely determined to commence hostilities, he came over to the *Romans*, with five thousand families of his friends and dependents. On his arrival at *Rome* he changed his name to *Appius Claudius*, was immediately declared a patrician, and took his place in the senate. Twenty-five acres of land were given him in fee, and a quarter in the city was assigned for his friends and followers, to each of whom were granted two acres of ground, with all the rights and privileges of *Roman* citizens. These donations were made irrevocable, by a decree of the senate, confirmed by the people. The *Claudii* became afterwards one of the most illustrious families of *Rome* †.

Year of *Rome* 247. *Appius Claudius* settles at *Rome*.

The *Sabines*, highly incensed at the departure of *Clausus*, took the field with a considerable army. Their forces were divided into two bodies, one of which encamped near *Fidenæ*, and the other kept within the walls of that city, as well to defend it, as to secure a retreat in case of need. The *Romans*, under the command of *Poplicola* and *Lucretius*, defeated them, with great slaughter, and, pursuing their advantage, took *Fidenæ* by storm, and left a garrison of their own in it. *Poplicola*, on his return to *Rome*, was honoured with a triumph, soon after which he died, and was buried at the public expence, not leaving money enough to defray the charges of his funeral. The *Romans* erected a tomb for him near the *forum*, and gave his family a right of interment in the same place. He was the most virtuous citizen, the greatest general, and the best affected consul to the people, that *Rome* ever had. He had always led a frugal life, and taken more care to transmit his virtues to his children, than to enrich them with the goods of fortune. As *Poplicola* had been one of those who stood up in defence of the chastity of the *Roman* women, they mourned a whole year for him, as they had done before for *Brutus*. But his greatest glory was comprized under the name of *Poplicola* ‡.

The *Sabines* defeated again. *Fidenæ* taken. *Poplicola*'s death and character.

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* Plut. in Poplic. Plin. l. 36. c. 15. † Liv. l. ii. c. 16.
‡ Dion. Hal. l. v. Liv. l. ii, c. 16. Plut. in Poplic.

The

The *Sabines* renew the war.

The *Sabines* were no sooner informed of *Poplicola*'s death than they raiſed a more numerous army than they had before, and ſuddenly advanced to the very gates of *Rome*. *P. Poſthumius*, who was then conſul with *Menenius Agrippa*, provoked at their inſolence, ſallied out againſt them. The *Sabines* fled towards a neighbouring foreſt, where the main body of their army lay concealed. *Poſthumius* followed them, and imprudently venturing too far, loſt a great many of his men, and found himſelf hemmed in by the enemy, and his retreat cut off. In this ſituation he paſſed the night. The news of his danger having reached *Rome*, *Menenius Agrippa*, at the head of the braveſt of the *Roman* youth, marched to the relief of his collegue, and at his approach the *Sabines* retired to their own country. They took the field again ſoon after, and the *Romans* did the ſame. Both armies came to a general engagement, (near *Eretum*, about ten miles from *Rome*,) in which *Poſthumius* and his collegue obtained a complete victory. The ſenate decreed a full triumph for *Menenius*, and an inferior one, called *Ovation**, for *Poſthumus*, whoſe gallant behaviour in the late action, had not, in the opinion of the fathers, ſufficiently attoned for his miſcarriage in the beginning of the war †.

The *Romans* defeat them.

The *Sabine* war continued under the new conſuls *Sp. Caſſius Uſcellinus* and *Opiter Virginius Tricoſtus*. The former, entering the enemy's country, defeated them in a pitched battle near *Cures*, ten thouſand three hundred of them being killed, and four thouſand taken priſoners. This defeat obliged them to ſue for peace, which, after many ſubmiſſions, they purchaſed with corn, money, and ten thouſand acres of arable land. While *Caſſius* was thus employed againſt the *Sabines*, his collegue *Virginius* reduced *Cameria*, a city in the neighbourhood of *Alba*, which had revolted from the *Romans*; and having beheaded the moſt guilty of the inhabitants, he ſold the reſt for ſlaves, and razed the city ‡.

They ſubmit.

The *Latines* declare

In the following conſulſhip of *Poſthumus Cominius* and *T. Lartius*, *Tarquin* prevailed upon the *Latines* to eſpouſe his cauſe

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* So called, according to *Plutarch*, (in *Marcel.*) from the victim which was ſacrificed on this occaſion. In the Triumph, a bull was offered in the capital; but in the Ovation, only a ſheep, (in *Latin*, *Ovis*). The perſon who was honoured with the Ovation, entered *Rome* on foot, or, at moſt, on horſeback; and was attended by the ſenate only: his crown was of myrtle, not of laurel; and his robe only the *prætexta*, the common habit of magiſtrates. But, in the Triumph, the victor, mounted on a chariot, ſeated in a curule chair, and cloathed with a robe embroidered with palm-branches, was conducted to the capital with the ſound of trumpets and the acclamations of the army and people. The Ovation of *Poſthumius* was the firſt that had ever been ſeen in *Rome*.

† Dion. Hal. ubi ſupr. ‡ Liv. l. ii. c. 17.

and,

and, in concert with ſome of the inhabitants of *Fidenæ*, made himſelf maſter of that city. *Manius Tullius*, who was conſul this year with *Servius Sulpitius*, marched againſt the rebels, inveſted the place, and reduced it to great ſtreights. The beſieged, in this extremity, implored the aſſiſtance of the *Latines*, who thereupon held a general aſſembly; in which, after many debates, it was reſolved to ſend an embaſſy to the *Romans*, to propoſe to them, that they ſhould receive the *Tarquins*, after they had engaged by oath to grant a general amneſty; and that they ſhould raiſe the ſiege of *Fidenæ*, or otherwiſe they muſt expect war. A year was given them to conſider of theſe propoſals. *Tarquin*'s chief view in promoting this embaſſy, was, to have an opportunity to raiſe a ſedition in the city. To the ambaſſadors of the *Latines* he therefore joined ſome of his own emiſſaries; who, on their arrival in the city, found two ſorts of people diſpoſed to enter into their meaſures; *viz.* the ſlaves and the meaner citizens. The former thirſted after revenge for ſeveral of their companions, who had been executed the year before for a conſpiracy to ſeize the capital and ſet fire to the city: and the latter, overwhelmed with debts, and cruelly uſed by their creditors, knew that no change could happen in the government but to their advantage. Theſe were the conſpirators pitched upon. Their inſtructions were, that the citizens were to make themſelves maſters of the ramparts and gates of the city, at an appointed hour of the night, and then to give a great ſhout as a ſignal to the ſlaves, who were at the ſame inſtant to maſſacre their maſters; after which the gates were to be opened to the *Tarquins*. The conſpiracy was ripe for execution when *Tarquin*'s principal agents, *Publius* and *Marcus*, both of his own name and family, either relenting, or afraid to ſtrike the blow, and fearing leſt others of the conſpirators ſhould be before hand with them in informing, went to *S. Sulpitius*, the only conſul then at *Rome*, and diſcovered the whole affair to him. *Sulpitius*, finding that what they ſaid was true, aſſembled the ſenate, and gave the *Latin* ambaſſadors their audience of leave, telling them that the *Romans* could neither receive the *Tarquins* nor raiſe the ſiege of *Fidenæ*. He then laid open to the fathers the dreadful conſpiracy, which ſtruck them with horror: but they were all at a loſs how to proceed, becauſe the two evidences were ſtrangers, and conſequently liable to be excepted againſt by *Romans*; and likewiſe on account of the law of *Poplicola*, which allowed an appeal to the people in all capital caſes. *Sulpitius* thought of an expedient to remove theſe difficulties. He engaged the two informers to aſſemble the conſpirators at midnight in the *forum*, as if to take their laſt meaſures for the execution of their enterprize. When they were met, a ſufficient body of troops ſurrounded the place, and blocked up all the avenues to it ſo cloſely, that not a man could eſcape.

but firſt ſend an embaſſy to *Rome*.

A conſpiracy formed by *Tarquin*'s emiſſaries.

The plot diſcovered,

and laid open to the ſenate.

escape. At break of day, the two consuls appeared, with a strong guard, on the tribunal; the people were assembled by *curiæ*, and acquainted with the conspiracy; and the accused having no defence to make, the consuls repaired to the senate, where sentence of death was pronounced against the conspirators, in case the people approved it, which they immediately did. The conspirators were then delivered up to the soldiers, who put them all to the sword. The two informers were rewarded with all the privileges of *Roman* citizens, a hundred thousand asses, and twenty acres of land.

The conspirators put to death.

Fidenæ held out the next year, (during which, *T. Æbutius* and *P. Veturius* were consuls,) but was taken the year after by *F. Lartius*, joint consul with *Q. Clælius*. The *Latines*, enraged at the loss of this town, and likewise instigated by *Tarquin* and his son-in-law *Mamilius*, entered into a general alliance of all their cities, twenty-four in number, against *Rome*. Both sides prepared to take the field. The *Latines* were greatly superior in strength; and, to add to the misfortune of the *Romans*, not only their neighbours denied them all assistance, but the lower class of their own citizens absolutely refused to serve, if they were not discharged from their debts, and released from the tyranny and oppression of their creditors. The senate, apprehending a general insurrection, deliberated on the means of quieting these domestic troubles, and decreed a suspension of all debts till the end of the war. The debtors, thinking this only a suspension of misery, declared that they would either have an absolute abolition of all debts, or leave the rich and great to take care of the war, and defend a city in which they could expect nothing but misery. The senate might, indeed, have prosecuted the ringleaders of the sedition; but the law of *Poplicola*, called the *Valerian* law, which allowed appeals to the assembly of the people, was a shelter to the seditious, who were sure to be acquitted by the accomplices of their rebellion. The senate, to elude the effect of a privilege so derogatory to their power, resolved to create one supreme magistrate, who, with the title of Dictator, should have an absolute power for a limited time. But this could not be done without the consent of the people; to obtain which, they represented to them, in a public assembly, that, in so critical a conjuncture, when they had their domestic quarrels to decide, and, at the same time, a powerful enemy to repulse, it would be expedient to put the commonwealth under a single governor, who, superior to the consuls themselves, should be arbiter of the laws, and, as it were, the father of his country; that his power should have no limits; but that, lest he should abuse it, they ought not to trust him with it above six months.

Fidenæ taken.

Year of *Rome* 253. General alliance of the *Latines* against *Rome*.

A dictator created.

The people, not foreseeing the consequence of this change, agreed to it. *T. Lartius* was proclaimed dictator, and accordingly

cordingly took upon him the government of the republic*. The new dictator immediately named *Sp. Cassius*, who had been consul, and honoured with a triumph, general of the *Roman* horse, He then ordered a *census* to be taken every one obeyed, and there were found to be in *Rome* one hundred and fifty thousand seven hundred men, past the age of puberty. Out of these he formed four armies: the first, he commanded himself; the second, he gave to his late collegue *Clælius*; the third, to *Sp. Cassius*, his general of the horse; and the fourth he left in *Rome*, under the command of his brother, *Sp. Lartius*, to guard the city. The *Latines*, terrified at these preparations, sued for peace; but only a truce was granted them for a year; and *Lartius*, seeing the republic restored to its former tranquility, resigned the dictatorship, though the time appointed for its duration was not yet expired †.

A truce with the *Latines* for a year.

The following consulship of *Sempronius Atratinus* and *Minutius Augurinus* produced nothing remarkable; but the next year the truce expired, when *Aulus Posthumius* and *T. Virginius* took possession of the consulship. The *Latines* being bent upon war, the senate, though in perfect harmony with the people, thought it expedient to create a new dictator. The two consuls were impowered to name one of themselves; whereupon *Virginius* readily yielded that dignity to his collegue *Posthumius*, as the more able commander. *Posthumius* divided his army into four bodies; one of which he left to guard the city, under the command of *Synonius*; and with the other three, commanded by himself, *Virginius*, and *Ælbutius*, whom he had appointed general of the horse, he marched out against the *Latines*, who, with an army of forty thousand foot, and three thousand horse, under the command of *Sextus Tarquinius*, *Titus Tarquinius*, and *Mamilius*, had already made themselves masters of *Corbia*, a strong place belonging to the republic, and put the garrison to the sword. The two armies met near the lake *Regillus*; the *Romans* amounting to no more than twenty-four thousand foot, and one thousand horse. The battle lasted with great obstinacy the whole day; but, in the end, the *Latines* were totally defeated, and forced to abandon their camp. *Poplicola*'s brother, and his two sons, were killed on the side of the *Romans*; and *Sextus Tarquinius*, and *Mamilius*, on that of the *Latines*, together with upwards of thirty thousand men.

A new dictator created.

The battle of *Regillus*.

The *Latines*, unable any longer to make head against the *Romans*, sued for peace; and the antient treaties between the two nations were renewed ‡. *Tarquin*, now forsaken by

The *Latines* submit.

* Liv. l. ii. c. 18. Dion. Hal. ubi supra.
† Dion. Hal. Liv. ibid,
‡ Dion. Hal. l. vi. Liv. l. ii. c. 19, 20.

every

Tarquin dies.

every one, retired into *Campania*, where he died, in the ninetieth year of his age and fourteenth of his exile *.

Year of *Rome* 255.

The liberty which the *Romans* recovered by the expulsion of *Tarquin*, being now secured to them by the death of that prince, and the *Latine* war being ended, *Posthumius* laid down his office of dictator, the courts of justice were again opened, and the creditors began to prosecute their debtors with more rigour than ever; which revived the complaints and murmurs of the inferior classes. To prevent the disturbances which this affair might occasion, the senate procured the consulship for *Appius Claudius*, who had always been a strenuous opposer of the pretensions of the people; but, lest he should exert too great severity, they gave him for his collegue *P. Servilius*, a man of a gentle and humane temper, and greatly beloved by the people. The latter advised easing the people, and restraining the severity of the creditors; but *Appius* opposed it. The senate assembled daily without being able to come to any resolution; and the populace held secret assemblies in the night, and seemed disposed to rise up in arms; so that there was room to fear a civil war. The *Volsci*, taking advantage of these disturbances, assembled their forces and advanced towards *Rome*. It was therefore necessary for the consuls to raise an army; but the *Roman* youth absolutely refused to serve. This disobedience occasioned new disputes between the consuls; and, as the time drew near to take the field, the senate decreed, that *Servilius* should command the army, and *Claudius* govern the city. Still the people, though they loved *Servilius*, would not inlist, unless the senate came first to some determination about their debts. *Servilius* was therefore obliged to march against the enemy with such only as offered to serve out of a personal affection to him. However, the *Volsci*, disappointed in their expectation of finding the *Romans* quite unprepared, instead of fighting, had recourse to entreaties; and *Servilius* granted them a peace, upon condition that they supplied his troops with cloaths and provision, and delivered to him three hundred hostages of their best families †.

Domestic broils at *Rome*.

War declared against the *Volsci*.

Not long after the return of *Servilius*, the senate was informed from *Latium*, that the *Volsci* were making new preparations for war; that they had engaged the *Hernici* and *Sabines* to join them, and sent deputies to their nation for the same purpose. These deputies the *Latine* ambassadors brought with them, and delivered them up to the senate. Such treachery in the *Volsci* fired the senate, and war was immediately declared: but while the senators were yet sitting, a plebeian, loaded with chains, appeared in the *forum*. He

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* Cic. Tusc. l. iii. c. 27. † Dion. Hal. Liv. l. ii. c. 22—26.

was

was advanced in years, tall of ſtature, lean, pale, with his eyes ſunk in his head, a long beard, and his hair in diſorder. The people crouded about him, and all looked on him with great attention, till at length ſeveral knew him, and remembered to have ſerved with him in the wars, and to have ſeen him fight in the firſt ranks of the legions with great valour. The bare ſight of him raiſed the compaſſion of the multitude; but when they had heard him give an account of his misfortunes, they were all filled with rage and indignation. He told them, that he was born free; that he had expoſed his life for the good of his country in eight and twenty battles; that, in the laſt war with the *Sabines*, he not only had been hindered from cultivating his little inheritance, but that the enemy, in an incurſion, after plundering his houſe, had ſet it on fire; that the neceſſities of life, and the tributes, which, notwithſtanding his misfortunes, he was obliged to pay, had forced him to contract debts; that the intereſt being grown by degrees to an exceſſive ſum, he was reduced to the melancholy expedient of yielding up his inheritance to diſcharge part of it; but that the mercileſs creditor, not being yet quite paid, had dragged him to priſon with two of his children; and that, to oblige him to haſten the payment of the reſidue, he had delivered him over to his ſlaves, who, by his order, had torn his body with whips. At the ſame time, he flung off his cloaths, and diſcovered his back ſtill bloody, and, on his breaſt, the ſcars of honourable wounds which he had received in fighting for his country ‡.

Inſurrection of the people.

At this ſight, the people, already ripe for ſedition, uttered a thouſand curſes againſt the patricians, and made ſuch outcries as terrified the ſenate, who were then ſitting. The noiſe ran in a moment over the whole city, and people flocked from all parts into the *forum*. Thoſe whom the like misfortunes had thrown into the fetters of their creditors, made their eſcape, and their diſmal appearance raiſed both pity and indignation. The enraged multitude ſpread themſelves in a moment all over the city, and if any one attempted to ſtop them, he was immediately maſſacred. The Conſul, *Appius*, ſeeing that their fury was like to fall on him, left the ſenate, and, by favour of the tumult, got ſafe to his own houſe.

Servilius appeaſes them.

Servilius, throwing off his conſular robe, ran into the thickeſt of the crowd, embraced ſome, careſſed others, ſhewed great compaſſion for all, and with tears conjured them to appeaſe this ſedition: but all would not do, till he had promiſed that the ſenate ſhould have regard to their complaints, and proclaimed by an herald, that no one ſhould moleſt any citizen for debt till the ſenate had decreed otherwiſe *.

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‡ Dion. Hal. l. vi. * Liv. l. ii. c. 22—26.

The

The next day, the ſenate aſſembled, and *Servilius* laid before them the neceſſity, in ſuch a conjuncture, of abating ſomewhat of the ſeverity of the laws. *Appius*, on the contrary, always fixed to his opinion, oppoſed it with great heat, and called his collegue a flatterer, and a ſlave to the plebeians. *Servilius*, in his turn, reproached him with his obſtinacy, pride, and animoſity againſt the people. The ſenators were divided between them, and diſputes ran high, when ſome horſe-men arrived full ſpeed, with an account that the *Volſci* were advancing to beſiege *Rome*. The plebeians were rejoiced to ſee their country in danger; and when the debtors were invited to take up arms in defence of the common liberty, they ſhewed their chains, and aſked, with a fierce kind of ſmile, Whether it was worth their while to expoſe their lives to defend ſuch ornaments?

The *Volſci* advance to beſiege *Rome*.

Rome was in that agitation which generally precedes the greateſt revolutions: the conſuls divided; the people diſobedient to their magiſtrates; and the enemy at the city gate. Something was abſolutely neceſſary to be done, to appeaſe the people, and induce them to lend their aſſiſtance.

Appius was obſtinate and inflexible; but *Servilius* was prevailed upon to promiſe the people, in the name of the ſenate, that when the war ſhould be ended, all their debts ſhould be remitted; and in the mean time a decree was read, whereby all creditors were forbid to proſecute any *Roman* citizen for debt, who was willing to ſerve; or to ſeize his children or his goods: but they were ſtrictly commanded to proſecute, with the utmoſt ſeverity, all ſuch debtors as ſhould either refuſe to ſerve, or deſert after they were inrolled. To this wiſe law *Rome* owed her preſervation. The levies were almoſt inſtantly completed: *Servilius* marched againſt the enemies, and intirely defeated them, and, to reward the ſoldiers, he gave them all the ſpoil, to enable them to pay their debts. He then marched to *Sueſſa Pometia*, the capital of the *Volſci*, took it by ſtorm, and put all the inhabitants to the ſword who were able to bear arms. He gave likewiſe this wealthy city up to be plundered by his ſoldiers, without reſerving any part of the ſpoil for the public treaſury. In the mean time, *Appius*, who had been left in *Rome*, beheaded the three hundred hoſtages, which the *Voſci* had given to the *Romans* upon *Servilius*'s firſt expedition †.

Servilius prevails on the people to inliſt.

Defeats the *Volſci*, and takes their capital.

So glorious a campaign merited the honours of a triumph for the conſul; but *Appius* had perſuaded the ſenate to refuſe him it, under pretence of his aiming at too great popularity. *Servilius*, ſenſibly affected with this unjuſt proceeding, took a bold ſtep, which afterwards proved a fatal precedent to his country. On his arrival before *Rome*, which

He is refuſed a triumph,

† Dion. Hal. & Liv. ibid.

none

none were allowed to enter, who demanded a triumph, he assembled the people without the walls, and made his complaint to them. They, by their acclamations, bid him do what he pleased: upon which he decreed himself a triumph, and marched with the usual pomp to the capitol, followed by his army, and attended by all the people *.

The people now thought they had a right to demand of the senate the performance of *Servilius*'s promise; but the inflexible *Appius* redoubled his severity against the debtors, and ordered those who had been set at liberty during the war, to be carried back to their creditors prisons. Those that were arrested, appealed to *Servilius*, who had in vain tried to prevail on the senate to grant a general abolition of debts. They urged upon him his promises before the campaign, and their services in the war. They cried aloud before his tribunal, that either, in quality of consul and chief magistrate, he should defend his fellow-citizens, or that, as general, he should not desert the interest of his soldiers. But *Servilius*, who was of a mild timorous character, durst not declare openly against the whole body of the patricians; and endeavouring to keep well with both parties, he disobliged both, so that he got the hatred of the one, and the contempt of the other.

Disturbances on account of the debtors.

The people, finding themselves abandoned by *Servilius*, and persecuted by his collegue, assembled tumultuously, and resolved to owe the redress of their grievances only to themselves, and to oppose tyranny with force. The debtors, pursued by their creditors, fled to the *forum*, and found a sure refuge among the croud, who beat back the creditors, and made such a noise, that the sentence pronounced by the judges could not be heard.

The *Sabines* revolt, and the people refuse to serve.

The *Sabines*, encouraged by these intestine broils, revolted, and gained over the *Roman* colony of *Medulia*. The new consuls, *A. Virginius*, and *T. Veturius*, both men of little note, assembled the people; but they absolutely refused to inlist, unless their debts were cancelled. At the same time, envoys arrived from the *Latines* and *Crustumini*, complaining of hostilities committed by the *Æqui* and *Sabines*; and ambassadors from the *Volsci*, demanding restitution of the lands which had been taken from them in the late war. These tidings filled the rich with consternation, and the poor with joy. The senate assembled, and returned for answer to the *Volsci*, "That it was not consistent with the honour of the republic, to comply with their demands." The *Latines* and *Crustumini* were assured, that they should be assisted. But as *Rome* could neither protect her allies, nor repulse her enemies, unless peace were first established at home, the senate met again the next day, to consider how they might procure

The *Volsci* threaten a war.

* Dion. Hal. and Liv. ibid.

it. Various expedients were propoſed and rejected; and it was at laſt agreed, to create a dictator. *Manius Valerius*, brother to the famous *Poplicola*, was appointed to this high office. As ſoon as he had been proclaimed, he named *Quintus Servilius*, brother to the late conſul, his general of the horſe, and promiſed the people, that, if they would lend their aſſiſtance, and ſerve their country at this time, he would procure for them, from the ſenate, all the reaſonable condeſcenſions they could expect: *And, in the mean time*, added he, *I command, that no mention be made of confiſcations or impriſonments during my adminiſtration.* The people, depending on this promiſe, took arms with pleaſure; and ten legions were ſoon raiſed, three of which were given to each conſul, and four reſerved for the dictator. *Veturius* was ordered to march againſt the *Æqui*, *Virginius* againſt the *Volſci*, and the dictator himſelf led his legions againſt the *Sabines*. The enemy was defeated every where; *Valerius* was honoured with a triumph, and, as a farther mark of diſtinction, a curule chair was ordered to be always placed for him in the *circus*, and this honour was made hereditary in his family *.

Manius Valerius created dictator.

He prevails with the people to ſerve.

The *Æqui*, *Volſci*, and *Sabines* defeated.

Valerius now demanded of the ſenate the performance of his promiſe to the people; but the patrician uſurers had formed ſuch a party during his abſence, that the ſenators not only refuſed to comply with his demands, but reproached him with the affection of his family for the plebeians, and taxed him with betraying the intereſt of the ſenate. Incenſed at this treatment, he left the ſenate abruptly, telling them, they might perhaps ſoon want an interceſſor with that people they now deſpiſed. He then aſſembled the people, thanked them for their late ſervices, complained of the inſincerity of the ſenate both to them and him, and declared his reſolution to retire, or to ſurrender himſelf up to their reſentment, if they ſuſpected that he had betrayed their cauſe. Having ended his ſpeech, he laid down his employment, and ſtripped himſelf of the enſigns of the dictatorſhip. The people heard him with reſpect and veneration, and conducted him to his houſe with loud acclamations. The ſenate, afraid of the conſequences of the abdication of an injured dictator, ordered the two conſuls, who ſtill held the ſoldiers engaged by their oath, to lead the army into the field, under pretence that the *Æqui* and *Sabines* were making freſh preparations for war. The ſoldiers ſaw through this artifice, and went out of *Rome* with ſuch rage, that ſome of them propoſed aſſaſſinating the conſuls, to free themſelves from their oath. This was oppoſed by others; and they at laſt concluded to carry away the military enſigns and ſtandards, without the privity of their officers,

The ſenate refuſes to comply with the demands of the dictator.

Valerius reſigns his dignity.

The ſoldiers deſert.

* Dion. Hal. l. vi. Liv. l. ii. c. 30, 31.

and

and to form a ſeparate camp on an hill, about three miles from *Rome*, juſt beyond the *Anio* *. There they choſe themſelves a general. *Sicinnius Bellutus*, a plebeian, who had headed them in this *ſeceſſion* †, as it was afterwards termed, was the man they pitched upon. They intrenched themſelves ſtrongly, but committed no hoſtilities. The conſuls and officers ſummoned them to return, but they refuſed. The ſenate, alarmed at this general deſertion, which looked like the beginning of a civil war, ſent two deputations to the malecontents, offering them a general pardon, and exhorting them to return to the city; but they ſent back word, that the patricians ſhould ſoon find what enemies they had to deal with. This anſwer occaſioned new alarms in the city ‡.

The ſenate ſends two deputations to the malecontents.

In the mean time, the two conſuls, whoſe magiſtracy was expiring, aſſembled the people for the election of their ſucceſſors; and as nobody, at ſo dangerous a conjuncture, ſtood candidate for that dignity, they obliged *Poſthumius Cominius*, and *Spurius Caſſius Viſcellinus*, both conſular men, and equally agreeable to the plebeians and patricians, to accept the conſulſhip. Their firſt care was to convene the ſenate, to deliberate upon the moſt ſpeedy methods of reſtoring peace and union. Warm debates aroſe: *Menenius Agrippa*, and the late dictator, *M. Valerius*, ſpoke ſtrongly in favour of the people, and propoſed ſending ſuch deputies as ſhould be agreeable to them, with full power to make up matters on the beſt terms they could. *Appius*, and all the young ſenators oppoſed this motion with great noiſe and vehemence, inſiſting, that it would be derogatory to the dignity of the ſenate, to treat at all with the rebels, till they had firſt laid down their arms. However, it was at laſt agreed by all, except *Appius*, to ſend plenipotentiaries to them. Accordingly, ten were named, among whom were *T. Lartius*, *Menenius Agrippa*, and *M. Valerius*, all three in great eſteem with the people. They ſet out for the camp, where they were received with all the reſpect due to their character; and their preſence alone would have been ſufficient to bring back the mutineers, had it not been for *Sicinnius Bellutus*, and another plebeian of the ſame ſtamp, who, becauſe his name happened to be *Lucius Junius*, affected the ſurname of *Brutus*, and ſaid he was deſtined to deliver the people from the tyranny of the ſenate, as the famous *Brutus* had freed *Rome* from the oppreſſions of the kings. Theſe two being appointed by the malecontents to treat with the deputies from the ſenate, propoſed, that, beſides the annulling of all bonds and obligations then ſubſiſting, (which *Menenius Agrippa* had aſſured them ſhould be done) they, for their future ſecurity, ſhould

Deputies ſent again by the ſenate.

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* Dion. Hal. l. vi. Liv. l. ii. c. 32. † Id. ibid.
‡ Liv. ibid.

have liberty to chuſe annually, out of the body of the plebeians, two magiſtrates, who, without having any other authority in *Rome*, but that of protecting them, ſhould have power to oppoſe or annul any edicts or judgments that might be burdenſome to the people. If, added they, you come here with a ſincere intention of peace, you cannot reject ſo equitable a propoſal. The deputies, ſurpriſed at this demand, told them, that they aſked a thing which abſolutely exceeded the bounds of their inſtructions; but that *M. Valerius*, and ſome other of the deputies, would go and make their report of it to the ſenate, and return with an anſwer.

Tribunes of the people created.

Valerius repaired to *Rome* with all ſpeed, and the ſenate, being aſſembled, paſſed a decree, in ſpite of *Appius*, who ſtill remained inflexible, whereby they permitted the creation of theſe new magiſtrates, who were called *Tribunes of the people*. This decree, which included alſo the abolition of debts, was carried by the deputies of the ſenate to the camp, as a ſeal of peace. The people were now for returning to *Rome*; but the leaders of the ſedition would not let them ſeparate before they had elected the new magiſtrates. *Lucius Junius* and *Sicinnius Bellutus* were choſen; and theſe immediately named themſelves three collegues*. A law was alſo paſſed, before they left the camp, whereby the perſons of the tribunes were declared ſacred: and to make this law perpetual, all the *Romans* were obliged to ſwear, for themſelves and their poſterity, that they would inviolably obſerve it. After theſe regulations, the people erected an altar to *Jupiter the Terrible*, and having conſecrated the place of their retreat, which, from this time, was called the *ſacred mount*, they followed the deputies of the ſenate, and returned to the city †.

Year of *Rome* 258.

The people return to *Rome*.

The tribunes create 2 new officers.

One of the firſt ſteps of the tribunes towards an increaſe of power was, to aſk the ſenate's leave to chuſe two aſſiſtants in the execution of their office. Their requeſt was granted, and theſe aſſiſtants afterwards had the cognizance of many affairs, which before belonged to the conſuls, and the inſpection of all buildings; whence they were called *Ædiles*, with the epithet of *plebeian*, to diſtinguiſh them from the *curule ædiles*, of whom we ſhall ſpeak hereafter.

The *Volſci* and *Antiates* defeated.

Rome being now in a profound peace at home, troops were eaſily raiſed to march againſt the *Volſci*, whom the conſul *Cominius* defeated in a pitched battle, and took from them *Longula* and *Poluſca*. He next attacked their metropolis, *Corioli*, took it, and the ſame day gained a victory over the *Antiates*. But *Caius Marcius*, a young patrician, had all the glory of both actions; for when the *Romans*, repulſed by a vigorous ſally of the beſieged, were driven in diſorder back to their intrenchments, he, by his words and example, rallied

* Dion. Hal. l. vi. † Dion. Hal. ib. Liv. l. iii. c. 30-33.

rallied the fugitives, brought them back to the charge, and forcing the enemy to retire into the city, entered it with them, and made himself master of it: then, without suffering his soldiers to stay for plunder, he hastened to the consul's army, which was upon the point of engaging with the *Antiates*, and there he behaved with such extraordinary valour, that the victory was intirely owing to him. The next day, the consul, at the head of his army, returned him public thanks, put a crown of gold upon his head, assigned him a tenth part of all the spoil; gave him a fine horse, with stately furniture, in the name of the republic; allotted him as much money as he could carry away; and, lastly, bid him chuse out any ten of the prisoners. But of all these presents, the young hero accepted only the horse, and demanded but one captive of the ten, an old friend of his family, with a design to give him his liberty. This generous disinterestedness silenced even envy itself. All respected a hero, whose sentiments were as noble, as his valour was signal. But the consul, to add to the glory of the brave warrior, gave him the surname of *Coriolanus*, thereby transferring from himself to *Marcius* all the honour of the conquest of *Corioli* *.

Gallant behaviour of *Caius Marcius Coriolanus*

The enemies of *Rome*, terrified at the reduction of the *Volsci*, remained quiet at home. The consul disbanded the army, and the ancient alliance with the *Latines* was renewed. *Menenius Agrippa* died this year in as great poverty as *Poplicola*. His relations were going to bury him privately, but the people voluntarily taxed themselves, to give him a magnificent funeral. Upon this, the senate, thinking it would be a disgrace to them to suffer so illustrious a patrician to be buried at the expence of the people, ordered a sum out of the public treasury for his funeral, and committed the care of it to the *quæstors*. The people would not take back their money, but ordered it to be given to the children of the deceased †. This memorable consulship ended with a *census* and *lustrum*, and there appeared to be but an hundred thousand men in *Rome* fit to bear arms.

Under the new administration of *T. Geganius* and *P. Minutius*, *Rome* suffered greatly by a famine, and this calamity revived the civil dissentions. The senate, to disburthen the city, sent away great numbers of people to plant colonies at *Velitræ* and *Norba*. The *Antiates*, taking advantage of the distressed situation of *Rome*, made incursions to the very gates of the city. *Coriolanus* could not bear this insult; and as the tribunes opposed any regular levies being made, he put himself at the head of a band of volunteers, advanced into the enemy's country, defeated them in several engagements,

Rome suffers greatly by a famine.

* Dion. Hal. l. vi. Liv. l. ii. c. 33. Plut. in Coriol.
† Dion. Hal. l. vi. Liv. l. ii. c. 33.

The civil diſſentions revived.

and returned loaded with a rich booty of corn, cattle, and ſlaves. At this the patricians triumphed, and the plebeians murmured againſt their tribunes for not ſuffering them to go. The tribunes, to keep up a miſunderſtanding, on which their very being depended, openly accuſed the patricians of being the cauſe of the ſcarcity. The people, believing them, grew quite outrageous. The ſenate, alarmed at the ſtorm that threatened them, met daily to deliberate on the means to avert it. Some were for employing fair means; but *Appius* and the majority determined, that the tribunes ſhould be threatened with the ſevereſt puniſhments, as diſturbers of the public peace, if they did not amend their behaviour.

A law, making it penal to interrupt a tribune when he is ſpeaking to the people.

But when the conſuls came to declare to the *curiæ* the reſolution of the ſenate, the tribunes interrupted them, aſſerting, that they had no right to diſpute in the *comitia*; and, after a very warm conteſt, they procured a law to be paſſed by the people, before the conſuls could make any oppoſition to it, by which it was made criminal for any one to interrupt a tribune while he was ſpeaking to the people. The penalty was a fine, and, on refuſal to pay that, death, and confiſcation of goods. The ſenate, indeed, refuſed to confirm this law; but the people, in return, would not receive the decrees of the ſenate.

Freſh diſputes about the diviſion of corn.

The people, ſatisfied, for the preſent, with having enlarged the power of their tribunes, bore the famine patiently enough, and continued quiet, till plenty of corn arriving from *Sicily*, in the conſulate of *M. Minutius* and *A. Sempronius*, furniſhed the tribunes with a new occaſion of rekindling the ſedition. The ſenators who favoured the people, were for diſtributing *gratis* among the poor, the corn which had been bought with the public money; but the oppoſite party was for holding up the price, in order to keep the populace in ſubjection. The famous *Coriolanus*, at the head of the ſevere party, ſpoke loudly againſt ſhewing any indulgence to the people, propoſed aboliſhing the tribuneſhip, and taking vengeance of the mad rabble for their paſt inſolence. Moſt of the ſenators thought him right, and agreed with him, that the government ought to be re-eſtabliſhed on its ancient foundations, and the treaty concluded on the *ſacred mount* annulled. The tribunes, hearing him, left the aſſembly * in the greateſt fury, and running to the people

* The tribunes were at firſt five in number; but, a few years after, five more were added. They were always choſen by the plebeians, and out of their body. Their ſole function was to defend the liberties of the plebeians, and to interpoſe in all grievances offered them by their ſuperiors. This interpoſing in matters determined by the ſenate, or other magiſtrates, was called *interceſſio*, and was performed by ſtanding up, and pronouncing only the

people, wrought them up to such a pitch of rage, that they were ready to break into the senate, and there sacrifice *Coriolanus* to their hatred and revenge *.

Coriolanus summon'd to appear before the tribunes.

The tribunes, to keep up at least a shew of regularity in their proceedings, stopped them; and, having assembled the *curiæ*, summoned *Coriolanus* to appear before them: but he despised a summons from a tribunal which he did not acknowledge. Hereupon the tribunes, with a gang of the most mutinous of the plebeians, attempted to seize him as he came out of the senate; but the young senators beat them back. The next day, the tribunes assembled the people early in the morning, and inveighed, as usual, against the whole order of the patricians, and particularly against *Coriolanus*, representing them as tyrants, repeating the very words he had said in the senate, and exaggerating the ill treatment they had met with the day before. After they had rendered *Coriolanus* as odious as they could, and wrought the people into a violent ferment, they added, that if any patrician would undertake his defence, he might mount the tribunal, and speak to the people. *Minutius*, the eldest consul, undertook this task, and by gentle words, joined with promises of speedy plenty, softened and calmed the people. But the artful *Sicinnius*, now tribune of the people a second time, after thanking the consuls and patricians for their favourable disposition, exhorted *Coriolanus* to have recourse to the clemency of the people, and to make an apology for his conduct. They well knew, that he was of too lofty a spirit to stoop to supplications, and did not doubt but he would provoke the people anew by the haughtiness

They attempt to seize him.

Minutius appeases the tumult

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the word *Veto, I forbid it.* They had their seats placed at the door of the senate, and were never admitted into it, but when the consuls called them, to ask their opinion upon some affair that concerned the interest of the people. Their power was confined within the walls of *Rome*, or extended at most to a mile round the city. They were not allowed to be absent from the city a day, some say an hour, except in the *Feriæ Latinæ*. To shew their readiness to protect the people, they were obliged to keep their doors open night and day. Their authority became very great: for though at first they pretended only to prevent oppression, yet they afterwards usurped the power of doing almost whatever they pleased, having the populace to back them. They assembled the people, enacted laws, made decrees, and executed them upon the magistrates themselves, commanding sometimes the very consuls to be carried to prison. In short, they occasioned far greater disturbances in the state, than they were first created to appease; whence they are stiled, by some of the ancients, *the bane of the public tranquillity*.

* Dion. Hal. Plut, in Coriol. Liv. l. ii. c. 44.

Coriolanus provokes the people by his haughty anſwers.

of his anſwers. Accordingly, the young patrician, inſtead of appearing as a criminal, aſſumed the air of a judge, owned what he had ſaid in the ſenate, gloried in it; and refuſed to ſubmit to any tribunal, but that of the conſuls; proteſting, with a threatening look, that he would not have vouchſafed to appear in a tumultuous aſſembly of ſeditious men, but to reproach them with their crimes, and put ſome check to their boundleſs deſires. He concluded with declaring his hatred of the tribunes, whom he called the bane of the public happineſs *.

Coriolanus condemned by the plebeians, but reſcu'd by the patricians.

The people, enraged at this ſpeech, were for maſſacering him on the ſpot; but *Sicinnius*, thinking it neceſſary to obſerve at leaſt ſome appearance of juſtice, put a ſtop to their rage; and having conſulted apart with his collegue, without ſo much as collecting the voices of the aſſembly, pronounced ſentence of death upon him, and ordered him to be thrown down the *Tarpeian* rock. The *ædiles* inſtantly advanced with their officers, to put this ſentence in execution; but the ſenate, and all the patricians in the aſſembly, ſurrounded and defended him, determined to oppoſe force with force; and the people, either thinking the tribunes had carried their animoſity too far, or awed by the preſence of the conſuls, now refuſed to aſſiſt the ædiles. The tribunes, diſappointed in this, had recourſe to another method. They determined to proſecute *Coriolanus* in a legal way; and to that end, convened the people by tribes for his trial, and ordered him to appear before them in ſeven and twenty days. *As to the diſtribution of corn*, added they, *if the ſenate does not take due care of that matter, the tribunes will.*

The ſenate endeavours to pacify the people.

In the mean time, the ſenate did all they could to ſooth the people: the price of corn was fixed at the loweſt rate it ever had been at, even before the ſedition; and the conſuls tried every means to appeaſe the tribunes, who at length agreed, that the ſenate ſhould, as uſual, decide, whether the people ſhould take cognizance of the matter depending. But at the ſame time they inſiſted on two conditions, which were, 1ſt, That the tribunes ſhould be heard in the ſenate, with regard to the grievances they had to lay to the charge of the perſon accuſed; and, 2dly, That the ſenators, after being ſworn, ſhould deliver their opinions regularly, and the conſuls pronounce ſentence according to the plurality of voices. Theſe preliminaries being ſettled, the tribunes were introduced into the ſenate. *Decius*, the youngeſt of them, ſpoke with great art and eloquence, and cited the law of *Poplicola*, by which the plebeians, when ill-treated by the patricians, were allowed to bring their complaints before the aſſembly of the people; and this, he ſaid was the caſe

Two conditions inſiſted on by the tribunes.

Decius ſpeaks for the people

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* Liv. l. ii. c. 34. Dion. Hal. l. vii.

with

with respect to *Coriolanus*, from whom he advised the senate to withdraw their protection, as from a proud over-bearing man *.

When the tribune had done speaking, the consuls asked the opinion of the assembly, beginning with the oldest and most venerable senators; for in those days, says *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus*, the young senators were not so presumptuous as to make speeches, or to think themselves capable of instructing their elders. *Appius Claudius*, ever irreconcilable to the people, when it came to his turn to speak, enumerated, with great warmth, all the incroachments of the plebeians, and exclaimed against submitting *Coriolanus* to be tried by them, or making them any concessions: but the popular *Valerius* was of a contrary opinion; and his advice prevailed. *Coriolanus* was therefore put into the hands of the tribunes, who immediately assembled the people, read to them the charge against the prisoner, which was, his using tyrannical power, and ordered them to attend the trial in twenty-seven days. *Appius Claudius* opposes the pretensions of the tribunes.

When the day appointed came, the tribunes, early in the morning, before the arrival of the senators, artfully separated the people by tribes; whereas, from the reign of *Servius Tullius*, the voices had always been gathered by centuries. The consuls were for keeping up the ancient custom, well knowing, that in that case they should have a majority, which would save *Coriolanus*. But the tribunes insisted, that, in an affair, in which the rights and liberty of the people were concerned, every citizen's vote should have its due weight, and therefore their suffrages should be collected by tribes. The consul *Menenius* spoke first, in favour of *Coriolanus*, and was answered by the tribune *Sicinnius*. *Coriolanus* then presented himself to the assembly, recited his past services, shewed the many crowns he had been rewarded with for them, named the many citizens he had saved in battle, and, tearing away his robe, shewed his breast all covered with scars. "Are these," said he, with an air of confidence mixed with modesty, "actions consistent with the treacherous designs now laid to my "charge? Is it easy to believe, that a man, who has done "nothing to gain the favour of the people, but hazard his "life for them, could aim at usurping the throne?" Even the most mutinous were going to acquit him, and the assembly was just ready to break up, when the tribune *Decius*, alarmed at this change, brought a new charge against him, which was, that, contrary to the *Roman* laws, he had disposed of the spoils taken from the *Antiates* in his late expedition, during the famine, among his soldiers, instead of delivering them to the quæstor. Neither *Coriolanus* nor his *Coriolanus* is tried,

* Dion. Hal. p. 446. Plut. in Coriol.

friends

friends were prepared for this chicane; which the tribunes taking advantage of, wrought the people once more into a rage, and seizing that moment to collect their suffrages, *Coriolanus* was condemned to perpetual banishment. Of the twenty-one tribes, but nine voted for him, and the rest against him.

And condemn'd to banishment.

Never did the people express more joy, not even upon vanquishing their greatest enemies, than they shewed for the advantage they had now gained over the senate and the body of the nobility. By this sentence, the form of the government received an absolute change, and the people, who had hitherto been dependent on the patricians, were now become their judges, and possessed of a right to call before their tribunal the greatest men in the commonwealth, and to decide their fate. As the assembly dispersed, it was easy to distinguish the patricians from the plebeians by the sorrow or joy which appeared in their countenances. *Coriolanus* alone seemed unconcerned: He repaired immediately to his own house, where he found his mother *Veturia*, and *Volumnia* his wife, drowned in tears, and in the first transports of their grief. He exhorted them, in few words, to behave with constancy and fortitude under the various events of life; and, having recommended to them the care of his children, who were yet but infants, he took his leave, not suffering any body to attend him in his exile, except three or four of his clients. A great number of the senators and other patricians went with him to the gate of the city; but he, justly offended at the weakness of their conduct, said not one word to them by the way, and parted from them with the same reproachful silence*.

He resolves to revenge the affront, and goes over to the *Volsci*.

The illustrious exile retired to a house of his own, in the neighbourhood of *Rome*, and there spent a few days in considering what he should do. Thirst of revenge prevailed; and he determined to go over to the *Volsci*, a little republic, then governed by their general *Attius Tullus*, whom he had often encountered, and always conquered, in the late wars between them and the *Romans*†. *Coriolanus* thought he could not trust his life more safely than with a brave man, who, like himself, would be glad to humble the pride of the *Romans*. His resolution being taken, he left his retreat in disguise, and, in the evening, entering *Antium*, the chief city of the *Volsci*, he went directly to *Tullus*'s house, with his face covered, and sat down by the hearth of the domestic gods, a place sacred in all the houses of the ancient pagans. *Tullus* was at supper in an inner apartment, when word was brought him, that a stranger, of a very majestic air, was, without speaking to any body, come into his house, and

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* Dion. Hal. l. vi. Liv. l. ii. c. 35. Plut. in Coriol.
† Dion. Hal. l. vii. Liv. ibid.

had

had placed himſelf by the hearth of his *lares*: *Tullus* immediately came out, and aſked him who he was, and what he required. *Coriolanus* then diſcovering himſelf, "If thou "doſt not know me," ſaid he, "I am *Caius Marcius*; my "ſurname is *Coriolanus*, the only reward left me for my ſervices. I am baniſhed from *Rome* by the hatred of the peo- "ple, and the puſillanimity of the great. I ſeek revenge: "it lies in thy power to employ my ſword againſt my foes "and thy country's. If thy republic will not accept my "ſervice, I give my life into thy hands: put an end to an "old enemy, who may elſe come to do more miſchiefs to "thy country." *Tullus*, amazed at the greatneſs of his ſoul, gave him his hand: "Fear nothing, *Marcius*," ſaid he, "thy confidence is the pledge of thy ſecurity. By bring- "ing us thyſelf, thou giveſt us more than ever thou tookeſt "from us; and we ſhall take care to acknowledge thy ſervices better than thy fellow-citizens have done." He then led him into his apartment, where they conferred about the means of renewing the war.

A pretence was ſoon found to break the yet unexpired truce between the two nations. The *Volſci* ſent ambaſſadors to *Rome*, to demand the reſtoration of the land and cities taken from them in the late war, which, as they expected, was refuſed. Upon this, they appointed *Tullus* and *Coriolanus* to command their troops; and to bind the latter more ſtrictly to them, conferred on him the dignity of ſenator. The two generals immediately raiſed a numerous army, which they divided into two bodies. *Tullus*, with the one, ſtaid in the country, to defend it on the ſide of *Latium*; whilſt *Coriolanus*, with the other, entered the territory of the *Romans* before the conſuls had taken any meaſures to oppoſe him; made himſelf maſter of ſeveral of their cities; deſtroyed their houſes, and laid waſte their lands; politically ſparing only thoſe of the patricians. The conſequence of this diſtinction was, that the plebeians accuſed the patricians of having brought the enemy upon them; and the patricians, in their turn, upbraided the people with having forced ſo great a captain to throw himſelf, in deſpair, into the party of the enemy. Diſtruſt, ſuſpicion, and hatred, roſe to ſuch a height, that both parties thought more of decrying and ruining each other, than of providing for their mutual ſafety. *Coriolanus*, finding no enemy in the field to oppoſe his deſigns, carried on his conqueſts, took *Lavinium*, and at length encamped at the *Cluilian* trenches, within five miles of *Rome*.

Year of *Rome* 262. The *Volſci* appoint *Coriolanus* and *Tullus* to command their troops againſt the *Romans*.

Coriolanus's conqueſts.

The city was in the utmoſt conſternation. The people, terrified at the approach of ſo formidable an enemy, crouded into the *forum*, and, with loud cries, demanded that *Coriolanus* ſhould be recalled: but the ſenate, either to clear themſelves from the ſuſpicion of having kept up the leaſt correſpondence with him; or, perhaps; from that ſpirit of generoſity

rosity which made the *Romans* always most averse to peace when they had the worst success in war; told them, that *Rome* would never grant any thing to a rebel so long as he remained in arms.

He invests *Rome*.

Coriolanus, incensed at this answer, which he was informed of, advanced to *Rome*, and invested the place, as if he meant to besiege it.

The senate send a deputation to him.

The senate, now more alarmed than ever, resolved to send a deputation to him, consisting of five senators, all of consular rank, and who had been his most zealous friends. He ordered them to be conducted through two ranks of soldiers standing to their arms, and, surrounded by his chief officers, and seated on his tribunal, gave them audience with the state of an enemy determined to prescribe the law. They exhorted him, in modest and pathetic terms, to give peace to the two nations; and conjured him not to carry his resentment so far as to forget the welfare of his country. *Coriolanus* answered, with an haughty air, that, as general of the *Volsci*, he advised them to apply to the nation he served, and, in a suppliant manner, sue to them for peace, which he engaged to procure for them upon condition that *Rome* restored to the *Volsci* the country she had taken from them, granted them the same right of citizens which she had granted to the *Latines*, and recalled her colonies from the towns of which she had unjustly got possession. Then, assuming a milder air, he assured them, that he remembered, with pleasure, his obligations to them; thanked them for their generous protection of his wife and children, and told them, that, to shew his gratitude, he would allow the *Romans* a truce for thirty days, with respect to the proper territory of *Rome*, but that he should then expect a decisive answer*. He spent that time in making new conquests in *Latium*, and then appeared again at the gates of *Rome* with his whole army.

A second deputation.

Other deputies were immediately sent to him, who conjured him to exact nothing but what might be consistent with the dignity of the *Roman* name. But *Coriolanus*, naturally stern and inflexible, coldly replied, that the *Romans* had no other choice but restitution or war; that he allowed them only three days more to come to a resolution; and that, after the expiration of this farther term, they should not be permitted to come to his camp again. The report of these deputies threw the city into the utmost consternation. All that could be done in this universal dejection, was, to appoint every one his post, either on the ramparts, at the gates, in the capitol, or in the towers. Neither discipline nor command was heeded. The tribunes were not now so much as heard of. The consuls, at a loss what to do, assembled the senate; expedient upon expedient was proposed; and it was

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* Dion. Hal. l. vii. Liv. l. ii. c. 39. Plut. in Coriol.

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at last agreed to send another deputation, consisting of all the ministers of their religion; by which they thought *Coriolanus* would surely be moved. He received them with respect, but would abate nothing of his former demands; and ordered them to acquaint the senate, that the attack would immediately begin, if they did not submit to the conditions he had proposed in the name of the *Volscian* nation †. A third.

Upon the return of the priests, every one concluded the republic lost. The temples were crouded with people of every class, whose only hope was in their gods.

Such was the melancholy face of things, when a *Roman* matron, named *Valeria*, sister of the famous *Valerius Poplicola*, moved by a kind of inspiration, turned to the other matrons who were come in crowds to the temple of *Jupiter*, and desired them to go with her to the house of *Coriolanus*'s mother, *Veturia*. They found her, with his wife *Volumnia*, deploring their own misfortunes, and those of *Rome*. *Valeria*, addressing herself to *Veturia*, told her, that, every other means having failed, they were come to her, as the only refuge *Rome* had left. "You alone," said she, "can save our ho- The *Roman* matrons resolve to intercede with him.
"nour and our liberty. Repair with us to the camp of
"*Coriolanus*, to beg of him peace for his fellow-citizens. All
"our hope is in the remarkable veneration, and the tender
"love, he has always had for so good a mother and so vir-
"tuous a wife. Implore, conjure, demand. So good a man
"can never withstand your tears. We will all follow you
"with our children: we will throw ourselves at his feet;
"and who knows but the gods, moved by our honest sor-
"row, may preserve a city whose defence seems wholly
"abandoned by men?" At these words *Veturia* burst out into tears, recollected herself a moment, and then replied:
"Alas! my interest in *Coriolanus* is but a poor refuge.
"Since that unfortunate day when the people, in their fury,
"so unjustly banished him from *Rome*, we have never seen
"any thing of that filial respect, and that tender affection,
"which he, till then, had always shewn for his mother and
"for a wife ever dear to him. When he returned from the
"assembly where he had been condemned, he looked upon
"us with a fierce air, and, after continuing some time in
"gloomy silence, *'Tis done*, said he to us; Coriolanus *is con-*
"*demned: our ungrateful citizens have banished me for ever*
"*from the bosom of my country. Support this blow of fortune with*
"*a courage worthy of two* Roman *women. I recommend my*
"*children to your care. Farewell.* With these words he broke
"away. We began to follow him: I held his eldest son by
"the hand; and *Volumnia*, all drowned in tears, carried the
"youngest in her arms. Then turning to us, *Come no far-*
"*ther*, said he, *and give over your vain complaints. You have*

† Dion. Liv. ibid.

"*now*

" *now no ſon, my mother*; *and thou*, Volumnia, *thou beſt a*
" *woman, thy huſband is for ever loſt to thee.* He departed from
" *Rome*, alone; without ſervants, without money, and
" without even telling us whither he would direct his ſteps
" nor has he ever ſince made the leaſt inquiry after his fa-
" mily, or given us any account of his welfare.---What
" then can you expect from our intreaties? Can two wo-
" men bend that ſtubborn heart, which even the miniſters
" of Religion could not ſoften? And, indeed, what ſhall
" I ſay to him? What can I reaſonably deſire of him?
" That he would pardon ungrateful citizens, who have
" treated him like a man blackened with the fouleſt crimes?
" That he would take compaſſion upon a violent populace,
" which had none for his innocence? And, That he would
" betray a nation, which has not only opened him an aſy-
" lum, but has even preferred him to her moſt illuſtrious
" citizens in the command of her armies? How can I pre-
" ſume to aſk him to abandon ſuch generous protectors, in
" order to deliver himſelf again into the hands of his moſt
" bitter enemies? Can a *Roman* mother, and a *Raman* wife,
" with decency exact, from a ſon and a huſband, things
" which muſt diſhonour him before gods and men? Mourn-
" ful circumſtance, in which we have not power to hate
" the moſt formidable enemy of our country! Give us up
" therefore to our unhappy deſtiny; leave us buried in our
" juſt affliction."---Still *Valeria*, and all the *Roman* matrons that were there, embracing *Veturia*'s knees, conjured her not to refuſe her country this laſt aſſiſtance. The mother of *Coriolanus*, at laſt overcome, promiſed to comply with their requeſt, if the ſenate agreed to it. They did; and *Veturia*, with the moſt illuſtrious of the *Roman* ladies, in a number of chariots which the conſuls had ordered to be got ready for them, took the way to the enemy's camp.

The interview between *Coriolanus* and his mother.

Coriolanus received them with the utmoſt reſpect, but determined in his own mind not to grant any of their requeſts. In this, however, he reckoned upon a ſavage reſoluteneſs which was not in his nature; for he no ſooner beheld his wife and mother, but he ran inſtantly to embrace them. Tears were their firſt expreſſions of joy upon ſeeing each other again. *Veturia* began to enter upon the ſubject of her coming; upon which *Coriolanus*, that he might not give any umbrage to the *Volſci*, called the chief officers of his army to be witneſſes of what paſſed. When they were come, *Veturia*, to engage her ſon to have the more regard to the requeſt ſhe was to make, told him how kind all theſe ladies had been to her and his wife *Volumnia*; adding, that they were come to beg peace of him once more, and to conjure him, by all he held dear, to ſpare his country, and turn his arms againſt ſome other enemy. *Coriolanus* replied, that he could not think of betraying the intereſt of a nation that had given him the command of their army, and from whoſe

generosity he had received more wealth and honours, than he had lost at *Rome* by the ingratitude of his fellow-citizens; and, that nothing would be wanting to his happiness, if she and *Volumnia* would leave the ungrateful city, and come and enjoy among the *Volsci*, the honours which they would pay to the mother and wife of their general.

The *Volscian* officers seemed much pleased with this answer; and *Veturia*, continuing, said she would never require any thing of him that might be a blemish upon his honour; but that, without being any ways wanting in what he owed to the *Volsci*, he might mediate a peace equally advantageous to both nations. "Grant this, my son," said she; "and, "if my tears and prayers cannot move you, behold your "mother at your feet imploring of you the preservation of "her country." With these words, melting in tears, she embraced his knees; his wife and children did the same; and all the *Roman* ladies who were with them, begged for mercy by their cries and tears. *Coriolanus* could resist no longer; but, amidst a struggle of different passions, cried out, "Ah! my mother, you disarm me:" and, tenderly pressing her hand in lifting her up, he added, in a low voice, "*Rome* is saved, but your son is lost:" well foreseeing that the *Volsci* would never forgive the regard he was going to pay to her entreaties. He then took her in private with his wife, and agreed with them, that he would endeavour to obtain the consent of the principal officers in his army, for raising the blockade; that he would use his utmost endeavours to bring the *Volsci* to terms of accommodation; and that, if he could not prevail, he would lay down his command, and retire to some neutral city.

His mother prevails on him to raise the siege of *Rome*.

The next day, he called a council of war, and often represented the difficulty of forming the siege of a city which had a formidable army for its garrison, and where there were as many soldiers as there were inhabitants, and concluded for a retreat. Nobody contradicted his opinion. The army immediately began its march; and the *Volsci*, more affected with the filial respect he had shewn his mother, than with their own interest, retired back to their native country, where *Coriolanus* divided all the spoil among them, without reserving any thing for himself. Some, however, murmured greatly at what he had done: and among these was *Attius Tullus*, who, jealous of the esteem his rival had gained with the soldiers, publicly gave out, that he had betrayed the interest of the *Volsci*. *Coriolanus* desired that he might be allowed to clear his conduct before the general council of the nation. An assembly was accordingly held: but just as *Coriolanus* was beginning to speak, *Tullus*, who no less feared his eloquence than his valour, raised a tumult; by the advantage of which, some whom *Tullus* had suborned threw themselves upon him and stabbed him.

He is assassinated.

Such

Such was the end of this great man, too haughty, indeed, for a republican; but who, by his great qualities and ſervices, deſerved a better treatment, both from the *Romans* and the *Volſci*. When his death was known at *Rome*, the people ſhewed neither joy nor grief; and perhaps they were not ſorry that the *Volſci* had freed them from the perplexity of recalling a patrician whom they no longer feared and ſtill hated.

This averſion in the people to all that bore the name of *patricians*, aroſe only from the jealouſy of the government. But as it had hitherto coſt the ſenate no more than the eſtabliſhment of the tribunes, and the baniſhment of a private man, the zealous republicans were not diſpleaſed with this oppoſition of intereſts, which, by keeping an even balance between the credit of the great and the power of the people, ſerved to maintain the public liberty.

Year of *Rome* 264. The *Romans* defeat the *Hernici* and *Volſci*.

Upon the news of *Coriolanus*'s death, the *Romans* ventured to take the field under the command of their conſuls *Sp. Nauticus* and *Sextus Funius*; men of no courage or experience in war. They pretended to march againſt the *Æqui* and *Volſci*; but returned without effecting any thing *. Their next conſuls, *Aquilius Tuſcus* and *Sicinnius Sabinus*, men of ſuperior talents, gained two complete victories; the former over the *Hernici*, and the latter over the *Volſci*. The camp of theſe laſt was taken, and their general, *Tullus*, killed in the battle. *Sicinnius* was decreed a triumph, and *Aquilius* an ovation. Theſe conſuls were ſucceeded by *Sp. Caſſius Viſcellinus*, who had been twice conſul before, and had obtained a triumph; and *Proculus Virginius*, a patrician of known courage. Upon the approach of the latter, the *Æqui* retired into their cities. *Caſſius* oppoſed the *Hernici*, entered their country, and, by the mere terror of his arms, made them ſue for peace and an alliance with the republic. He was decreed a triumph for this advantage, though there had been no battle; and impowered to draw up the conditions of the treaty with the *Hernici*; which he did upon the ſame footing as the laſt alliance with the *Latines*. This condeſcenſion to a foreign nation, but juſt reconciled to *Rome*, gave great umbrage to the ſenate, who could not bear that they ſhould be raiſed at once to equal honours and privileges with the *Latines*, who were allied to them by blood, and had done them many important ſervices.

Caſſius courts the people's favour.

Some ſtaunch republicans began to ſuſpect that *Caſſius*, in thus favouring the *Hernici*, had private views, prejudicial to the ſtate; and indeed he convinced them that they were not miſtaken: for, the very next day after his triumph, having, according to cuſtom, aſſembled the people, to give them an

* Dion. Hal. l. viii. Liv. l. ii. c. 40.

account

account of his conduct during the campaign, he told them, That he propoſed, before the end of his magiſtracy, to render the condition of the plebeians ſo happy, that they ſhould no longer envy that of the patricians. The next day he aſſembled the ſenate, made a long ſpeech in praiſe of the plebeians, and propoſed a new diviſion of the lands belonging to the public, ſaying, It was but juſt that the lands taken from the enemy, ſhould be divided among thoſe who had expoſed their lives to inlarge the bounds of the republic. This he was for extending to all the lands which had been won from the enemies of *Rome*, and of which the patricians had poſſeſſed themſelves, in order, ſaid he, to enable the poor plebeians to ſubſiſt with ſome degree of comfort, and to bring up their children in a manner uſeful to the ſtate. He added, that he likewiſe thought it reaſonable, that the poor citizens ſhould be reimburſed what money they had paid in the late famine, for corn which *Gelo*, one of the princes of *Sicily*, had made a preſent of to the republic, and which ought to have been diſtributed *gratis* among the people. Both theſe propoſals were rejected by the ſenate, with great indignation. The ſenators reproached him publicly with his pride, ambition, and deſire of raiſing new troubles in the commonwealth. *Caſſius*, not at all ſurprized at this oppoſition from the great, convened a new aſſembly of the people; and, after exclaiming bitterly againſt the patricians, exhorted the multitude to free themſelves at once from the indigence to which the avarice of the nobility had reduced them, by making a ſolemn law for the partition of the conquered lands in their own favour. He did not ſtop here; but adviſed them, by the ſame law, to admit the *Latines* and *Hernici* to ſhare in the diſtribution; alledging, as his reaſon for adviſing this laſt part, that, by this means, thoſe two nations would be united with them in one common intereſt, and conſequently would not fail to ſupport them in caſe the papatricians ſhould attempt to drive them from their poſſeſſions *.

Agrarian law propoſed.

The

* To ſhew how ruinous this partition of the lands muſt have been to the great, and how much it might have been deſireable to the people, it may be proper to obſerve, that it was the cuſtom of the antient *Romans*, when they had gained any conſiderable advantage over their neighbours, never to grant them peace without taking from them part of their territory, which was immediately incorporated with that of *Rome*. This was indeed the chief deſign of their wars. One part of theſe conquered lands was ſold to reimburſe the ſtate for the expence of the war: another portion was diſtributed *gratis* among the poor plebeians newly ſettled at *Rome*, who had no inheritance of their own; or were let out to farm, for the benefit of the public: and, laſtly, as the chief wealth of the

The people, at firſt, received this propoſal with great applauſe; but the tribunes, thinking their power would be diminiſhed if they ſuffered a conſul to be author of a law which favoured the people, oppoſed it ſtrongly, and brought numbers over to their opinion, by artfully, though truly enough, ſuggeſting, that *Caſſius* had a deſign upon their liberty. "Why," ſaid they, "are the *Hernici* to have one third of "the lands which you have conquered from them; but "that thoſe old enemies of *Rome* may become his creatures, "and be ready to ſecond his ambitious views." *Caſſius*, diſappointed in this attempt, thought to ſucceed better by the help of the *Latines*; and, to that end, brought as many of them as he could into *Rome*, where they had the priviledges of *Roman* citizens. But *Virginius*, aware of his colleague's deſign, publiſhed a decree, commanding all thoſe who were not inhabitants of *Rome*, to leave it immediately. *Caſſius*, on the other hand, made a contrary edict, declaring it lawful for any one who was inrolled among the citizens of *Rome*, to remain there: ſo that a ſedition was like to enſue.

Partition of the lands reſolved on in the ſenate.

The ſenate aſſembled to prevent the impending ſtorm, and to make the partition of the lands, which they plainly ſaw the tribunes had declined proſecuting, only that they might wreſt it out of the hands of a ſenator, and have the merit of doing it themſelves. Several opinions were offered. *Appius Claudius*, that intrepid defender of the laws, propoſed, that, in order to appeaſe the juſt complaints of the people, the ſenate ſhould appoint ten commiſſioners, by the name of *de-*

Romans, in thoſe days, conſiſted in cattle and flocks, what remained of theſe conquered lands was left in commons, and to ſerve for paſtures. This diſpoſition baniſhed poverty out of the republic, and bound the citizens to its defence. But the greedy patricians deprived the common people of this ſubſiſtence. Vaſt tracts of land, ſet apart for the ſupport of the whole ſtate, became inſenſibly the patrimony of a few private perſons. If any land was ſold to defray the charges of a war, the ſenators, who were the only rich men in thoſe times, being the directors of the ſtate, cauſed it to be adjudged to themſelves, at a very inconſiderable price; ſo that the public treaſury received ſcarce any advantage from it. By means of the ſame authority, they took, either under borrowed names, or in their own, the lands that ought to have been let out to farm for the poor plebeians, to help them to maintain their children: and oftentimes, by ill-deſigned loans, and accumulated uſuries, they got the little inheritances which the people had received from their anceſtors, yielded to them. Laſtly, the rich, by ſetting the land-marks of their eſtates farther and farther, by degrees had ſwallowed up and confounded moſt of the commons; ſo that neither the ſtate in general, nor the plebeians in particular, received any benefit worth mentioning from theſe foreign lands.

cum tibi,

comitii, to take an exact information of all such lands as belonged originally to the public: that they should sell one part of them for the use of the treasury; distribute another part among the poorer citizens, who had no inheritance in land; and that the remainder should be let out on leases not exceeding five years, and the produce be employed in providing corn, and paying the plebeians that went to war. *A. Sempronius Atratinus*, a man much respected by the senate; highly approved of *Appius*'s advice; pursuant to which a decree was drawn up, and the choice of the first decemvirs was left to the consuls of the ensuing year, this being just expired. The chief men in the senate resolved to impeach *Cassius* for his daring attempt. Accordingly, the two new consuls, *Q. Fabius* and *Servius Cornelius*, were no sooner entered upon their office, but the quæstors, *Cæso Fabius* and *Valerius*, having convened an assembly of the people, by virtue of the power annexed to their office, accused *Cassius* of having introduced foreign troops into the city, with a design to usurp the sovereignty. The charge being fully proved, *Cassius* was condemned by the unanimous voice of all his fellow-citizens, and thrown down headlong from the top of the *Tarpeian* rock.

Sp. Cassius is condemned and executed.

The pride of the patricians, and their contemptuous treatment of the people, made the poorer citizens respect the loss of *Cassius*. The consuls put off, from day to day, nominating the decemvirs for the distribution of the lands, and paid no regard to the solicitations of the people or their tribunes, who, weary of these delays, began to make loud complaints. To divert their attention to other objects, the old expedient of a war was recurred to; but the people absolutely refused to inlist. The consuls then artfully caused a rumour to be spread, that they were going to create a dictator, and that *Appius Claudius* would be the person. The very name of so severe a man, made such an impression on the multitude, that they listed immediately. *Cornelius* entered the country of the *Veientes*, and *Q. Fabius* that of the *Volsci*. Both of them were unsuccessful. The next year, *Cæso Fabius*, the questor, and *Claudius Flamen*inus, were chosen consuls in the *comitia* by centuries. *Æmilius* was at first repulsed by the *Volsci*, but afterwards defeated them and laid waste their country.

The senate's precuations to avoid the partition.

Lest another *Cassius* should get into the consulship, the senate used all imaginable precautions to keep that supreme dignity from falling to any but patricians, whom they might surely rely on; and they were, in a manner, absolute directors of that election, which was never made but in assemblies by centuries, where the patricians had the majority of voices. Accordingly, *M. Fabius*, brother to *Quintus* and

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[a] Dion. Hal. l. viii. Liv. l. ii. c. 41.

Cæſo, and *L. Valerius*, who, in his quæſtorſhip, had been inſtrumental in the deſtruction of *Caſſius*, were choſen next. In the reſolution which the ſenate had taken of letting drop the *ſenatus conſulum*, by which the partition of the lands had been decreed, they thought they could not truſt this their ſecret deſign to any more ſafely than to *Cæſo Fabius* and *Lucius Valerius*, the accuſers of *Caſſius*, and who had precipitated him in a manner with their own hands from the *Tarpeian* rock. The people ſaw the artfulneſs of this management; they perceived that none were brought into the conſulſhip but patricians, who would be ſure never to nominate the decemvirs that were to proceed in the diviſion of the lands. In theſe circumſtances, the war againſt the *Volſci* broke out a-new, and the tribune *C. Mænius* proteſted againſt any levies for the ſervice, till the commiſſioners ſhould be actually named for executing the *Agrarian* law. The conſuls, to extricate themſelves from this difficulty, carried their tribunal out of *Rome*, beyond the juriſdiction of the tribunes, which was confined within the walls of the city. They then ſent a ſummons to the people; and if any one refuſed to appear, or give in his name, they ordered his houſe in the country to be demoliſhed, and his lands laid waſte. This military execution brought the people to their duty. The war was carried on without any remarkable ſucceſs; and the conſuls kept their ſoldiers in the field as long as poſſible, to avoid new ſeditions. However, the election of new magiſtrates made their return at length neceſſary, and then diſcord raged again with more fury than ever *.

Tumult on account of the *Agrarian* law.

The patricians were for promoting to the conſular dignity *Appius Claudius*, ſon of the famous *Appius*, who had ſo often ſhewed his averſion to the people; but as often as the centuries were aſſembled, the plebeians made ſuch a noiſe, that it was impoſſible to proceed to the election. The conſuls and the ſenate endeavoured in vain to appeaſe the tumult; the tribunes flatly telling them, that unleſs they choſe men of unqueſtionable characters, they ſhould find means to prevent any election; and that they would not ſuffer tyrants to be impoſed upon them for magiſtrates. To ſilence theſe diſputes, the ſenate agreed to reduce the republic to a temporary *inter-regnum*. *S. Atratinus* was *inter-rex* a few days, at the end of which he reſigned that poſt to *Sp. Lartius*, a man of a pacific diſpoſition, who managed both parties ſo well, that he brought about a re-union. *C. Julius Julus*, who was of the people's party, and *Q. Fabius Vitulanus*, who favoured the ſenate, were choſen conſuls. The promotion of *Appius* was dropped for the preſent. The tribunes made ſome oppoſition to the new levies, in hopes of getting the decemvirs named; but *Fabius* found means to raiſe troops

An *Inter-regnum*.

Union reſtored.

* Dion. Hal. l. ix. Liv. l. ii. c. 42.

enough

enough to take the field, and ravage the country of the *Veientes* †.

The civil feuds broke out again upon the next election of conſuls, but were accommodated as before. The ſenate named *Cæſo Fabius*, who was quæſtor when *Caſſius* was condemned; and the people *Sp. Turius*. The *Æqui* and *Veientes* renewed their incurſions; but the people refuſed to arm, and *Sp. Icinius*, or *Licinius*, one of the tribunes, declared he would oppoſe all the decrees that ſhould be iſſued by the ſenate, let the matter of them be what it would, till the decemvirs were named. In this perplexity, *Appius* thought of an expedient which ſucceeded. As many of the tribunes were gained over, as out-numbered *Icinius*'s party, and the people then took up arms. *Turius*, who was beloved by his ſoldiers, gained great advantages over the *Æqui*; but *Fabius*'s troops, after putting the *Veientes* to flight, rather than procure their general a triumph, refuſed to purſue the victory, and, the next night, ſtruck their tents, and began their march towards the city. The conſul, putting the beſt face he could upon the matter, founded a retreat, and returned with them ‡.

Diſturbances again.

Levies are raiſed.

The next conſuls were choſen as before: *M. Fabius*, a ſecond time, by the ſenate, and *Cn. Manlius Cincinnatus* by the intereſt of the people. In their conſulſhip the *Hetrurians* invaded the *Roman* territory with a conſiderable army. One of the tribunes renewed the old diſpute; but the ſenate having gained a majority, twenty thouſand men were raiſed, and divided between the two conſuls, who took the field together. The *Hetrurians* were greatly ſuperior in point of numbers, but the *Romans* were determined to conquer or die. Both armies engaged. The *Romans* gained the victory, but it coſt them dear; *Q. Fabius*, brother to the conſul of that name, and the conſul *Manlius* being ſlain, with a greater number of perſons of diſtinction, than they had ever loſt before in any battle. The conſul was ſo affected with the loſs of his brother, that he declined the honour of a triumph that was decreed him, and entered the city in mourning, bringing with him the bodies of his colleague and brother. As he was now the ſole governor of the republic, to avoid all ſuſpicion of aiming at arbitrary power, he abdicated the conſulſhip two months before it expired, leaving the government in an *inter-regnum*. This generous behaviour gained him the hearts of all the people; and from this time the *Fabii* became popular *.

The *Hetrurians* invade the *Roman* territory.

Year of *Rome* 270.

Are defeated.

Cæſo Fabius was elected conſul a third time, and with him *T. Virginius*. *Fabius*, in hopes of putting an end to the civil diſſentions which had ſo long diſtracted the ſtate, now

Cæſo Fabius adviſes the ſe-

† Dion. Hal. Liv. l. ii. c. 43. ‡ Dion. Hal. & Liv. ib.
* Dion. Hal. l. ix. Liv. l. ii. c. 44-47.

nate to put the *Agrarian* law in execution.

espoused the interests of the people, and proposed to the senate to make of their own accord the distribution of the lands, before the tribunes should renew their clamour; but he was laughed at. He was more successful in his military expeditions; for he defeated the *Æqui*, without the loss of a single man, and relieved his collegue, who was surrounded by the *Veientes*, and on the point of being obliged to surrender at discretion. He was scarce returned to *Rome*, and the armies disbanded, when the *Hetrurians* renewed their incursions in the *Roman* territory, and ravaged the country to the very foot of the hill *Janiculus*. The people again refused to take arms, till the agrarian law was put in execution. In this distress, *Cæso Fabius* assembled all the men of his own name and family, and proposed to them, that they alone should, at their own expence, defend the frontiers on the side next the *Veientes*. The *Fabii* readily agreed to it, and, the next morning, three hundred and six of them appeared under arms at *Cæso*'s door, from whence they marched through the city, with about four thousand of their vassals and clients, under the command of *M. Fabius*, who gained the battle of *Veii* the last year. They proceeded to the banks of the *Cremera*, now the *Baccano*, a small river which discharges itself into the *Tiber*, and there built a fort, in which they left some of their men, and dividing the rest into three parties, entered the enemy's country in as many places, and laid it waste †.

The family of the *Fabii* undertake to guard the frontiers.

In the mean time, *Lucius Æmilius* and *C. Servilius* being elected consuls, *Cæso Fabius* joined his family on the banks of the *Cremera*, with the title of pro-consul, a new office created for him, and by which he had the same power over the troops he commanded, as if he had been consul, but no other authority. The *Æqui* and *Volsci* armed almost at the same time as the *Hetrurians*. *Servilius* marched against the *Volsci*, who repulsed him. The *Æqui* fled at the approach of *Æm. Furius*, who laid waste their country; and the *Veientes*, though strongly reinforced by the other *Hetrurian* nations, were entirely defeated by *Æmilius*, and forced to sue for peace, which was granted them, and the *Roman* armies were disbanded ‡.

The *Fabii* still kept their post on the bank of the *Cremera*, when, in the following consulship of *C. Horatius* and *T. Menenius*, the *Veientes*, forced by the other nations of *Hetruria* to chuse, either to break with them, or with the *Romans*, sent to the *Fabii*, requiring them to demolish their fort, and quit the frontiers. The proposal was rejected, hostilities were commenced, and all *Hetruria* espoused the cause of their countrymen. Notwithstanding this, the *Fabii*

† Dion. Hal. l. ix. Liv. l. ii. c. 48, 49.
‡ Dion. Hal. ib. Liv. l. ii. c. 51, 52.

continued

continued to ravage the country, and often engaged the *Veientes* with ſucceſs in the open field, till, unfortunately, they were ſurpriſed in an ambuſh, ſurrounded with multitudes, and every one cut in pieces, after a long and obſtinate defence, in which they killed prodigious numbers of the enemy. The conſul *Menenius*, who had received orders to march againſt the *Hetrurians*, was within thirty furlongs of the ſpot, when the *Fabii* fell, but not only did not go to their aſſiſtance, but ſuffered the *Hetrurians* to beat him afterwards, for which he was recalled, tried by the people, and on the point of being condemned to death; when, by the interceſſion of his friends, the intended ſentence was changed into a fine. The conſul *Horatius* was ſent againſt the *Hetrurians*, and defeated them; but they ſtill kept their poſts near *Rome*. The next conſuls *A. Virginius* and *P. Servilius* gained a complete victory over them, and drove them back to their own country, but with the loſs of ſo many *Romans*, that the ſenate refuſed them the honour of a triumph.

The *Fabii* are ſurrounded, and all cut to pieces.

The *Hetrurians* defeated.

Peace abroad was always followed by inteſtine broils at home. The old diſputes about the diſtribution of lands were revived by the tribunes; but the conſuls finiſhed their year without minding them. They had no ſooner reſigned the faſces to *L. Æmilius*, now the third time conſul, and *Vopiſcus Junius*, than *Cn. Genucius*, a daring, enterpriſing tribune, cited both to appear before the people, and declare why they did not name the commiſſioners who were to proceed upon the partition of the lands. The time was fixed for their trial, the event of which would probably have proved fatal to them; but, the very day before, *Genucius* was found dead in his bed. His body was carried into the *forum*, and expoſed to public view; and as no mark of violence or poiſon appeared, the common people concluded, that the gods did not approve of his enterpriſe, and, full of that notion, ceaſed, for ſome time, ſo much as to mention the partition of the lands *.

Sudden death of the tribune *Genucius*.

The conſuls and ſenate, finding the tribunes greatly confounded at the unexpected death of their colleague, and the people ſtruck with a religious awe, began to act in a very arbitrary manner, inſtead of taking advantage of the favourable opportunity to regain their former authority.

Haughty behaviour of the conſuls.

There was occaſion for raiſing of troops, and liſting the legions to march againſt the enemy. The conſuls, guarded by their lictors, held their tribunal as uſual in the *forum*; and, to make the people feel their power, either fined or whipped thoſe citizens that did not appear the very moment they were called to give their names, and often without the leaſt regard to juſtice. A proceeding ſo ſevere began already

* Dion. Hal. l. ix. Liv. l. ii. c. 54. Zonar. l. ii.

to alienate the hearts of the people; and the unjuſt and violent manner in which the conſuls attempted to liſt for a common ſoldier, a plebeian, who had been a centurion, made their diſcontent break out into action. This plebeian, named *Volero*, had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the wars by his valour, and was eſteemed a good officer. But, without regard to his paſt ſervices, or the poſts he had born, he was ſummoned to inliſt himſelf as a common ſoldier. He refuſed to obey, and complained publicly, that the conſuls only wanted to diſgrace him becauſe he was a plebeian. Thoſe magiſtrates, upon his refuſal, ſent a lictor to ſeize him; and upon his reſiſting, ordered him to be beaten with rods; a puniſhment which the generals uſed to inflict upon their mutinous ſoldiers. *Volero*, ſtriking the lictor that attempted to lay hold of him, implored the protection of the tribunes, and on their not ſeeming to pay any regard to his cries, "I appeal to the people," ſaid he, addreſſing himſelf to the conſuls, "ſince our tribunes, intimidated by your power, "had rather ſee a citizen abuſed, even in their preſence, "than expoſe themſelves to be ſtrangled in their beds, "like *Genucius*." Then turning to the people, who ſeemed provoked at the violence that was offered him, "Aſſiſt me, comrades, cried he, we have no remedy left "againſt ſo great a tyranny, but force." The people, animated by theſe words, attacked the lictors, broke their faſces, and diſperſed them. Even the majeſty of the conſulſhip could not ſtop their fury; but the very conſuls were forced to fly and hide themſelves, to avoid worſe treatment.

Volero's revolt.

The ſenate was convened immediately; the conſuls made their report of *Volero*'s rebellion, and inſiſted, that he ought to be puniſhed as a diſturber of the public peace, and thrown down from the *Tarpeian* rock. On the other hand, the tribunes demanded juſtice upon the conſuls, and complained, that thoſe magiſtrates, in contempt of the *Valerian* law, and of an appeal to the aſſembly of the *Roman* people, had offered to ſcourge a brave citizen, as if he had been the vileſt ſlave. *Volero*, who feared the power of the conſuls, thinking this new diſſention between the two orders of the ſtate a favourable opportunity for him to take his advantage of, demanded the tribuneſhip, which he looked upon as an inviolable aſylum, that would ſhelter him from the fury of his enemies, and to obtain that office, he boaſted in a public aſſembly, that if ever he were inveſted with that dignity, he would take ſuch methods, that the people ſhould never more be oppreſſed by the ſenate. The multitude, charmed with this hope, granted him their votes, and he entered on his office after the election of the new conſuls *L. Pinarius* and *L. Furius**. Every one expected he would immediately

* Dion. Hal. ib. Liv. ib. c. 45.

begin

begin a profecution againſt the laſt year's conſuls, who had ill-treated him: but he had farther views than a mere perſonal revenge. He turned his reſentment againſt the whole body of the ſenate, and undertook to deprive them of the authority they had in the election of the tribunes. He artfully propoſed, in a general aſſembly of the people, that their magiſtrates and protectors might be choſen, for the future, in the *comitia* by tribes, and not by *curiæ*. In this he had two views very prejudicial to the patricians. In the firſt place, the *curiæ* were never aſſembled for elections, till the ſenate had conſented to it by a decree; and in the ſecond, the patricians, who commanded the ſuffrages of their clients, often got ſuch tribunes elected as were agreeable to themſelves. But neither of theſe inconveniences attended the *comitia* aſſembled by tribes; for the tribunes had the power of aſſembling them, without the conſent of the ſenate; and the country tribes, who were not ſo devoted to the patricians as thoſe in the city, had a right to vote in them, as well as the inhabitants of *Rome*. The plebeian faction was highly pleaſed with this propoſal, and warmly declared for paſſing it into a law; but the whole order of patricians oppoſed it to the utmoſt of their power. *Volero*'s law became the only ſubject of diſpute between the two parties, and the Agrarian law was entirely dropped for ſome time. A dreadful plague ſuſpended this furious conteſt for a few months, during which *Volero*'s tribuneſhip expired; but the people continued him in the ſame office for the following year, in ſpite of the patrician party *.

Volero propoſes electing the tribunes by tribes.

The patricians, finding the people bent upon carrying their point, elected to the conſulate *Appius Claudius*, who, they knew, was not to be terrified by the noiſe or menaces of the multitude. He was the ſon of the famous *Appius Claudius* we have ſo often ſpoken of. *T. Quinctius*, a venerable ſenator, and beloved by the people, was joined with him. The two conſuls differed in their opinions; *Appius* was for treating the people with ſeverity, and *Quinctius* with mildneſs. *Volero*, concluding that he ſhould now ſucceed, confidently added to the law he had before propoſed theſe two farther articles; That all affairs relating to the people ſhould no longer be brought before the *curiæ*, but before the tribes; and that the ædiles, as well as the tribunes, ſhould be choſen by them. There were but four tribes in the city, and ſeventeen in the country, which were not influenced by the nobility; ſo that, in the *comitia* by tribes, the patricians had but little intereſt. They therefore did their utmoſt to ward off a blow, which tended directly to deſtroy the authority of the ſenate, and to eſtabliſh that of the people upon its ruins. When the ſenate met to deliberate upon theſe

Appius Claudius choſen conſul.

* Dion. Hal. Liv. l. ii. c. 56.

extra-

extraordinary propoſals, *Appius* was for making a decree to invite all thoſe who loved their country to take arms, and declaring thoſe who refuſed to obey the ſummons, enemies to their country. But *Quinctius* thought it more adviſeable to try what gentleneſs could do. His advice prevailed; and it was agreed that the tribunes ſhould call an aſſembly of the people; that the conſuls ſhould be allowed to repreſent to the people what they thought the true intereſt of the commonwealth; and that they and the tribunes ſhould afterwards conſult together, and agree upon ſuch meaſures as ſhould be moſt for the common good of the people and the ſenate. Both the tribunes and the people agreed to this, and *Volero*'s ſcheme would have been rejected, or forgot, if *Appius*, when it was his turn to ſpeak, had not incenſed them again by the haughtineſs of his behaviour, and his ill-timed menaces.

Caius Lectorius, one of the braveſt ſoldiers in the republic, and who had been raiſed to the tribuneſhip, roſe up to anſwer the conſuls, and without taking any notice of *Quinctius*'s argument, inſiſted on the invectives of *Appius*, which he retorted, ſwearing by all that was moſt ſacred, that he would either get *Volero*'s law paſſed, or periſh in the attempt. Then, after having kept the people ſome time in ſuſpence, turning to *Appius*, *I command you*, ſaid he, *to leave the aſſembly*. *Appius* deſpiſed his order, and calling about him his friends and clients, who were very numerous, prepared to oppoſe force with force. The tribune ordered one of his officers to ſeize *Appius*, and carry him to priſon. A ſcuffle enſued, but *Quinctius* quieted it, and conveyed *Appius* out of the aſſembly *.

The tribune Lectorius orders Appius to be led to priſon.

The people ſeize on the capitol. Year of Rome 259.

The next morning, the people, ſpirited up by their tribunes, ſeized on the capital, and fortified themſelves in it, as if reſolved to begin a civil war. *Quinctius* again appeaſed them, and the reſult of their compromiſe was the paſſing *Volero*'s law by the ſenate. From this time, the tribunes were made, and almoſt every thing relating to the people determined, not in the *comitia* by *curiæ*, but by tribes †.

War with the Æqui and Volſci.

Soon after this law was paſſed, the conſuls were obliged to take the field; *Quinctius* againſt the *Æqui*, and *Appius* againſt the *Volſci*. The former, beloved by his ſoldiers, laid waſte the enemy's country, without meeting with any oppoſition; but *Appius* was no ſooner within reach of the *Volſci*, than his men, who hated him, threw away their arms, and, though attacked by the enemy, refuſed to fight, and forced *Appius* to break up his camp, and lead them back to *Rome*. As ſoon as the incenſed conſul reached the *Roman* territory, he ſummoned his ſoldiers to aſſemble, and,

Appius's troops refuſe to fight.

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* Dion. Hal. et Liv. ibid.

† Dion. Hal. ibid. Liv. l. ii. c. 57.

aſſ...d

after upbraiding them with their disobedience, commanded the heads of the centurions and other officers, who had abandoned their posts, to be struck off in his presence. Those who had born the ensigns, and delivered them to the enemy, he caused to be beaten to death with rods. The common soldiers were decimated.

Quinctius and *Appius* were succeeded by *L. Valerius* and *Tib. Æmilius*. The old dispute about the partition of the lands was revived. Both the consuls were disposed to favour the people; but *Appius* still opposed all condescension to them. The tribunes, enraged, cited him before the people, as a declared enemy to the public liberty. To prevent the disgrace of a condemnation, he laid violent hands on himself. *Appius* kills himself.

Under the consulship of *T. Quinctius* and *Q. Servilius*, the *Sabines*, *Æqui*, and *Volsci* were defeated, and the city of *Antium* was taken. *Quinctius* was honoured with a triumph, and attended both by the senate and people, in his procession to the capital *.

In the consulate of *P. Servilius Priscus* and *Æbutius Elva*, a dreadful plague broke out in *Rome*, and swept away almost all the flower of the youth, who were able to bear arms, the fourth part of the senators, the greatest part of the tribunes, and both the consuls. Upon this news, the *Æqui* and *Volsci* entered the *Roman* territory, and appeared unexpectedly before *Rome*. The two consuls being dead, and the few tribunes who were still alive unable to act, on account of their bad state of health, the ædiles took upon them to perform the functions of the consuls; and the *Romans*, still maintaining their antient steadiness, crept to the ramparts, and put the best face they could upon their affairs. The senators themselves mounted the guard, and stood centinels, and, the city being well fortified on all sides, the *Æqui* and *Volsci* gave up all thoughts of a siege, and only pillaged the country, after which they marched off towards *Tusculum*. Several patricians had governed in turns during the *inter-regnum*. The last of these was *Valerius Poplicola*, who, the plague having ceased, assembled the centuries for the election of new consuls, when *Lucretius Tricepitinus* and *T. Veturius Geminus* were chosen. An army was raised, to chastise the late insolence of the *Æqui* and *Volsci*, who were overthrown in a pitched battle, with the greatest loss they had ever yet sustained †. A dreadful plague at *Rome*. The *Æqui* and *Volsci* reduce the *Romans* to great distress. The *Æqui* and *Volsci* defeated.

Hitherto, all litigated matters had been determined by the judgment of the consuls, who regulated their sentence either by the principles of natural equity, or by ancient custom, or by the laws of *Romulus* and his successors, which last were lodged with the *pontifices*, who, with the patri- Year of *Rome* 287.

cians,

* Liv. l. ii. c. 33. † Dion. Hal. Liv. l. iii. c. 4-8.

cians, made a myſtery of them to the people. To remedy this inconvenience, *C. Terentius Arſa*, one of the tribunes of the people, moved for an immediate eſtabliſhment of public laws, to ſerve for a rule to the magiſtrates in their ſentences, and to the litigants for proofs of the juſtice or injuſtice of their cauſe. *Arſa*'s chief aim in this was, to reſtrain the power of the conſuls. This propoſal was ſtrongly oppoſed by the ſenators and patricians, and eſpecially by the young ones, at the head of which laſt was *Quinctius Cæſo*, the ſon of *Quinctius Cincinnatus*. This diſpute, which ended in the inſtitution of the *Roman Code*, was maintained for a long time with the utmoſt virulence on both ſides. *Cæſo*'s inconſiderate heat expoſed him to a proſecution by the tribunes, in conſequence of which, he baniſhed himſelf, before the day appointed for his trial. His father, *Cincinnatus*, who, with ten other ſureties, had been bound for his appearance, in the penalty of three thouſand aſſes of braſs, that is, about nine pounds, thirteen ſhillings, and nine-pence of our money, a vaſt ſum among the *Romans* in thoſe days, was forced to ſell the beſt part of his eſtate on that account, and retired to a cottage on the other ſide of the *Tiber*, where he cultivated, with his own hands, five or ſix acres of land, which were all he had to live upon *.

Terentius Arſa propoſes to eſtabliſh fixed laws

Cæſo retires into baniſhment.

The inteſtine broils of the republic encouraged a private man in *Sabinia*, named *Appius Herdonius*, to attempt the reduction of *Rome*, with a view to make himſelf king. He was deſcended of an illuſtrious family, was rich, and had a great number of ſlaves and clients. With theſe, and the help of his friends, he got together about four thouſand men, chiefly out-laws, and perſons of deſperate fortunes. He embarked this troop on the *Tiber* by night, brought them down the river, and landed them, before break of day, by the ſide of the capital. He got up the hill without being perceived, and, under cover of the darkneſs, poſſeſſed himſelf of the temple of *Jupiter*, and the fortreſs adjoining to it. Thence he threw himſelf into the neighbouring houſes, and put all thoſe to the ſword who refuſed to join him. Some, who had the good luck to eſcape before the *Sabines* entered their houſes, raiſed an alarm in all the quarters of the city. The conſuls, awakened by the noiſe, knew not whether the tumult aroſe from a domeſtic faction, or foreign enemy, and were therefore equally afraid to arm the people, or leave them unarmed. The return of light diſcovered the truth: but even in this extremity the tribunes harangued the people, and inſiſted that they ſhould not take arms, unleſs the *Terentian* law was paſſed. The conſul *Valerius* prevailed, however, by mild words. The capital was recover-

Herdonius attempts to reduce *Rome*.

Seizes the temple of *Jupiter*.

* Dion. Hal. l. x. Liv. l. iii. c. 9-14.

vered,

ed, and *Herdonius* killed, with the greateſt part of his followers. *Valerius* was ſlain in this engagement. Is killed.

Quinctius Cincinnatus, the father of *Cæſo*, was elected to ſucceed the conſul *Valerius*. The deputies ſent by the ſenate to acquaint him with his promotion, found him driving his plough, and, for ſome time, doubtful whether he ſhould accept the proffered dignity: but the love of his country prevailing over his private ſatisfaction, he took leave of his wife, and, recommending to her the care of domeſtic affairs, *I fear*, ſaid he, *my dear* Racilia, *that our fields will be but ill manured this year*. *Quinctius Cincinnatus* is elected conſul.

Quinctius's firſt ſtudy was, to reform the ſenate, and reſtrain the inſolence of the people and their tribunes, reprimanding both parties with equal ſeverity, without declaring himſelf for either, and made the tribunes deſiſt from their proſecution of the *Terentian* law. His conſulſhip expiring, the ſenators were for continuing him in that dignity; but he inſiſted on retiring to his little farm, and *Fabius Vitulanus* and *L. Cornelius Maluginenſis* were named conſuls for the enſuing year. They had ſcarce entered upon their office, when news was brought to *Rome*, that *Altium* had revolted to the *Volſci*, who, together with the *Æqui*, had taken the field. *Fabius* marched againſt the *Volſci*, and defeated them, and *Cornelius* beat the *Æqui*, and retook *Antium*. The conſuls entered *Rome* in triumph, and ſoon after reſigned the faſces to *C. Nautius* and *L. Minutius*, who took the field againſt the *Volſci* and the *Sabines*. *Minutius*, by a ſtratagem of the enemy, was led into a valley, and there hemmed in on all ſides, and in danger of being ſtarved into a ſurrender at diſcretion. Some horſemen, who eſcaped in the night, carried this news to *Rome*. The ſenate, greatly alarmed, and at a loſs what to do, determined to create a dictator. *Quinctius Cincinnatus* was appointed to that high ſtation, and immediately put himſelf at the head of the armies. He marched directly to the relief of the conſul, arrived at the enemy's camp in the night, and ſurrounded it ſo that at break of day the *Æqui* found themſelves in the ſame ſituation that they had put *Minutius*. The *Æqui*, attacked on one ſide by the dictator, and on the other by the conſul, ſubmitted to *Quinctius*'s terms, which were, that they ſhould retire without baggage, arms, or cloaths, and every man paſs under the yoke. Two javelins were accordingly fixed in the ground, and a third laid over them, and all the ſoldiers paſſed, naked and unarmed, under this kind of gate. Their generals and officers were delivered up to the *Romans*, and reſerved to grace the dictator's triumph. He would not allow the conſul's troops to have any ſhare in the ſpoil; but, turning to *Minutius*, *As for you*, ſaid he, *you muſt learn the art of war in an inferior rank, before you pretend again to command in chief*. He then obliged him to lay down his office, which the modeſt conſul was ſo far from reſenting, that he

Makes the tribunes deſiſt from proſecuting the law *Terentia*.

He is appointed dictator.

Year of *Rome* 291.

Relieves the conſul

Degrades *Minutius*.

and

and his troops presented the dictator with a crown of gold of a pound weight, for having saved the lives and honour of his fellow citizens. *Quinctius* returned to *Rome*, and entered the city in a pompous triumph; after which, he resigned the dictatorship, and retired to his little farm.

The *Æqui*, notwithstanding their late defeat, took the field again soon after, and, with the *Sabines*, renewed their usual inroads, and pillaged the *Roman* territory. The two consuls, *C. Horatius* and *Q. Minutius*, were ordered to march against them without delay; but the tribunes, after their old way, protested, that not a plebeian should inlist, till the commissioners for making a body of laws, according to *Terentius*'s proposal, were named. An extraordinary meeting of the senate was summoned, to deliberate on the present troubles, and *Quinctius Cincinnatus* was recalled, to make head against the tribunes. He was of opinion, that the whole senate and the body of the patricians, with their friends and clients, should take arms, and hasten into the field. His advice was received with applause: even the oldest senators appeared in the *forum* armed. The people, moved with this sight, were going to give in their names to be listed, when their tribune *Virginius*, having first conferred with his collegue, told the consuls, that if they would only suffer the number of the tribunes to be increased from five to ten, they would consent to the raising of the levies. Their request was granted, and the senate passed a decree, giving the people liberty to chuse ten tribunes annually, provided they did not continue the same man in office above a year. The tribunes being satisfied, two armies were raised without opposition. *Minutius* marched against the *Sabines*, who retired at his approach. *Horatius* led his troops against the *Æqui*, retook *Corbio* and *Ortona*, which they had seized, and then both consuls returned to *Rome*, to preside in the *comitia* at the election of their successors *, which were *M. Valerius Lactucinus* and *Sp. Virginius Tricostus*.

The people refusing to inlist, the senators and patricians take arms.

The tribunes of the people increased to ten.

Year of *Rome* 292.

The tribunes, grown more audacious than ever, by the increase of their number, proposed, that mount *Aventine*, or at least such parts of it as were not cultivated, or possessed by lawful owners, should be given to the people, who being now very numerous, began to want habitations. The consuls looking upon this demand as a prelude to the revival of the agrarian law, and therefore deferring to convene the senate to debate it, *Icilius*, one of the tribunes, daringly sent an officer to them, commanding them to assemble the senate forthwith, and to repair to it themselves. The messenger was, by the consuls orders, severely beat, and ignominiously driven away by one of the lictors. The tribunes called the lictor to be seized, and some of them were for

Bold attempt of the tribunes.

* Dion. Hal. Liv. ibid. c. 30, 31.

putting

putting him immediately to death, for violating the facred privileges of the tribuneſhip, in the perſon of their officer. The ſenate, to ſave him, were obliged to give up mount *Aventine*, by a decree, to the people. *Icilius*, not ſatisfied with this, formed a deſign to bring the conſuls themſelves under ſubjection *. In the conſulate of *T. Romilius* and *C. Veturius*, the tribunes made more noiſe than ever about the *Terentian* law; and the conſuls, knowing the republic would never be quiet at home, till ſhe was engaged in a war abroad, declared their reſolution to revenge ſome late inſults of the *Sabines* and *Æqui*. They raiſed the levies with ſuch ſeverity, that the people appealed to their tribunes, who, taking the part of the complainants, endeavoured to reſcue from the lictors ſome whom the conſuls had ordered to be ſeized. The conſuls advanced to ſupport the execution of their orders; but the tribunes, ſupported by the populace, not only repulſed them, but ordered the ædiles to ſeize thoſe ſovereign magiſtrates, and carry them to priſon. So daring an attempt provoked the patricians to ſuch a degree, that they fell upon the tribunes, beat them ſeverely, and forced them to fly.

Mount *Aventine* yielded to the people

The tribunes ſeize the conſuls, but are beaten by the patricians.

The next day, the tribunes aſſembled the people a-new, and ſummoned the conſuls to appear before their tribunal, to anſwer for what had happened the day before. The conſuls treated this ſummons with ſcorn: upon which the tribunes complained to the ſenate, and threatened to aſſemble the tribes, and judge the conſuls, if they did not appear to juſtify their conduct. *Romilius*, on his ſide, declared, that if the tribunal dared to proceed a ſtep farther, he would arm the whole body of the patricians againſt them. The ſenate, thinking it dangerous to declare for either ſide, broke up, without coming to any reſolution. The tribunes too dropt the proſecution of this affair, but determined to propoſe both the *Agrarian* and the *Terentian* law; and a day was accordingly fixed for a new aſſembly to deliberate thereon.

The tribunes renew their purſuit of the agrarian law.

The time appointed being come, and the people aſſembled, *Icilius* made a long harangue on the reaſonableneſs of the *Agrarian* law; and then declared, that any plebeian might ſpeak his mind freely. Upon this, many of them pleaded the right their ſervices gave them to a ſhare of the conquered lands, and made loud complaints of the patricians, who uſurped what the plebeians had gained with their blood. This was their common complaint, but none repreſented it in ſtronger terms than one *Sicinius Dentatus*. He was a plebeian, about threeſcore years of age, but in his full ſtrength and vigour, of an handſome ſhape and mein, and not uneloquent for a man of his ſtation. He enumerated his exploits in war during forty years ſervice; told the multitude, that he had been in an hundred and twenty engagements;

* Liv. l. iii. c. 31.

that

that he had received forty-five wounds, all before; twelve of them in that ſingle action againſt *Herdonius* the *Sabine*; that, for the laſt thirty years, he had been always in ſome command or other; that fourteen civic crowns had been given him for ſaving the lives of ſo many citizens; three rural crowns for having been the firſt that mounted the breach in towns taken by ſtorm; eight other crowns for different exploits; eighty-three golden collars; ſixty golden bracelets; eighteen lances; twenty-five ſets of furniture for horſes, nine of which he had won from ſo many enemies conquered in ſingle combat: "And theſe military toys," added he, "are the only rewards I have hitherto received. No lands, "no ſhare of the conquered countries: uſurpers, without "any title, but that of a patrician extraction, poſſeſs them. "Is this to be endured? Shall they alone enjoy the fruits "of our conqueſts? the purchaſe of our blood? No, ple-"beians, let us delay no longer to do ourſelves juſtice. Let "us this very day paſs the law propoſed by *Icilius*. If the "young patricians oppoſe it, let our tribunes make them "feel what is the extent of their authority." *Icilius* beſtowed the higheſt encomiums on *Dentatus*; but, affecting to appear a ſtrict obſerver of the laws, he told him, that he could not with juſtice propoſe the law, till he had heard what the patricians alledged againſt it. He therefore adjourned the aſſembly to the next day.

In the mean time, the conſuls and chief of the ſenators met, and came to a reſolution, that if they could not evade the publication of the law by fair words, they would employ main force to hinder the collecting of the votes. The patricians, being informed of this, repaired to the forum early in the morning, and diſperſed themſelves in ſmall parties among the multitude. The conſuls being come, the tribunes cauſed proclamation to be made by an herald, that whoever had any ſolid reaſons to offer againſt the publication of the *Agrarian* law, might lay them before the people. Several ſenators attempted to ſpeak, but the populace immediately ſet up ſuch a noiſe, that it was impoſſible to hear them. The conſuls proteſted againſt all that ſhould be done in ſo tumultuous an aſſembly; but the tribunes, without regarding their remonſtrances, commanded the urns to be opened, and the tablets to be delivered out to the people, in order to vote. Upon this, the young patricians, ſtarting up, ſnatched away the urns, and ſcattered about the tablets on which the votes were written; and, throwing themſelves, at the head of their clients and friends, into the crowd, by blows and main force hindered the people from dividing into their reſpective tribes. The tribunes too were forced to retire, and defer the promulgation of the law to another day.

Which the patricians oppoſe by force.

Conſuls tried by the people

The two conſuls had no ſooner reſigned the faſces to their ſucceſſors *Sp. Tarpeius* and *A. Arterius*, but they were cited before the aſſembly of the people; *Romilius*, at the ſuit of *Si-*

cinius,

cinius, now one of the tribunes; and *Veturius* at that of *Alierius*, one of the *ædiles*. They both appeared, depending on the promises the patricians had made them not to suffer the votes to be gathered. But *Sicinius* took such measures to prevent all disturbances, that they were both regularly tried for having offered violence to the tribunes, and disturbed them in the execution of their office. *Romilius* was fined in ten thousand asses, and *Veturius* in fifteen thousand *.

The tribunes, finding they could not possibly bring the consuls to hear of the *Agrarian* law, returned to the pursuit of the *Terentian*; and the senate, to put an end to contests which must, in time, have proved fatal to the state, agreed to their demand, on condition that all the legislators should be chosen out of the nobility. A decree was passed accordingly, and *Sp. Posthumius*, *S. Sulpicius*, and *A. Manlius*, were appointed to go to *Greece*, and there collect the best laws and institutions of the *Greek* cities, especially of *Athens*. The next year, *P. Curiatius* and *Sextus Quintilius* being consuls, a dreadful plague afflicted almost all *Italy*, and swept away prodigious numbers of citizens at *Rome*. The year after, in the consulate of *P. Sextus* and *T. Menelius*, the deputies returned from *Greece*, and the people pressed the nomination of the ten commissioners who were to settle the laws: but various pretences were made use of to delay this affair, till the ensuing consulate of *Appius Claudius* and *T. Genucius*, when the decemvirs were at length created; and all of them were chosen out of the body of the nobility.

The *Terentian* law passes.

Creation of the Decemvirs.

This was almost as remarkable a revolution in the government of *Rome*, as that from kings to consuls. Nothing could be more gentle than the beginning of this joint reign, as we may style it, of the *decemvirs*. They agreed among themselves, that only one of them, at a time, should have the fasces, and the other consular ornaments, assemble the senate, confirm decrees, &c. To this honour they were to succeed by turns, each enjoying it one whole day, and then resigning it to another. The rest, who were not in actual exercise of their office, affected no distinction but that of guards, their habit differing very little from that of the other senators. They repaired every morning, each in his turn, to their tribunal in the *forum*; and there distributed justice with so much impartiality, that the people, charmed with their conduct, seemed to have quite forgot their tribunes. *Appius*, that once severe and inflexible magistrate, was now all affability and complaisance; and, from being the detestation, became the idol of the people.

Year of *Rome* 297.

They please the people.

Before the end of the year, each of the decemvirs presented to the people that part of the laws which he had

* Liv. l. iii. c. 31.

The Decemvirs propose the ten tables of laws.

drawn up *. They were assisted by one *Hermodorus*, a *Greek*, in understanding the transcript brought from *Athens*. When the work was completed, the decemvirs assembled the people and told them, that they had drawn up a body of laws according to the best of their skill and judgment; that they hoped they would be pleased with them, and that they would prove beneficial to the republic and their latest posterity; but that, as a whole nation must see farther than any ten persons, they desired them to consider and examine them among themselves, and freely to offer whatever alterations or additions they should think proper, for that nothing they had done should have the force of a law till it was received with universal consent. Accordingly, the laws were cut in ten tables of oak, and fixed up in the *forum*; and all who came to start any difficulties about them, were well received, and readily heard. When all necessary corrections and amendments had been made, the ten tables were carried before the senate, who approved of them; and the people being convened by centuries, they were unanimously confirmed, and then transcribed on pillars of brass, and ranged in order in the *forum*, as the foundation of judicial determinations, with regard both to public and private affairs †.

The decemviral government continued for one year.

As several eminent men in the republic were of opinion, that some regulations, which would fill two other tables, were necessary to be added to the ten already made, both the senate and people agreed to continue the decemviral government for one year more. The senators were glad at any rate to get rid of the tribunes, and the people extremely desirous to keep the restoration of the consular dignity. *Appius*, that late haughty enemy to the plebeians, now, all affability and complaisance, courted the favour of the meanest citizens. The patricians saw his views, and determined, if possible, to disappoint him. Accordingly, when the time of the *comitia*, for the creation of the new decemvirs drew near, they appointed *Appius* to preside in them: for it was the business of the president to propose to the people the candidates for offices; and it had never yet been known that any one had nominated himself. But *Appius*, contrary to all the rules of decency, proposed himself for the first decemvir; and the people, now entirely devoted to him, readily gave him their suffrages. The other persons he named, were all men at his devotion; and among them, to the great surprize of the senate, were three plebeians, who, though absolutely excluded from this superior magistracy, both by their birth, and by their late express agreement between

Three plebeians chosen at the motion of *Appius*.

* Dion. Hal. l. x. Liv. l. iii. c. 32-34. † Dion. Hal. Liv. ibid. Cic. Tusc. 5. Strabo. l. xiv. Plin. l. xv. c. 5.

the

the patricians and the people, were, by a plurality of voices added to the number of the decemvirs ‡.

Claudius now threw off the maſk, and turned his thoughts wholly on making his domination perpetual. As he governed his collegues with an abſolute ſway, he inſpired them with his own ſentiments, and eaſily made them agree to be guided by them in every thing they ſhould do. From that time, they appeared reſerved and myſterious, and had ſcarce any intercourſe but with thoſe of their own body. This cloſe confederacy alarmed the ſenate. When the ides of *May* came, and the new decemvirs made their firſt appearance, the *Romans* were greatly ſurpriſed to ſee each decemvir appear in the *forum*, early in the morning, with twelve lictors bearing axes among their faſces, like thoſe that were antiently carried before the kings, and afterwards before the dictators; ſo that the *forum* was filled with an hundred and twenty lictors. The people now groaned under a moſt deſpotic tyranny. Thoſe that could, retired into the country, hoping that the tempeſt would ceaſe with the annual power of the decemvirs *.

Two new tables of laws added to the ten.

The ides of *May* returned, when new magiſtrates were to be elected. But the decemvirs, inſtead of aſſembling the people, propoſed two new tables of laws, one relating to religion, and the other to marriages, and the rights of huſbands. Theſe made up the famous twelve tables, which the *Romans* preſerved ever after as a ſacred depoſit. The laſt of theſe laws, forbidding patricians and plebeians to intermarry, was an artful invention of the tyrants, to keep the two parties always divided, that they might reign with more ſecurity. In the mean time, the ides of *May* paſſed, without a word of any *comitia* for an election of new magiſtrates. The tyrants then ſhewed themſelves barefaced, and, in ſpite of both the ſenate and people, retained their power, without any other title but poſſeſſion and violence. Whoever offended them was proſcribed, without mercy.

Invaſion of the *Sabines* and *Æqui*.

The *Sabines* and *Æqui*, diſdaining to live ſubject to a city which had loſt her own liberty, invaded the *Roman* territory, and advanced within a few miles of *Rome*. This alarmed the decemvirs, who knew not how to raiſe an army among a people diſſatisfied with their government. They convened the ſenate, and *Appius*, in a ſtudied harangue, repreſented the neceſſity of an immediate decree for levies. This was abſolutely refuſed by many of the moſt eminent ſenators, till conſuls ſhould be choſen to head the troops: but the decemvirs obtain a majority, conſidering that their preſent danger would not admit of ſuch a delay, agreed to *Appius*'s propoſal. The levy accordingly raiſed ten legions, eight of which, under the command of as many decemvirs, marched againſt

The decemvirs obtain a decree to levy troops.

‡ Liv. l. iii. c. 35-37.

* Liv. l. iii. c. 38.

the enemy, whilſt *Appius* and *Oppius*, another decemvir, remained with two legions in the city, to keep in awe the domeſtic enemy, which they feared moſt of all. The ſoldiers that took the field, purpoſely ſuffered the enemy to gain great advantages over them, and, at laſt, feigning a ſudden fright, diſperſed in the night, and returned into the *Roman* territory. The diſcontent grew general among the troops, and they, as well as all the *Romans*, began to think in earneſt of throwing off the yoke, and reſtoring their country to its ancient liberty. An opportunity ſoon offered.

The ſtory of *Appius* and *Virginia*.

While *Appius*, with his collegue *Oppius*, remained at home to keep the city in awe, he ſaw, and fell in love with, a young virgin, the daughter of *L. Virginius*, a man famous in the city for his probity, and in the army for his valour. Her name was *Virginia*. Her mother was dead, and her father, upon his departure for the war, had committed her to the care of an uncle. She was now marriageable, and *Virginius* had already promiſed her to *Icilius*, who had been tribune of the people, and was to marry her at the end of the campaign. The luſtful decemvir tried to corrupt her governeſs; but finding that impoſſible, he applied to *M. Claudius*, one of his clients, an infamous wretch, fit for any villainous enterprize. This miniſter of the tyrant's paſſion, taking with him a band of wretches like himſelf, ſeized *Virginia*, declaring that ſhe was the daughter of one of his ſlaves, and therefore belonged to him. The people reſcued her: *Claudius* cited her to appear before the decemvir; and ſhe, by the new laws, was obliged to follow him to the tribunal. *Appius*, who was alone upon the bench, was juſt ready to adjudge her to the claimant, when the people, fired with indignation, cried out, that *Virginia*'s relations ought firſt to be heard. *Appius*, abſolute as he was, dared not refuſe this. The firſt that came was her uncle *Numitorius*, attended by a great number of his friends and relations. *Claudius* renewed his claim, founded on a lie concerted between him and the judge. He pretended, that *Virginia* was born in his houſe, of a ſlave belonging to him; that her mother had given her to *Numitoria*, the wife of *Virginius*; and that *Numitoria* had impoſed the child upon her huſband, and made *Virginia* paſs for his daughter. He added, that he would ſoon produce undeniable teſtimonies of what he advanced; that, in the mean time, it was but juſt, that a ſlave ſhould go with her maſter, and that he would give ſecurity to produce her again in court, when *Virginius*, her pretended father, returned from the war. *Numitorius* repreſented, that it was highly unjuſt to diſpute a citizen's right to his very children, when he was not preſent to aſſert it; adding, that *Virginius*, who was ſerving his country in the camp, would not fail to be at *Rome* in two days, and that it was reaſonable her uncle, who had the care of her perſon, ſhould, in the mean time, be the guar-

dian

dian of her honour. This, he ſaid, was conformable to the laws, which ordained, that during a law-ſuit, and before a definitive ſentence, the plaintiff ſhould not diſturb the defendant in his poſſeſſion. But this law *Appius* artfully eluded, by obſerving, that in the preſent diſpute there were two circumſtances which altered the caſe. *Here*, ſaid he, *are two perſons claiming; the one as a father, the other as a maſter. If the pretended father were preſent, he, indeed, ought to be allowed the poſſeſſion: but, he being abſent, the perſon who claims her as his ſlave ought to be preferred to any other, provided he gives good ſecurity to produce her again at the return of the perſon who is called her father.* Having thus ſpoken, he ordered *Virginia* to be put into *Claudius*'s hands. At that inſtant, *Icilius*; to whom ſhe had been promiſed in marriage, arrived, and, breaking through the crowd, forced his way to the tribunal, to defend his dear *Virginia*. He claſped her in his arms, and, addreſſing himſelf to *Appius*, *No*, Appius, cried he, *nothing but death ſhall ſeparate me from* Virginia. *Add my murder to the many crimes with which thou art already polluted. Aſſemble all thy lictors, and thoſe of thy collegues too, I will defend her honour to my laſt breath. Have you deprived us of our tribunes, only to ſubject our wives and our daughters to your brutiſh luſt? Go on to exerciſe your rage upon our eſtates and lives; but ſpare the chaſtity of our virgins. If any attempt be made upon the honour of* Virginia, *I call the gods to witneſs, that it ſhall not go unrevenged. What will not* Virginius *be able to do in the army, and* Icilius *among the people, when the one is to revenge the cauſe of an injured wife, and the other of a diſhonoured daughter.* He was going on, when the lictors were ordered to drive him away, and ſeize *Virginia*. The people, now incenſed to the utmoſt, fell upon the officers of the decemvir, diſperſed them, and obliged *Claudius* to take refuge under the tribunal. *Appius*, afraid of the conſequences of this rage of the people, called his client to him, whiſpered in his ear, and then, having cauſed ſilence to be made, *It is not*, ſaid he, *the fury of the violent* Icilius *which makes me comply, but the intreaties of* Claudius *my client. He is willing to give up the right he has to carry home his ſlave, and to commit her to the ſame hands in which ſhe was before. At his requeſt I will wait for* Virginius's *return till to-morrow. Let her friends take care to give him notice. If* Virginius *does not appear at the time appointed, I would have* Icilius *know, that I ſhall not want any aſſiſtance from my collegues to put my decree in execution.* When he had done ſpeaking, *Claudius* deſired that *Icilius* might give ſecurity for producing *Virginia* the next day, which he did accordingly, all the people then preſent offering eagerly to be bound for him. *Icilius* and *Numitorius* immediately diſpatched, the firſt his brother, the ſecond his ſon, to bring *Virginius* from the camp. *Appius*, at the ſame time, ſent a courier with orders to the generals to put him under arreſt; but the other meſſengers were moſt expeditions; and *Virginius*,

ginius, upon the firſt notice of his daughter's danger, had left the army, and was ſo fortunate as to eſcape two parties which were ſent, one from the camp, and the other from the city, to ſtop him. He appeared the next morning in the *forum*, leading his daughter, in deep mourning, attended by a great number of matrons of diſtinction. He addreſſed himſelf to his fellow citizens as he paſſed, and uttered his complaints with an air of dignity, which ſeemed rather to demand than implore aſſiſtance. *Icilius* too, broke into the throng, inveighed loudly againſt *Appius*, and transfuſed his own reſentment into every breaſt. *Appius* was greatly ſurpriſed to hear that *Virginius* was in the *forum*. Full of rage he repaired thither; and, though informed of the diſpoſition of the people, he aſcended the tribunal, being ſurrounded by a numerous crowd of his dependents and creatures. *Claudius* ſpoke the firſt, renewed his claim, and produced the ſlave he had ſuborned to declare, that ſhe was the mother of *Virginia*, and that ſhe had ſold her to the wife of *Virginius*. Several other witneſſes, gained by great promiſes of *Appius* and his client, appeared to atteſt the ſame thing.

The friends and relations of *Virginius*, to deſtroy this impoſture, urged the little probability of *Numitoria*'s impoſing a child upon her huſband. He had married her when ſhe was very young, and was almoſt of the ſame age with her. *Virginia* was born ſoon after their marriage. Where then, ſaid they, was the neceſſity for ſuch a fraud? Beſides, had ſhe proved barren, which there could not then be time to judge of, and had deſigned to introduce a ſtranger into her family, why ſhould ſhe have choſen the child of a ſlave, rather than of a free woman? Why a girl, when ſhe might as eaſily have had a boy? To many other ſuch arguments as theſe, *Virginius* added undeniable proofs, and brought ſome of the moſt conſiderable women in *Rome*, who depoſed, ſome, that they had ſeen *Numitoria* when ſhe was big with child; others, that they had aſſiſted at her labour; and ſome, that they had ſeen her ſuckle young *Virginia*, which ſhe could not have done, had ſhe been barren, as *Claudius* pretended.

Appius, obſerving that theſe unanſwerable proofs made a great impreſſion upon the multitude, interrupted the evidence, and, commanding ſilence, ſignified that he himſelf had ſomething to ſay. Every one liſtened with attention. *I muſt acquaint you*, Virginius, ſaid he, *and all who are preſent, with what I myſelf know of this affair*. Claudius's *father revealed the ſecret to me at his death, when he made me his ſon's guardian. Afterwards, I examined into the matter, and found it true, However, I did not think it became me to meddle in an affair of this nature, and therefore left it to my pupil to recover his right, or to agree with the parties concerned, when he ſhould come of age. But now that the cauſe is brought before me in judgment, being obliged to give ſentence according to my own perſonal*

perſonal knowledge, I declare, both as judge and witneſs, that the young woman belongs to Claudius ; *and my ſentence is, that ſhe be delivered up to him, as his property.* *Virginius*, provoked to the higheſt degree at ſo unjuſt and cruel a ſentence, was no longer maſter of himſelf. He trembled with rage, and, accompanying his words with a threatening geſture, *Infamous wretch*, ſaid he, *I never deſigned my daughter for thee : I educated her for a lawful huſband, and not to be a prey to a luſtful raviſher. Muſt then brutal paſſions amongſt us take the place of honourable marriages ? How the citizens here will bear with theſe things, I know not ; but I truſt the army will revenge my wrongs.* At theſe words the people ſet up a loud cry of indignation, if they were determined to oppoſe the execution of *Appius*'s decree. But the decemvir, having firſt caſt his eyes on all ſides, to obſerve his ſtrength, and ſee how his friends were poſted, told the multitude, with a threatening voice, that he was not unacquainted with the plots that had been laid to cauſe an inſurrection ; but that he neither wanted power nor reſolution to inflict exemplary puniſhment on ſuch as ſhould offer to diſturb the public peace. *Let every one, therefore*, ſaid he, *retire to his own houſe, and none preſume to give law to a ſupreme magiſtrate. As for you*, Claudius, added he, *ſeize your ſlave, and make uſe of my guard to diſperſe the crowd.* At theſe words, uttered with an imperious tone, the multitude gave back, and left *Virginia* ſtanding by herſelf, an helpleſs prey to injuſtice.

The unfortunate father, ſeeing there was no other remedy, drew near *Appius*, and, in a ſuppliant manner, addreſſed him thus : *Pardon*, Appius, *the unguarded words which have eſcaped me in the firſt tranſports of grief, and allow me to aſk, in the young woman's preſence, ſome queſtions of her nurſe, that I may carry home, at leaſt, the comfort of being ſet right in this matter.* *Appius* granted his requeſt, and *Virginius*, taking his daughter in his arms, and wiping her tears, drew near a ſhop in the *forum*, ſnatched up a knife that lay there, and, turning to *Virginia*, *My dear daughter*, ſaid he, *this is the only way to ſave thy liberty and thy honour.* *Go*, Virginia, *go to thy anceſtors, whilſt thou art yet a free woman, pure and undefiled.* With theſe words he plunged the knife into her heart, and then drawing it out again, reeking with her blood, and turning to *Appius*, *By this blood*, cried he *I devote thy head to the infernal gods.* The decemvir immediately ordered him to be ſeized ; but he, with the knife in his hand, made his way through the crowd, got out of the city, and, mounting his horſe, took the road to the camp. *Numitorius* and *Icilius* ſtaid by the dead body, ſhewing it to the people, and exhorting them to revenge. As for *Appius*, he ſeemed to have quite loſt his reaſon : inſtead of endeavouring to pacify the multitude, he retired to his own houſe, and from thence ſent his lictors to ſeize *Icilius*, and bring away the corpſe of *Virginia*. But the people fell upon the lictors,

broke their faſces, and drove them out of the *forum*. The decemvir then came in perſon, backed by a choſen body of young patricians; but *Valerius* and *Horatius*, thoſe ſworn enemies of the decemvirs, putting themſelves at the head of their friends and clients, obliged him to retire. He then ran to the temple of *Vulcan*, and pretending to act the tribune of the people, demanded that *Valerius* and *Horatius* ſhould be thrown down the *Tarpeian* rock, as diſturbers of the public peace; but his harangue was often interrupted with hiſſes. At length, *Appius* privately withdrew, and, hiding his face with his robe, took refuge in a neighbouring houſe. His collegue *Oppius*, one of the plebeian decemvirs, was juſt then coming to his aſſiſtance; but finding that the party of *Valerius* and *Horatius* was by far the ſtrongeſt, he judged it beſt to convene the ſenate. This quieted the multitude; for they hoped that the decemvirate would by that means be aboliſhed. But the ſenators then in *Rome* being all friends to the decemvirs, only ordered the people to behave themſelves peaceably, and commiſſioned ſome young members of their body to go to the camp near mount *Algidus*, and prevent the ſedition which *Virginius* might raiſe there*.

Virginius ſtirs up the army. They came too late: he had entered the camp, attended by four hundred citizens, and holding the bloody knife in his hand, related to the ſoldiers the plot *Appius* had laid againſt his daughter's honour and liberty, and the cruel method he had been forced to take to preſerve her chaſtity. They all aſſured him they would ſtand by him in whatever he ſhould undertake againſt ſo wicked a tyrant. The decemvirs who commanded the army being informed of *Virginius*'s return, and the diſpoſition of the ſoldiers, attempted to ſeize the former, and appeaſe the latter: but the ſoldiers, which revolts from their generals, and encamps on mount *Aventine*. diſregarding their commands, flew to their arms, ſnatched up their colours, and took the way to *Rome*, which they reached towards evening, and entered without making the leaſt diſturbance. They marched quietly through the city to mount *Aventine*, and there intrenched themſelves, declaring, that they would not lay down their arms till the decemvirate was aboliſhed, and the tribunefhip reſtored. *Appius* not daring to appear in public, *Oppius* convened the ſenate, and three of their body were ſent to the army, to aſk why they had left the camp without their general's orders, and what their intent was in poſſeſſing themſelves of mount *Aventine*. As they had not yet choſen an head, they all cried out, with one voice, *Let* Valerius *and* Horatius *be ſent to us: we will return no anſwer to the ſenate but by them.* As ſoon as the deputies were gone, *Virginius* adviſed the troops to chuſe chiefs to govern them, and manage for them. Accordingly ten perſons were elected under the name of *mili-*

* Diod. Sic. l. xii. Liv. l. iii. c. 44-49.

tary

tary tribunes. The army was desirous to have *Virginius* at the head of them; but he declined that honour. *My daughter*, said he, *is dead, and I have not yet revenged her death. No kind of honour will become me, till her manes are appeased. Besides, what prudent or moderate counsels can you expect from me, who am so incensed against the tyrants? I shall be of more service to the common cause, by acting in it as a private man.* Ten military tribunes elected.

In the mean time, the three legions sent against the *Sabines*, being stirred up by *Numitorius* and *Icilius*, abandoned their generals, and having, after the example of the other army, chosen themselves ten military tribunes, marched through the city, and joined the troops on the *Aventine*. The two armies, thus united, commissioned their twenty tribunes to elect two out of their number, to be supreme over all, and the choice fell upon *M. Oppius* and *S. Manilius*. *Valerius* and *Horatius* were desired by the senate to go to the revolted army; but they protested they would not stir a step, so long as the decemvirs were masters of the government. The two armies, tired with delays, removed their camp to the *Sacred Mount*, intrenched themselves there, and observed the same good discipline as their ancestors had formerly done. In this decampment, they were followed by such numbers of citizens, with their wives and children, that *Rome* was in a manner deserted. The two *Roman* armies join. And remove to the *Sacred Mount*.

At length, the senators resolved to abolish the decemvirate, to restore to the people their tribunes, and to the senate its consuls. The decemvirs themselves, finding they could hold their power no longer, offered to resign whenever the senate should think fit to create new consuls; only desiring, that they might not be sacrificed to the hatred of their enemies. Upon this, *Valerius* and *Horatius* repaired to the army, where they were received with inexpressible joy. *Icilius*, whom the army chose for their speaker, after returning the deputies thanks for their constant zeal in behalf of the people, demanded, in the name of all who had retired to the *Sacred Mount*, First, The re-establishment of the tribunes of the people, with a right of appeal to them from the decisions of the consuls. Secondly, An amnesty for all who had left the camp without permission from their generals. Thirdly, That the decemvirs should be delivered into their hands to be burnt alive. *Your two first demands*, replied the deputies, *are agreeable to reason; but the third is the effect of passion. You are offered a shield; do not pretend to take a sword too. The senate has not yet declared you innocent, and will you already presume to give laws to it?* The people, satisfied that their interests could not be in better hands than those of these two senators, impowered them to make what terms for them they should think fit. *Horatius* and *Valerius* returned immediately to the senate, with the people's demand; but omitted their threats against the decemvirs, who hearing no mention made of their punishment, readily The army returns to *Rome*.

consented

consented to all that was asked; only *Appius* seemed unwilling to part with his power *.

The decemvirate abolished.

A decree was passed, abolishing the decemvirate, and restoring the tribunes. The decemvirs, repairing to the *forum*, there laid down their authority, to the great joy of the city *. The army then removed back to *Mount Aventine*, and chose themselves ten tribunes, of which *Virginius*, *Icilius*, and *Numitorius* were the first named. An *inter-rex* was afterwards created, who held an assembly of the people by centuries, in which *L. Valerius* and *M. Horatius* were raised to the consulate. These consuls, being very popular, got several laws passed, which gave the people a superiority over the senate. Formerly, the decrees of the people, convened by tribes, obliged only the plebeians; but now it was enacted, that all decrees made in the *comitia* by tribes, would have the force of laws, with relation to all citizens. To maintain the tribunes in perpetual possession of the right of judging causes brought before them by appeal, it was likewise enacted, That, for the future, no magistrate of any kind should be invested with such authority as should preclude an appeal to an assembly of the people; and that it should be lawful for any one to kill the man who should attempt the creation of such a magistrate. Another law was, that the decrees of the senate should, for the future, be carried to the ædiles, and kept in the temple of *Ceres*. This was done, lest the succeeding consuls should suppress the decrees now made, and by that means render them useless †.

Year of *Rome* 300.

L. Valerius and *M. Horatius* consuls.

Appius impeach'd by *Virginius*,

The republic having now resumed her ancient form, the tribunes resolved to prosecute the decemvirs. They began with *Appius*. *Virginius*, in quality of tribune of the people, declared himself his accuser; and, without enumerating all his other crimes, insisted only on his having, contrary to law, refused a maid of free condition her liberty, while the suit was yet depending. *If you do not instantly clear yourself from this breach of the law*, said he, *I will order you to be carried to prison.* *Appius* was silent; but when the officers of the tribunes offered to seize him, he appealed to the people, and claimed the protection of the laws just made in favour of appeals. *Virginius* answered, that *Appius* was the only person who ought not to enjoy the benefit of the laws, which he himself had violated in his decemvirate; and that such a monster ought, without mercy, to be carried to that prison which he himself had built, and insolently named *the habitation of the people of Rome*. He was led thither, and his trial was fixed for the third market day; but before that came, he died in prison. *Oppius*, one of the plebeian decemvirs, was impeached by *Numitorius*, as an accomplice

and carried to prison, where he dies.

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* Liv. l. iii. c. 53, 54. † Ibid. c. 55.

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with *Appius*, and, like him, thrown into priſon, where he died the ſame day. The other eight decemvirs retired into voluntary baniſhment, and their eſtates were confiſcated and ſold for the benefit of the public. A general amneſty was then proclaimed, and the ſtate enjoyed tranquillity at home the remaining part of the year *.

Oppius with the ſame fate.

The two conſuls took the field againſt the *Æqui*, *Volſci*, and *Sabines*, who had pillaged the *Roman* territory during the late inteſtine diviſions. *Valerius* defeated the former, and *Horatius* the latter. The ſenate, jealous of their too great popularity, refuſed them a triumph. But this oppoſition ſerved only to gain the people a new prerogative, that of decreeing triumphs; for the conſuls applied to them, and the tribune *Icilius* declared, in the name of the people of *Rome*, that the conſuls ſhould, in ſpite of the ſenate, have the honour of a triumph, which was thought ſo legal a one, that it had a place in the *Faſti Capitolini*.

The *Æ-qui*, *Volſci*, and *Sabines* defeated.

The time for electing new magiſtrates being come, *Lartius Herminius* and *T. Virginius* were choſen conſuls, and as ſome difficulties had ariſen about the election of tribunes, ſome of the old ones wanting to continue themſelves in that poſt beyond the limited time, a law was paſſed, enacting, *That if, upon a day of election, the full number of ten tribunes could not be choſen, thoſe who were elected ſhould have power to name their collegues*. Agreeable to this law, the new tribunes no ſooner entered on their office, but they choſe their collegues, and among them, to the great ſurpriſe of all, *S. Tarpeius* and *A. Æſernius*, both patricians, old ſenators, and even conſulars. This advantage, which the patricians now obtained, of getting ſome of their body into the tribuneſhip, in order to counterbalance the power of the plebeian tribunes, was ſoon afterwards defeated by another law, which *L. Trebonius*, one of the tribunes, procured to be paſſed, and which from him was called the *Lex Trebonia*, whereby it was enacted, *That whoſoever ſhould, for the future, hold the comitia for electing tribunes of the people, ſhould not diſmiſs the aſſembly till the number of ten tribunes was completed by the votes of the people*.

Two patricians choſen tribunes.

Lex Trebonia.

The following conſulate of *M. Geganius* and *C. Julius* produced nothing remarkable. But the ſucceeding conſuls *T. Quinctius Capitolinus* and *Agrippa Furius*, found the people highly exaſperated againſt the nobility, and, upon the news of theſe freſh domeſtic broils, the *Æqui* and *Volſci* began again to ravage the *Roman* territory, to the very gate of *Rome*. The conſuls marched againſt them, and gained a complete victory. An iniquitous judgment, which the *Roman* people obſtinately gave in a cauſe referred to them by the inhabitants of *Ardea* and *Aricia*, relating to a tract of

The *Æ-qui* and *Volſci* defeated.

* Liv. l. iii. c. 58, 59.

land

land to which they both laid claim, tarnished the glory of the republic this year; the *Romans*, on a frivolous pretence of its having formerly belonged to the city of *Corioli*, and therefore now become their property, adjudged it to themselves, instead of giving it to either of the contending parties.

Military tribunes created with consular power, but soon abdicated.

Year of *Rome* 305.

In the following consulate of *M. Genucius Augurius* and *C. Curtius Philo*, the tribunes, still grasping at an increase of power, demanded, not only that the law by which patricians and plebeians were forbid to intermarry, should be repealed, but likewise, that plebeians should be admitted to the consulate. *Canuleius*, the most active of the tribunes, declared in the senate, in the most solemn manner, that he would constantly oppose all levies of troops, let them be never so much wanted, till these concessions should be made to the people. The consuls and patricians exclaimed loudly against these new incroachments; but the *Ardeates*, the *Æqui*, the *Veientes*, and the *Volsci*, invading the *Roman* territory at the same time, the senate let the law concerning marriages pass, in hopes that might satisfy the people. They were mistaken; for the tribunes still insisted on being admitted to the consulship. This dispute would probably have been attended with fatal consequences, had not one of the senators, to preserve the honour of the consular dignity, proposed a medium, which was agreed to by both sides. This was, that, instead of consuls, a certain number of military tribunes should be chosen, partly out of the senate, and partly from among the plebeians; and that these new magistrates should be invested with consular power. A decree was immediately passed for this fourth revolution in the *Roman* government, and the *comitia* were held without delay. But when the people came to vote, they refused to give their suffrages to any but patricians; so that only three military tribunes were chosen, and these laid down their office three months after, on the late consul *Curtius*'s declaring, that the auguries preceeding it had been inauspicious. An *inter-rex* was named, that the commonwealth might not remain without an head. *T. Quinctius*, on whom this dignity was conferred, assembled the people, who agreed to restore the old form of government, and *L. Papirius Mugillanus* and *L. Sempronius Atratinus* were appointed consuls for the remaining part of the year*. Under the next consuls, *T. Quinctius Capitolinus* and *M. Geganius*, two censors were created, to take, every five years, a general account of the *Roman* people and their effects. The tribunes, not foreseeing to what a pitch of power and grandeur this office would afterwards arise, did not so much as demand that the plebeians should have any share in it. *Papirius* and

The censorship established.

Year of *Rome* 307.

* Dion. Hal. l. xi. Liv. l. iv. c. 7.

Sempronius

Sempronius, the conſuls of the preceding year, were the firſt cenſors; this dignity being unanimouſly conferred upon them, to make amends for the ſhort duration of their conſulate*.

In the conſulate of *Proculus Geganius* and *L. Menenius*, a *Roman* knight, named *Sp. Mælius*, daringly aſpired to the ſovereign power. A dreadful famine happening in *Rome*, the people, to prevent the evil conſequences of it, created, with the conſent of the ſenate, an extraordinary magiſtrate, with the title of *ſuperintendant of proviſions*. The perſon named to this office was one *L. Minutius*, an active and prudent man, who immediately ſent his agents into the neighbouring countries to buy corn. But *Sp. Mælius*, who was one of the richeſt men in *Rome*, had already bought it all up, and diſtributed it among the meaner people; ſo that his houſe quickly became the place of refuge for the poor, the idle, and thoſe who had ruined themſelves by debauchery†. *Minutius* was continued in his office under the new conſuls, *T. Quinctius Capitolinus* and *Agrippa Menenius*, which laſt found out, that *Mælius*, under cover of this extraordinary liberality, held aſſemblies at his houſe, and that great quantities of arms had been conveyed thither by night; and, upon farther inquiry, he diſcovered, that a conſpiracy was carrying on to ſubvert the preſent government and that *Mælius* aſpired to the ſovereign power. *Minutius* immediately gave an account of this to the ſenate, who, following the advice of *Q. Capitolinus*, impowered him to name his brother *Quinctius Cincinnatus* dictator. *Mælius* was cited to appear before this ſupreme magiſtrate, but refuſed to obey the ſummons, and attempted to make his eſcape. A lictor was ordered to ſeize him; but the populace reſcued him, and he was very near getting away, when *Servilius Ahala*, the dictator's general of the horſe, overtook him, and killed him on the ſpot. The dictator then declared, that *Mælius* had been juſtly ſlain, and ordered his houſe to be razed to the ground, and the corn found in it to be ſold to the people at low rates. A ſtatue was erected to *Menenius*, as a reward of his vigilance. Three of the tribunes, provoked at the murder of *Mælius*, made loud complaints in the aſſembly of the people, and obſtinately oppoſed the election of new conſuls; ſo that the patricians, to avoid a tumult, were forced to conſent that military tribunes ſhould be choſen for the next year. The people choſe three patricians, during whoſe adminiſtration the city of *Fidenæ* revolted to the *Veientes*, and murdered four ambaſſadors ſent by the ſenate to aſk the reaſon of their conduct. A war being unavoidable, it was thought more proper to chuſe conſuls than military

Sp. Mælius aſpires to the ſovereign power.

Q. Cincinnatus dictator.

Mælius killed.

Military tribunes choſen a-new.

* Liv. l. iv. c. 8, 9. Dion. Hal. l. xi.
† Liv. l. iv. c. 13, 14.

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tary tribunes for the next year. *M. Geganius* and *L. Sergius* were elected. This laſt was ſent againſt the *Veientes*, but had ſo little ſucceſs, that the ſenate determined to remove him from the command of the army, and to create a dictator.

Mamercus Æmilius dictator.

The conſuls named for that dignity *Mamercus Æmilius*, who choſe young *Quinctius Cincinnatus* for his general of the horſe, and appointed *Quinctius Capitolinus* and *M. Fabius Vibulanus*, two great commanders, his lieutenant-generals. The new dictator ſoon came to an engagement with the united forces of the *Faliſci*, *Fidenates*, and *Veientes*, and gave them a total overthrow. *Tolumnius*, king of the *Veientes*, was ſlain in the battle by *Cornelius Coſſus*, a legionary tribune, who ſtripped him of his armour and royal robes, and carried theſe ſpoils, called *ſpolia opima*, on his ſhoulders in the dictator's triumph, and afterwards depoſited them in the temple of *Jupiter Feretrius*, they being the ſecond of the ſort known in *Rome*.

Year of *Rome* 312.

Fidenæ taken by the *Romans*.

The *Fidenates* and *Veientes* renewed the war in the conſulate of *Julius Julus* and *L. Virginius*, when the *Romans* were greatly diſtreſſed by a plague: but *Q. Servilius Priſcus*, being created dictator, gave them battle near *Nomentum*, routed them, and took the city of *Fidenæ*. The following year, *Mamercus Æmilius* was named to the dictatorſhip a ſecond time, upon a report that all *Hetruria* was preparing for war; but theſe fears proving groundleſs, *Æmilius* reſolved to do ſomething remarkable at home, and therefore propoſed the reducing of the cenſorſhip from five years to eighteen months, which was agreed to, and paſſed into a law. *Æmilius* then reſigned his office of dictator.

The cenſorſhip ſhortened.

Military tribunes created for two years ſucceſſively.

The tribunes of the people, by inveighing, as uſual againſt the electing of conſuls, got military tribunes choſen for the next year. However, the people raiſed to that dignity only three patricians, during whoſe adminiſtration nothing remarkable happened at *Rome*, except a plague, which ceaſed in the following year, when the republic was again governed by three military tribunes, all patricians. The rich plebeians, vexed to ſee that none but patricians were choſen to that magiſtracy, though the law allowed three plebeians to be elected, procured a law to be paſſed, by which the candidates for any office were forbidden to go about, as they had uſed to do, in *white* garments, to ſollicit the votes of the people. As this dreſs was uſed only by the nobility on theſe occaſions, the plebeians hoped thereby, in ſome meaſure to extinguiſh a diſtinction highly diſpleaſing to them. The patricians, to be even with them, reſolved to endeavour to get conſuls choſen for the next year. The formidable preparations which the *Æqui* and *Volſci* were making for war favoured their deſign, it being a matter of indifference to the people, whether conſuls or military tribunes were choſen, ſince no plebeians had ever commanded the armies.

The uſe of white garments prohibited

The

The conſulſhip was reſtored, *T. Quinctius* and *C. Julius Mento* being promoted to that dignity. They were both officers of great experience and courage; but a miſunderſtanding ariſing between them, they were defeated by the enemy near mount *Algidus*. Upon this, the ſenate thought it neceſſary to name a dictator. The tribunes, who were then in the ſenate, charmed with a motion which tended to increaſe their authority, having withdrawn a while to conſult, returned with this declaration, that it was the pleaſure of the tribunes, that the conſuls ſhould obey the ſenate, or be led to priſon, if they perſiſted in their diſobedience. The conſuls ſubmitted, and named for dictator *Poſthumius Tubertus*, who made *L. Julius Vopiſcus* his general of the horſe; and having defeated the enemy in a bloody battle, returned in triumph to *Rome*, and laid down his office *. The next year, *C. Papirius* and *L. Julius Vopiſcus* being conſuls, a truce was granted to the *Æqui* for eight years †. Nothing remarkable happened at *Rome* this year, nor during the ſucceeding conſulate of *L. Sergius* and *Hoſtus Lucretius*. In that of *T. Quinctius* and *Cornelius Coſſus*, which was the next, an extraordinary drought, which occaſioned a famine, and was followed by a dreadful plague, deſolated *Rome*.

The conſulſhip reſtored, and the conſuls defeated by the *Æqui* and *Volſci*.

Poſthumius Tubertus conſul, defeats the *Æqui* and *Volſci*.

The *Veientes*, before the expiration of the truce they had obtained for eight years, renewed their incurſions, and ravaged the lands of the republic. The ſenate, in the conſulate of *L. Papirius Mugilanus* and *Servilius Ahala*, reſolved to puniſh them: but a diſpute ariſing between the people and the ſenate, concerning the right of declaring war, thoſe enemies of the republic eſcaped this year †. The next, the tribunes inſiſted on having the government placed in the hands of military tribunes; and accordingly theſe four patricians were choſen; *Quinctius Cincinnatus*, *C. Funies*, *M. Poſthumius*, and *A. Cornelius Coſſus*. This laſt ſtaid at *Rome*, and the other three marched againſt the *Veientes*; but, by their not acting in concert, they were routed, and obliged to keep within their camp. The people, upon the news of this defeat, inſiſted on their being ſuperſeded by a dictator. This high poſt was, for the third time, conferred on *Mamercus Æmilius*, who gained a complete victory over the united forces of the enemy, and made himſelf maſter both of the city of *Fidenæ*, and of the camp of the *Veientes* ‡.

The *Romans* defeated by the *Veientes*, who are overcome by *Mamercus Æmilius*.

The government under military tribunes was continued two years longer; during which the tribunes of the people had ſtill the mortification to ſee but patricians elected. To diſſuade the people from giving this preference to the nobility, ſome of the moſt eminent among the plebeians gave

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* Liv. l. iv. c. 26-29. † Id. ibid. c. 30-34.
‡ Liv. l. iv. c. 30-34. § Ibid. ‡ Ibid. c. 30—34.

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out, that if they could once be chosen, they would not fail to get the public lands divided among the poor citizens. This made no small impression upon the multitude: but the patricians, who were then in possession of the military tribuneship, to avoid the shame of having plebeians for their successors, agreed among themselves to lead out of *Rome* those who aspired to that dignity, under pretence of attacking the *Volsci*. In their absence, *Appius Claudius*, son of the decemvir, and one of the military tribunes, held an assembly for electing consuls, when *C. Sempronius Atratinus*, and *C. Fabius Vibulanus* were chosen ‖.

Year of *Rome* 323. Consuls elected.

The new consuls had scarce entered upon their office, when the *Volsci* took the field with a numerous army. *Sempronius*, a man of greater courage than conduct, was sent against them; but he, despising an enemy the *Romans* had so often vanquished, and attacking them with his infantry alone, was surrounded on all sides, and would have been cut off, with all his men, if one *Tempanius*, an old officer of the horse, had not taken upon him the command of the cavalry. This brave officer, observing the danger the legions were in, leaped from his horse, and, addressing himself to his companions, "Follow my lance," said he, "as if it were a standard; and let us shew the enemy that we can fight on foot "as well as on horseback." At these words, the whole body of horse dismounted, and, following their leader, fell upon the enemy with incredible fury. The *Volscian* commander, observing the violence of this attack, ordered his troops to open their ranks, and give passage to *Tempanius* and his men, and then to close again, in order to separate them from the rest of the *Roman* army. *Tempanius*, thus cut off, did his utmost to force his way back; but finding that impossible, he retired to an eminence, and there, drawing up his men in a circle, defended himself with incredible bravery, till night coming on, put an end to the conflict. He expected that the attack would be renewed the next morning, and accordingly exhorted his men to die like *Romans*: but he was greatly surprised when, at break of day, he could neither see friends nor enemies. Both the *Romans* and the *Volscians* had fought till night; and, equally afraid to renew the fight the next morning, had quitted their camps, and retreated, to what place *Tempanius* could not tell. He therefore, taking up the wounded *Romans*, marched strait to *Rome*, where he found the people actually assembled; some runaways, who got to the city before him, having given out, that the consul was defeated, and the whole body of cavalry cut in pieces. The tribunes of the people, thinking this a favourable opportunity to humble a consul, cited *Sempronius*,

Battle between the *Romans* and *Volsci*.

‖ Liv. l. iv, c. 35—37.

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as ſoon as the year of his conſulate was expired, to anſwer for his conduct in the late battle. *Tempanius*, who, with three other officers of the horſe, had been choſen tribune of the people, in reward of their ſervices, generouſly made themſelves his advocates, and ſaved him for the preſent, though he was tried again ſome time after, and condemned in a fine.

Sempronius cited to anſwer for his conduct.

The tribunes of the people for the next year were of ſo moderate a diſpoſition, that *Rome* returned to her antient form of government; and *T. Quinctius Capitolinus*, and *Numerius Fabius* were elected conſuls without any diſturbance.

The peace which continued this year, gave the new tribunes an opportunity of raiſing diſturbances about the quæſtorſhip. Hitherto there had been only two quæſtors, and thoſe choſen annually from among the patricians. Their office was, to collect the taxes, pay the expences of the war, and keep exact accounts of the public money, for which they were anſwerable. To this time they had never ſtirred out of *Rome*. The conſuls therefore propoſed, that two new quæſtors ſhould be added, to attend the generals in the field; to take an account of the ſpoils; ſell the booty; and, above all, provide for the ſubſiſtence of the army. The people agreed to it; but when it was going to be paſſed into a law, their tribunes inſiſted abſolutely, that two of the four quæſtors ſhould always indiſpenſably be plebeians. The ſenate was willing that, in the election of quæſtors, as in that of military tribunes, the people ſhould, if they thought fit, chuſe as many plebeians as patricians: but this was rejected; and the tribunes, by way of revenge, proteſted againſt holding the *comitia* for electing conſuls; and inſiſted on having military tribunes for the next year. The diſpute ran ſo high, that both ſides, to put an end to it, agreed to name an *inter-rex*. The ſenate choſe for that office *L. Papirius Mugellanus*, who, by ſoft perſuaſions, brought the contending parties to this compromiſe; that the ſenate ſhould ſuffer the people to chuſe military tribunes inſtead of conſuls; and, that the tribunes of the people ſhould allow the tribes to beſtow the quæſtorſhip on patricians or plebeians, as they pleaſed. Notwithſtanding all the cabals and ſeditious harangues of the tribunes of the people, not only the military tribunes, but the quæſtors too, were choſen out of the patricians only, though one of the tribunes had propoſed his brother, and the other his ſon.

Diſputes about the quæſtorſhip.

The next year, when the republic was governed by three military tribunes only, *M. Papirius*, *C. Servilius*, and *L. Sergius*, *Labicum*, a city of *Latium*, about fifteen miles diſtant from *Rome*, revolted, and entered into an alliance with the *Æqui*; who, after having pillaged the territory of *Tuſculum*, encamped at the foot of Mount *Algidus*. Two of the military tribunes took the field, and, for want of har-

The *Romans* defeated by the *Æqui*, who are conquered by *Q. Servilius*.

mony between themſelves, were entirely defeated. Hereupon the ſenate ordered a dictator to be created; and *C. Servilius*, who had with difficulty been prevailed upon to ſtay at home to guard the city, nominated his father, *Q. Servilius*, who appointed him his general of the horſe. The father and ſon put themſelves at the head of a new army, with which they routed the enemy, retook *Labicum*, and returned to *Rome* eight days after they had left it, when *Q. Servilius* laid down his office *.

Year of *Rome* 337.

Though frequent diſputes aroſe at home about the electing of tribunes and quæſtors, the republic enjoyed peace abroad for ſome years; till, *C. Julius Julus*, *P. Cornelius Coſſus*, and *C. Servilius Ahala* being military tribunes, the *Volſci* renewed the war; and, having engaged ſome of the new allies of the republic to join them, encamped near *Antium*. The ſenate, apprehending the republic to be in great danger, ordered a dictator to be nominated; but as the three military tribunes had drawn lots for the command of the army, which had fallen to *Julius* and *Cornelius*, thoſe two generals, offended at the diſtruſt the fathers had ſhewed of their conduct, refuſed to name a dictator. The ſenate then deſired the tribunes of the people to interpoſe their authority: but this they refuſed with a ſcornful anſwer. Upon this, *C. Servilius*, the third military tribune, boldly took upon him to act alone, and to name a dictator. The perſon he raiſed to that high ſtation, was *P. Cornelius Rutilus*, who appointed him to be general of the horſe. The dictator took the field, gained a complete victory over the *Volſci*, and, returning to *Rome*, laid down his high office. The military tribunes then returned to their functions.

The truce with the *Veientes* being now expired, the *Romans* ſent *feciales*, heralds, to demand ſatisfaction for the injuries they had formerly done to the republic: but the *feciales* meeting envoys on the road from *Veii*, at their requeſt proceeded no farther. Theſe envoys, being admitted to the ſenate, repreſented, that their city, being at preſent diſturbed by domeſtic broils, was not in a condition to give the *Romans* ſatisfaction. Theſe diſſentions gave the *Romans* a favourable opportunity of falling upon their old enemies; but they had too much generoſity, as *Livy* obſerves, to take advantage of the misfortunes of a rival ſtate; and therefore did not diſturb them this year †. The ungrateful *Veientes*, the very next year, inſulted the *Roman* ambaſſadors, and drove them out of their city with contempt; upon which the ſenators ordered a declaration of war againſt them to be immediately propoſed to the people: but the tribunes of the people, reviving the old affair of the *Agrarian* law, oppoſed

Generoſity of the *Romans*, and ingratitude of the *Veientes*.

* Liv. l. iv. c. 45—47.

† Liv. l. iv. c. 58.

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the levies. However, it was agreed that three of the military tribunes ſhould lead an army againſt the *Volſci*; who, at the approach of the legions, fled, and left their country open to be pillaged. Hereupon the *Roman* generals, having divided their army into three bodies, made incurſions into it on three different ſides. *Fabius*, one of the military tribunes, laid ſiege to *Anxur*, and, having taken it by ſtorm, divided the ſpoil equally among the ſoldiers of the three armies. This piece of generoſity paved the way for a reconciliation between the nobility and people, which was entirely completed by a decree of the ſenate, that, for the future, the *Roman* infantry ſhould be maintained in the field at the public expence ‡.

Hitherto all the citizens had been obliged to ſerve in war at their own expence; which was a heavy burthen upon the poorer plebeians, and frequently ruined their families. The ſenate, pitying their condition, and reflecting on the many diſorders which were occaſioned by their refuſing to liſt themſelves, even for the moſt neceſſary war, of their own accord decreed, that the foot ſhould have pay out of the public money; and that, to provide for this expence, a new tax ſhould be raiſed, from which no citizen whatſoever ſhould be exempt *§. Upon the firſt news of this decree, the people, tranſported with joy, flocked to the ſenate-houſe, kiſſed the ſenators hands, calling them the true fathers of the people, and proteſting that they would ſhed the laſt drop of their blood for their country, which they now looked upon as a tender mother. But the tribunes of the people, not liking this union of the two orders, which traverſed their deſigns, endeavoured to leſſen the value of the favour, by inſinuating to the people, that this pay was to come out of their own pockets; that it was not juſt to make thoſe citizens who had completed their time of ſervice at their own charge, contribute to the ſupport of the new ſoldiers; that they would protect all thoſe who ſhould refuſe to pay the tax. *&c.* However, as the ſenators began by laying great ſums on themſelves, which they paid readily, according to the real value of their eſtates, the common people followed their example, without ſhewing the leaſt uneaſineſs ‡.

The *Roman* infantry begin to receive pay. Year of *Rome* 340.

‡ Ibid.

* We know not what pay was given at this time to each ſoldier; but in Polybius's time, that is, in the ſecond Carthaginian war, a foot ſoldier was allowed two *oboli* a day; a centurion, four; and an horſeman, ſix. Two *oboli* were about the third part of an Attic *drachma*, which was about ſeven pence three farthings of our money.

§ Liv. l. iv. c. 48, 49. ‡ Ibid. Zonar. l. vii. Plin. l. xxiii. c. 3.

And now the ſenate, finding themſelves in a condition to maintain an army abroad, as long as they pleaſed, began to form great deſigns. They reſolved to begin with *Veii*, one of the ſtrongeſt places of *Italy*, whoſe territory was larger than that of *Rome*. The people were aſſembled; all voted for a war; and choſe, for the firſt time, ſix military tribunes, all patricians; ſome of whom ſtaid at home, whilſt others took the field againſt the *Veientes*, who, declining a battle, ſhut themſelves up in their city. The *Romans* inveſted it; but there was little action this year, and leſs the following, when the army was divided into two bodies; one of which continued before *Veii*, and the other marched againſt the *Volſci*, defeated them, took and razed the city of *Artena*, and then rejoined the forces before *Veii*. It is thought to have been at this ſiege that the *Romans* firſt invented lines of circumvallution and contravallution; at leaſt, this is the firſt time we find them mentioned in hiſtory. They fortified their camp, both on the ſide of the city they inveſted, to prevent ſallies; and on the ſide of the country, to guard themſelves againſt any ſuccours which the *Hetrurians* might ſend to the beſieged. The military tribunes, conſidering likewiſe, that *Veii* could not be taken, but after a long ſiege, and then not ſo much by force as by famine, reſolved to keep the army in the field all the winter, and then to block up the city as cloſely as they could. The beſieged, in a ſally, ſurpriſed the *Romans*, ſlew a great number of them, ſet fire to their machines, and ruined, in a few hours, the work of many days. This misfortune, inſtead of diſheartening the *Romans*, gave them freſh courage. Such of the citizens as were rich enough to be placed in the firſt claſs among the knights, but had not yet received horſes from the republic, (which ceremony was neceſſary to make a man a knight) went in a body to the ſenate, and offered to mount themſelves at their own expence, and ſerve at the ſiege of *Veii*. The offer was accepted; and the people, following the example of the new knights, declared themſelves ready to ſerve, and ſupply the places of the ſoldiers who had been killed. The ſenate ordered the ſame pay to be given to the volunteers as to the reſt of the army; and decreed at the ſame time, that, for the future, the cavalry likewiſe ſhould receive pay out of the public treaſury*.

The *Romans* inveſt *Veii*.

The cavalry receive pay.

L. Virginius, and *Manius Sergius*, two of the ſix military tribunes for the next year, continued the ſiege of *Veii*. Theſe two generals diſagreeing, each of them had a body of troops under his command, as if it had been a ſeparate army. *Sergius* commanded the attack, and *Virginius* covered the ſiege. While the army was thus divided, the *Faliſci* and *Capenates*

* Liv. l. v. c. 1—3.

L. Vir-

fell upon *Sergius*; and at the ſame time the beſieged, ſallying out, attacked him on the other ſide. The *Romans*, thinking they had all the forces of *Hetruria* to deal with, gave way. *Virginius* could have ſaved his collegue's troops, for his forces were ranged in order of battle at a ſmall diſtance; but *Sergius* was too proud to ſend to him for ſuccour, and *Virginius* reſolved not to ſend him any unleſs he aſked it. Thus the public good was ſacrificed to a private pique. The enemy made a dreadful ſlaughter of the *Romans* in their lines; but *Sergius* himſelf eſcaping fled to *Rome*; not ſo much to juſtify his own conduct as to complain of that of his collegue. *Virginius* was recalled; and both commanders, being ordered to give an account of their conduct to the ſenate, inveighed bitterly againſt each other. To quiet the matter, a decree was made, that all the military tribunes of that year ſhould reſign, and the people immediately proceed to a new election. Theſe new magiſtrates were ordered to begin again the ſiege of *Veii*. *Sergius* and *Virginius*, the two generals of the laſt year, were cited before the people, and condemned in a great fine for their miſconduct.

The *Romans* routed before *Veii*.

The tribunes of the people renewed their domeſtic broils, and propoſed two laws; the firſt requiring a partition of the lands, as formerly; the ſecond exempting the people from any more contributions towards the pay of the troops. But theſe diſturbances were quieted by chuſing *P. Licinius Calvus*, a plebeian, into the military tribuneſhip. *Licinius*, though a plebeian, was an old ſenator; for, ſome time ſince, the conſiderable plebeians had begun to be admitted into the ſenate. The tribunes of the people were ſo much rejoiced to ſee a plebeian raiſed to the ſupreme magiſtracy, that they dropped their oppoſition to the tax. The next year, five plebeian military tribunes were elected, and only one patrician. They carried on the ſiege of *Veii* with great vigour, and entirely defeated the confederate forces of the *Faliſci* and *Capenates*. The year after, the military tribuneſhip was reſtored to the patrician order. They were ſucceeded by other patricians, and theſe again by ſix plebeians; two of which, *Atinius* and *Genucius*, marched with ſome troops to oppoſe a great body of *Hetrurians*, who were coming to attack the *Roman* intrenchments before *Veii*: but, falling into an ambuſh, *Genucius* was killed, and his collegue driven out of the field. The news of this defeat ſo terrified the ſenate, that they had recourſe, as uſual in ſuch caſes, to a dictator. *M. Furius Camillus* was raiſed to that ſupreme dignity. He named *P. Cornelius Scipio* for general of the horſe, and ordered new troops to be raiſed. He ſoon came to a battle with the united forces of the *Faliſci*, *Capenates*, and *Hetrurians*; defeated them entirely, ſat down before *Veii*, and puſhed on the ſiege with great vigour. Deſpairing to carry by aſſault a place which had a whole army for its garriſon, and which ſtill defended itſelf as obſtinate as ever, he had recourſe to mines

A plebeian choſen military tribune.

Five plebeian military tribunes.

The *Romans* overcome by the *Hetrurians*.

M. Furius Camillus, dictator, defeats the *Faliſci*, &c.

mines and ſapping. A paſſage under ground was opened to the very caſtle. *Camillus*, then pretty ſure of ſucceeding, ſent to the ſenate, to know how they would have the ſpoils of the city diſpoſed of. The ſenate aſſembled, and decreed, that they ſhould be divided between the army and thoſe citizens who ſhould be in the camp when the town was taken. Accordingly numbers flocked thither, well armed, and joined the dictator's troops in the attack. Part of the army ſcaled the walls, while the ſoldiers in the mines ſallied out within the city, poſſeſſed themſelves of the caſtle, broke down the gates, and let in the *Roman* army. Thus was the rich city of *Veii* taken, like a ſecond *Troy*, after a ſiege of ten years. The booty was divided among the ſoldiers; but the priſoners of free condition were ſold to the beſt bidder, and the money ariſing from thence put into the public treaſury. Though this was the only part of the ſpoil from which the public reaped any benefit, the people murmured at it, and inveighed both againſt the ſenate and the dictator.

Veii taken after ten years ſiege Year of *Rome* 349.

Some ſingularities in the pomp of *Camillus*'s triumph increaſed the diſpleaſure of the multitude. He entered the city in a ſtately chariot, drawn by four milk-white horſes, and coloured his face with vermilion. White horſes, ſince the expulſion of the kings, had been allowed only to *Jupiter* and the *Sun*; and the ſtatues of the gods were commonly painted with vermilion. What ſtill more incenſed the people againſt him, was his demanding back from them a tenth part of the ſpoil of *Veii*, to diſcharge a vow he had made to *Apollo* juſt before the aſſault, and afterwards forgot.

The ſix military tribunes for the following year propoſed, that half of the ſenators, knights, and people of *Rome*, ſhould remove to *Veii*, and ſettle there: but this motion was rejected, chiefly thro' the oppoſition of *Camillus*, leſt two ſuch cities ſhould by degrees become different ſtates, which, after a deſtructive war with each other, would at length fall a prey to their common enemies.

Camillus was choſen one of the ſix military tribunes for the next year, and the conduct of the war againſt the *Faliſci* was committed to his care. He beſieged *Faliſci*, their capital city, and ſurrounded it with lines; but at ſo great a diſtance from the walls, that there was ſufficient room for the beſieged to take the air without danger. The *Faliſci* had brought from *Greece* the cuſtom of committing all their children to the care of one man, who was to inſtruct them in the ſeveral branches of polite literature; to take them out a walking with him, and ſee them perform the exerciſes proper for their age. The preſent ſchoolmaſter proved a traitor. He at firſt led the youths only along the walls; then carried them a little farther; and, at length, when a favourable opportunity offered, he led them through the guards of the *Roman* camp quite to the general's tent. As they were children

Camillus beſieges *Falerii*.

children of the beſt families in the place, their treacherous leader, when he came into *Camillus*'s preſence, addreſſed him thus: *With theſe children I deliver the place you beſiege into your hands: they were committed to my care and tuition; but I prefer the friendſhip of* Rome *to my employment at* Falerii. *Camillus*, ſtruck with horror at the treachery, ordered his lictors to ſtrip the traitor, to tie his hands behind him, and furniſh the youths with rods to whip him back again into the city. The *Faliſci*, who, but juſt before, had proteſted, that they would rather undergo the fate of the *Veientes*, than ſubmit to *Rome*; won by this generous action, immediately ſent a deputation to *Camillus*, to treat of a ſurrender. *Camillus* referred them to the ſenate; and the ſenate left to him the terms of the peace that was to be made with the *Faliſci*, not as a conquered people, but as a nation which voluntarily ſubmitted to the dominion of the republic. He therefore entered into an alliance with them, and demanded only the expences of the preſent campaign. He then led back his army to *Rome*, where his ſoldiers increaſed the number of his enemies, diſappointed in their hopes of ſharing the plunder of *Falerii**.

The *Faliſci* ſubmit to *Rome*.

While the republic proſpered abroad, new diſturbances were raiſed at home. When the time came for electing tribunes of the people, the multitude was for continuing thoſe who had propoſed the law for going to *Veii*; and the patricians were for re-electing thoſe who had oppoſed it. The former prevailed; and the patricians, in revenge, reſtored the conſular government. *L. Lucretius Flavus*, and *Severus Sulpitius Camerinus*, were choſen conſuls. The diſpute about removing half of the people and the ſenate to *Veii* was renewed with great warmth. Two of the laſt year's tribunes of the people, who had oppoſed it, were cited to appear before the tribes, and fined ten thouſand aſſes of braſs. The whole ſenate was offended at this ſentence, but eſpecially *Camillus*, who adviſed the conſcript fathers to appear in the *comitium*, when the tribes aſſembled to determine the affair, as men prepared to defend their temples, their houſhold gods, and their country. They did ſo; and, by dint of prayers and intreaties, prevailed to have the law rejected, though it was only by a majority of one tribe. The ſenate was now ſo well pleaſed with the people, that, the very next morning, a decree was paſſed, aſſigning ſix acres of the lands of *Veii*, not only to every father of a family, but to every ſingle perſon of free condition. On the other hand, the people, delighted with this liberality, made no oppoſition to the election of conſuls. *L. Valerius Potitus*, and *M. Manlius Capitolinus*, were raiſed to the conſulate: but before the expiration of this year, being ſeized with a contagious diſ-

Conſuls created inſtead of military tribunes.

* Plut. in Camillo. Liv. l. v, c. 26, 27.

temper which then prevailed, the superstitious multitude, imagining they had been inauspiciously chosen, they resigned their office by order of the senate *.

Military tribunes elected again.

An inter-regnum for a few days followed this resignation, and after that six military tribunes were again elected. By a *census* taken this year, it appeared, that the number of citizens, able to bear arms, amounted to one hundred and fifty-two thousand, five hundred, and eighty-three †. No wonder, therefore, that numerous armies were often raised within the city only. The troops, since their receiving pay, were more obedient than formerly to their commanders, who kept them in the field summer and winter. They had never had a more gallant or experienced commander than *Camillus*. The frontiers of the republic were now extended above sixty miles beyond the *Tiber*; and the people seemed to be in a settled tranquility, and perfectly reconciled to the senate. But this unusual prosperity was interrupted by the *Gauls*: a memorable event which almost ruined the *Roman* nation. The occasion of it was this:

Clusium besieged by the *Gauls*.

Arunx, one of the chief men of *Clusium* in *Hetruria*, had been guardian to a young lord of that country, who fell in love with his guardian's wife, and carried her away. *Arunx* applied to the *Hetrurians* for redress, and on their refusing to do him justice, he had recourse to the *Senones*, a nation of *Gauls*, and invited them into *Italy*. The *Gauls* readily agreed to this proposal. A numerous army was immediately formed, which passed the *Alps*, fell upon *Umbria*, and possessed themselves of all the country from *Ravenna* to *Picenum*, and at length laid siege to *Clusium*. The *Romans*, at other times so very jealous and watchful of every motion of their neighbours, seem now to have been under no apprehension of danger from the *Gauls*, notwithstanding their daily progress. So far from it, that they suffered the great *Camillus*, to be accused by one of the tribunes of the people, of having applied to his own use a brass door brought from *Veii*. *Camillus* banishes himself.

Camillus, fired with indignation at this treatment, banished himself from *Rome* ‡. He was no sooner gone than envoys arrived from *Clusium*, to implore the assistance of the republic against the *Gauls*. The senate, unwilling to quarrel with a people who had never offended them, sent a deputation of three young patricians, all brothers, and of the *Fabian* family, to bring about an accommodation between the two nations. Being conducted to *Brennus*, the leader of the *Gauls*, they offered the mediation of *Rome*, and asked what injury the *Clusini* had done him, or what pretensions any people from a remote country could have upon *Hetruria*. *Brennus* proudly answered, *That his right lay in his sword*,

The *Romans* send deputies to the *Gauls*.

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* Liv. l. v. c. 29—31. † Ibid. c. 31, 32.

‡ Liv. l. v. c. 32.

and

and that all things belonged to the brave. The *Fabii* were highly provoked at this haughty anſwer; but, diſſembling their reſentment, they deſired leave to go into the town, under pretence of conferring with the magiſtrates. They were no ſooner there than, forgetting their character, they ſpirited up the inhabitants to a vigorous defence, and even put themſelves at the head of the beſieged in a ſally, in which *Q. Fabius*, the chief of the ambaſſadors, ſlew, with his own hands, one of the principal officers of the *Gauls*. Hereupon *Brennus*, calling the gods to witneſs the perfidiouſneſs of the *Romans*, immediately broke up the ſiege of *Cluſium*, and marched leiſurely to *Rome*, having ſent an herald before him to demand, that thoſe ambaſſadors, who had ſo manifeſtly violated the law of nations, ſhould be delivered up to him. The affair was laid before the ſenate. The wiſeſt and moſt prudent thought the demand juſt and reaſonable; but as it concerned perſons of great conſequence, they referred it to an aſſembly of the people, who, inſtead of condemning the three brothers, raiſed them to the dignity of military tribunes at the very next election. *Brennus*, looking upon this as a high affront, haſtened his march to *Rome* *.

The ſix military tribunes marched out of *Rome* at the head of forty thouſand men, and advanced boldly againſt the *Gauls*, who were ſeventy thouſand ſtrong. The two enemies met near the river *Allia*, about ſixty furlongs from *Rome*. The victory was deciſive in favour of the *Gauls*, and the *Romans*, in the utmoſt diſorder, inſtead of returning to *Rome*, fled to *Veii*. The next day, *Brennus* marched his troops into the neighbourhood of *Rome*, and encamped on the banks of the *Anio*. There his ſcouts brought him word, that the gates of the city lay open, and that not one *Roman* was to be ſeen on the ramparts. *Brennus*, not able to conceive the meaning of this, and ſuſpecting ſome ambuſcade, advanced very ſlowly, which gave the *Romans* an opportunity to throw into the capitol all the men that were fit to bear arms. The old men, women, and children, ſeeing the city quite defenceleſs, fled to the neighbouring towns. Amidſt this general confuſion, about fourſcore of the moſt illuſtrious and venerable old men, rather than fly from their native country, choſe to devote themſelves to death by a vow, which *Fabius*, the high pontiff, pronounced in their names. The *Romans* believed, that by theſe voluntary devotements to the infernal gods, diſorder and confuſion was brought among the enemy. To complete their ſacrifice with a ſolemnity becoming the magnanimity of the *Romans*, they dreſſed themſelves in their pontifical, conſular, and triumphal robes, according to their ſeveral ranks and ſtations, and repairing to the *forum*, ſeated themſelves there in

The *Romans* defeated by the *Gauls*.

Rome abandoned by its inhabitants.

* Liv. l. v. c. 36.

their

their curule chairs, expecting the enemy and death with the greateſt conſtancy*.

Brennus enters Rome.

At length, *Brennus* entered the city, the gates of which he found open, the walls without defence, and the houſes without inhabitants. *Rome* appeared to him like a mere deſert; and this ſolitude increaſed his perplexity. The walls of the citadel were the only place where he could ſee any armed men. Having ſecured all the avenues to the capitol with ſtrong bodies of guards, he gave the reſt of his ſoldiers leave to diſperſe themſelves all over the city, and plunder it. He then advanced into the *forum* at the head of his troops, and was ſtruck with admiration at the unexpected ſight of the venerable old men, who had devoted themſelves to death. The magnificence of their habits, the majeſty of their countenances, the ſilence they kept, their modeſty and conſtancy at the approach of the troops, ſtruck the *Gauls* with ſuch an awful reverence, that they almoſt took them for gods, and ſeemed afraid to advance. At length, one of the ſoldiers ventured to touch the beard of *M. Papirius*. The venerable old man, not uſed to ſuch familiarity, gave him a blow on the head with his ivory ſtaff. The ſoldier, in revenge, immediately killed him; and the others, following his example, ſlaughtered all the reſt of theſe venerable *Romans* †. This ſeemed the ſignal for a general havock. The *Gauls* now broke open every place, dragged out all the *Romans* they met with, and, without diſtinction of age or ſex, put them to the ſword. *Brennus* then inveſted the capitol, but being repulſed with great loſs, to be revenged of the *Romans* for their reſiſtance, he ordered the city to be burnt, the temples and edifices to be deſtroyed, and the walls to be razed to the ground. Thus was the famous city of *Rome* entirely deſtroyed: nothing was to be ſeen in the place where it ſtood, but a few little hills covered with ruins, and a wide waſte, in which the *Gauls* who inveſted the capitol were encamped. *Brennus*, finding that place impregnable by force, turned the ſiege into a blockade. In the mean time, his army being diſtreſſed for want of proviſions, he ſent out parties to pillage the fields, and raiſe contributions in the neighbouring cities. One of theſe parties appeared before *Ardea*, where the great *Camillus* had now ſpent two years in a private life. The affront he had received at *Rome* had not diminiſhed his love for his country. More afflicted at her calamities, than at his own baniſhment, he deſired to be admitted into the council of the *Ardeates*, and prevailed upon them to arm their youth, and refuſe the *Gauls* admittance into their city.

Rome burnt by the Gauls.

Year of *Rome* 365.

The *Gauls* encamped before the place, but obſerved neither order nor diſcipline, ſpending their time in merriment

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* Plut. in Camillo. Liv. l. v. c. 37-40. † Liv. l. v. c. 41: and

and drinking, not thinking the *Ardeates* an enemy of any conſequence. *Camillus*, taking advantage of their ſecurity, put himſelf at the head of the youth of the city, marched out of *Ardea* in a very dark night, ſurprized the *Gauls* drowned in wine, and made a dreadful ſlaughter of them. This defeat of the enemy revived the courage of the ſcattered *Romans*, and particularly of thoſe who had retired to *Veii*, after the unfortunate battle of *Allia*. They reſolved to ſend ambaſſadors to *Camillus*, to beſeech him to take into his protection the wrecks of a fugitive people. But *Camillus* would not accept of the command of the troops, till the people, legally aſſembled by *curiæ*, had conferred it upon him: he thought that the public authority was lodged in the hands of thoſe who were ſhut up in the capitol, and therefore inſiſted on having a commiſſion from them. The difficulty was, how to procure it, the place being inveſted on all ſides by the enemy. However, one *Pontius Cominius*, a man of mean birth, but bold, and ambitious of glory, undertook it. He ſwam down the *Tiber*, in the night, to the foot of the capitol, and, with great difficulty and infinite danger, climbed up the rock, and having made himſelf known to the guard, was conducted to the magiſtrates. The ſenate was immediately aſſembled; *Pontius* gave them an account of *Camillus*'s victory, and a decree was inſtantly made out, appointing *Camillus* dictator, with which *Pontius* had the good luck to return ſafe. His promotion to this ſupreme command was no ſooner known, but ſoldiers flocked from all parts to his camp, and he ſoon ſaw himſelf at the head of above forty thouſand men, all of whom thought themſelves invincible under ſo great a general*.

Camillus, at the head of the *Ardeates*, defeats the *Gauls*.

Whilſt *Camillus* was taking meaſures to raiſe the blockade of the capitol, ſome *Gauls* perceived, by the print of *Pontius*'s hands and feet, and by the moſs being torn off the rock in ſeveral places, that ſomebody had lately gone up to, and returned from that citadel. They communicated their diſcovery to *Brennus*, who thereupon ordered a number of choſen men to climb up the ſame way in the dead of night, in order to ſurpriſe the place. They proceeded with ſuch ſilence, that they were not diſcovered, either by the centinels who were upon guard in the citadel, or even by the dogs, that are uſually awaked and alarmed at the leaſt noiſe. But they could not eſcape the vigilance of the geeſe, a flock of which was kept in a court of the capitol, in honour of *Juno*, and near her temple. Theſe, alarmed at the firſt approach of the *Gauls*, ran up and down, cackling, and beating their wings, till they awaked *Manlius*, a gallant officer, who ſome years before had been conſul. He immediately ſounded an alarm, and was the firſt man who mounted the

The *Gauls* attempt to ſurpriſe the capitol

They are diſcovered and re-

* Plut. in Camill. Liv. l. v. c. 46.

rampart,

pulſed by *M. Manlius.*

rampart, where he found two *Gauls* already upon the wall. One of theſe offered to diſcharge a blow at him with his battle-ax; but *Manlius* ſtruck off his right hand, and gave the other ſuch a puſh with his buckler, that he threw him headlong from the top of the rock to the bottom. He, in his fall, drew many others with him. In the mean time, the *Romans* crowding to the place, beat down the reſt of the *Gauls*, and very few got ſafe back to their camp †. Geeſe were ever after held in honour at *Rome*, and a flock of them was always kept at the public expence; whilſt dogs were from this time held in abhorrence by the *Romans*, who every year impaled one of them on a branch of elder ‡.

The ſiege of the capitol had already laſted ſeven months, and famine began to be ſeit both by the beſieged and beſiegers. *Camillus* kept the *Gauls* pent up, ſo that they could not ſtir beyond their lines, and, beſides this, a plague raged in their camp. *Camillus* waited only for a favourable opportunity to fall upon the enemy, and, in the mean time, he let them pine away in their infected camp; not knowing the extreme want the *Romans* endured in the capitol, where they were ſo deſtitute of all ſorts of proviſions, that it was not poſſible for them to ſubſiſt any longer. Neither *Camillus* nor the *Romans* in the capitol knew each other's ſituation, nor had the latter any notion of his being ſo near relieving them. In this ſituation, the beſieged and the beſiegers, equally diſtreſſed by hunger, entered upon a negociation, in which it was agreed, that the *Romans* ſhould pay the *Gauls* a thouſand pounds weight of gold, and that the latter ſhould raiſe the ſiege of the capital, and quit the *Roman* territories. *Sulpitius*, the *Roman* tribune, brought the gold agreed on, and *Brennus* the ſcales and weights to weigh it. The weights, we are told, were falſe, and the ſcales untrue; which *Sulpitius* complaining of, *Brennus*, inſtead of redreſſing the injuſtice, threw his ſword and belt into the ſcale where the weights were; and when the tribune aſked him the meaning of ſo extraordinary a behaviour, the only anſwer he gave was *Væ victis! Woe to the conquered!* *Sulpitius* was ſo ſtung with this haughty anſwer, that he was for carrying the gold back into the capital, and ſuſtaining the ſiege to the laſt extremity; but others thought it more adviſeable to put up that affront, ſince they had already ſubmitted to a far greater one, in conſenting to pay any thing at all.

The *Romans* agree to purchaſe a peace for a thouſand pounds weight of gold.

Camillus ſurpriſes *Brennus*,

While the gold was weighing, *Camillus*, who had advanced with his army, being informed of what was doing, haſtened to the place of parley with the choiceſt of his men. The *Romans*, overjoyed at his unexpected arrival, opened

† Liv. l. v. c. 47. Plut. in Camil. et de fortuna Rom.
‡ Liv. l. v. c. 47. Plut. de fortuna Rom.

to

to make room for him, told him what treaty they had made and cuts with the *Gauls*, and how unjuſtly they were then uſed. the *Gauls* They had ſcarce done ſpeaking, when *Camillus* cried out, all to *Carry back this gold into the capitol*; *and you*, Gauls, *retire* pieces. *with your ſcales and weights.* Rome *muſt not not be redeemed with gold, but with ſteel.* *Brennus* replied, that he contravened a treaty, which was concluded and confirmed with mutual oaths. *Be it ſo*, anſwered Camillus, *yet it is of no force, having been made by an inferior magiſtrate, without the privity or conſent of the dictator. I, who am inveſted with the ſupreme authority over the* Romans, *declare the contract void.* At theſe words *Brennus* flew into a rage, and both ſides drawing their ſwords, a ſcuffle enſued in the midſt of the ruined buildings, the *Gauls* were worſted, retired to their camp, and marched away in the night. *Camillus* purſued them the next day, and gave them a total overthrow. The few that eſcaped death in the battle, wandered up and down in the fields, where they fell an eaſy prey to the inhabitants of the neighbouring villages. In ſhort, not a ſingle *Gaul* was left, to carry his countrymen the news of this cataſtrophe.

The city being now quite demoliſhed, and its walls razed, the tribunes of the people renewed, with more warmth than ever, the project for dividing the ſenate and government between *Veii* and *Rome*. Some were even for abandoning entirely this laſt place, and for making *Veii* the ſole ſeat of the empire. The people too were, in general, for this opinion; but *Camillus*, and with him the ſenate, were for rebuilding the old city; and their advice prevailed. A decree was paſſed accordingly *. A decree paſſed for rebuilding the city.

Though the tribunes of the people were defeated by *Camillus* in this point, they ſucceeded, and indeed juſtly, in their attack upon another patrician. This was *Q. Fabius*, who had violated the law of nations, and thereby provoked the *Gauls*, and occaſioned the burning of *Rome*. He was ſummoned before the aſſembly of the people; but, conſcious of his guilt, he killed himſelf, to avoid the ſhame of a public puniſhment †. On the other hand, the republic gave a houſe, ſituated cloſe by the capitol, to *M. Manlius*, as a monument of his valour, and of the gratitude of his fellow citizens. *Camillus* cloſed this year by laying down his dictatorſhip; whereupon an *inter-regnum* enſued, during which he governed the ſtate alternately with *P. Cornelius Scipio*; and it fell to his lot to preſide at the election of new magiſtrates, whoſe firſt care was to collect all the antient monuments of the religious and civil laws of *Rome*, which could be found among the ruins of the demoliſhed city. Their next care was to rebuild the city. The ædiles had the direction of the works, but ſo little taſte for order or beauty. *Q. Fabius*, cited before the people, kills himſelf.

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* Plut. in Camill. Liv. l. v. c. 50-55. † Liv. l. vi. c. 1.

beauty, that the ſtreets and buildings were made even leſs regular than in the time of *Romulus*; a defect, which ſtill ſubſiſted in *Auguſtus*'s time, when *Rome* was the capital and miſtreſs of the world. *Plutarch* tells us, that as the workmen were digging among the ruins of the temple of *Mars*, they found *Romulus*' augural ſtaff, untouched by the flames; and that this was looked upon as a prodigy, from whence the *Romans* inferred, that their city would continue for ever.

Year of *Rome* 369.

Rome was ſcarce reſtored, when all her neighbours entered into a confederacy againſt her. The *Æqui*, the *Volſci*, the *Hetrurians*, and even her old allies the *Latines* and the *Hernici*, joined to oppreſs her, before ſhe had recovered her ſtrength. In this danger, *Camillus* was nominated dictator a third time. He appointed *C. Servilius* his general of the horſe, and ordered all the citizens to take arms, not excepting even the old men. Theſe levies were divided into three bodies. The firſt, commanded by *A. Manlius*, encamped under the walls of *Rome*; the ſecond was ſent into the neighbourhood of *Veii*; and *Camillus* himſelf, at the head of the third, marched to the relief of the tribunes, who were cloſely beſieged in their camp by the united forces of the *Volſci* and the *Latines*. The enemies were encamped on the declivity of a hill, and, on the news of *Camillus*'s approach, ſhut themſelves up in their camp. *Camillus* forced it, defeated the enemy, and divided the ſpoil among his ſoldiers. He then entered the country of the *Æqui*, took their capital city *Bola*, and from thence marched againſt the *Volſci*, whom he entirely reduced, after they had waged war with the *Romans* for an hundred and ſeven years. After this, he penetrated into *Hetruria*, in order to relieve *Sutrium*, a town in that country in alliance with *Rome*, and beſieged by a numerous army of *Hetrurians*. The place, reduced to the utmoſt diſtreſs, had been obliged to ſurrender before he could poſſibly arrive. The *Hetrurians* were then wholly taken up with plundering the houſes, carrying off the booty, and feaſting on the proviſions they had found in the city, not dreaming that *Camillus* was ſo near. He fell upon them, put many to the ſword, made an incredible number of priſoners, and reſtored the city to its antient inhabitants. He then returned to *Rome*, and entered it a third time in triumph †, after which he reſigned his dictatorſhip, and ſix new military tribunes were choſen.

Camillus, a third time dictator.

Defeats the *Volſci* and *Latines*.

Recovers *Sutrium* from the *Hetrurians*.

Rome being now reinſtated in her former flouriſhing condition, the tribunes of the people, who had been for ſome time quiet, began to renew the old quarrel about the diviſion of the conquered lands: but the poverty of the people, who would not have been able to ſtock thoſe lands, if they

New diſturbances raiſed by the tribunes.

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* Plut. in Camill.

had

had had them, ſoon put an end to the diſpute, and the *Pomptine* territory, lately taken from the *Volſci*, remained in the hands of the patricians.

The expectation of an approaching war induced the centuries to chuſe *Camillus* one of the military tribunes for the next year. His collegues, all men of moderation, agreed to inveſt him with the ſole management of affairs in time of war, and accordingly, in full ſenate, transferred all their power into his hands; ſo that he became in effect dictator. It had been already determined to turn the arms of the republic againſt the *Hetrurians*; but, upon advice that the *Antiates* had entered the *Pomptine* territory, and obliged the *Romans* to retire, it was thought proper firſt to humble them. *Camillus* choſenone of the military tribunes.

The *Antiates* had been joined by the *Latins* and *Hernici*, and were ſo extremely numerous, that the *Roman* ſoldiers ſeemed backward to engage. *Camillus*, obſerving this, mounted his horſe, rode through all the ranks of his army, and encouraged his troops as much as poſſibly he could; then, diſmounting, he took the next ſtandard-bearer by the hand, and, leading him towards the enemy, cried out, *Soldiers, advance*. Animated by the example of their general, they fell upon the enemy with prodigious fury. *Camillus*, to increaſe their eagerneſs ſtill more, ordered a ſtandard to be thrown into the midſt of the enemy's battalions. His troops, eager to recover it, ruſhed on with ſuch violence, that the *Antiates*, unable to reſiſt them, gave way, and were intirely defeated. The *Latines* and *Hernici* ſeparated from the *Volſci*, and returned home. The *Volſci* took refuge in the neighbouring city of *Sutricum*, which *Camillus* immediately inveſted, and took by aſſault; as he alſo did, ſoon after, the city of *Nepet*, which had ſurrendered to the *Hetrurians*. *Nepet* and *Sutrium* were the keys of *Hetruria*. This laſt was alſo beſieged by the *Hetrurians*, and reduced to great ſtreights, the enemy being already in poſſeſſion of its gates; but *Camillus* forced them to retreat, with great ſlaughter. The *Antiates*, *Latines*, and *Hernici* defeated by *Camillus*.

M. Manlius, who had ſaved the capitol, jealous of *Camillus*'s glory, practiſed every art he could deviſe to ingratiate himſelf with the people, and ſupplant *Camillus* in their eſteem; courting the multitude, and even entering into the faction of the tribunes of the people. Though he was a patrician, he inveighed againſt the nobility, and eſpouſed the cauſe of the people, in the affair of the diſtribution of lands. He oppoſed the rich, whenever they ſeized their debtors, and ſet at liberty thoſe who were already in chains; ſo that he was always attended by a kind of guard, of thoſe he had ſo aſſiſted. The ſenate, alarmed at *Manlius*'s pro- *Manlius* ſuſpected of aſpiring at ſupreme power.

* Liv. l. vi. c. 7, 8.

ceeding, thought it neceſſary to create a dictator, to prevent the evil conſequences of his too great popularity, and to cruſh the riſing faction. The army which the *Volſci* had juſt then raiſed, furniſhed them with a ſpecious pretence.

Cornelius Coſſus dictator.

The dictatorſhip was given to *A. Cornelius Coſſus*, who came to an engagement with the *Volſci* in the *Pomptine* territory, and intirely defeated them, though they were much more numerous than the *Romans*. The dictator kept his army in the field till the diſturbances raiſed by the factious *Manlius* called him back to the city. *Manlius*'s diſcourſes were openly ſeditious, and, beſides his paying the debts of numbers of plebeians, in order to gain their affection, he ſold by public auction part of his paternal eſtate, and declared, that he deſigned to apply the whole to the paying of the debts of inſolvent debtors. He went further yet, giving out, that the nobility, not ſatisfied with robbing the people of their right to a ſhare in the conquered lands, had concealed, with an intent to appropriate to their own uſe, the gold which was to have been given to the *Gauls*, and had been raiſed by the voluntary contributions of all the citizens then in the capitol: a treaſure, which alone would be ſufficient to diſcharge all the debts of the poor plebeians. He even promiſed to ſhew them, in due time, the place where this treaſure was concealed; ſo that the whole care of the people was to draw thoſe riches out of the hands of the patricians†. Such proceedings were juſtly looked upon as extremely dangerous in a republican ſtate, always alarmed at any thing that tended in the leaſt to monarchy. *Manlius* was cited to appear before the dictator. He obeyed the ſummons, but came attended with his uſual guard. The dictator challenged him to declare, as he had promiſed, the perſons who had concealed the pretended treaſures, and the place where they were hid; threatening otherwiſe to ſend him to priſon as an incendiary and a ſlanderer. His anſwers were ſo plainly evaſive and inſolent, that the dictator immediately ordered him to be ſeized and carried to priſon. This ſentence was immediately executed, without the leaſt oppoſition: ſuch was the ready ſubmiſſion of the *Romans* to the command of a lawful magiſtrate. His moſt zealous adherents expreſſed their concern only by habits of mourning.

Year of *Rome* 373.

Manlius committed to priſon.

The ſeditious ſpirit of the populace revived as ſoon as *Coſſus*'s dictatorſhip expired. The multitude, now free from the dread of an uncontroulable magiſtrate, no longer kept within any bounds, but ſurrounded *Manlius*'s priſon day and night, and threatened to break it open. The ſenate, fearing the conſequences of this fury of the incenſed populace, thought to quiet the diſturbance by releaſing him. But this timorous proceeding only gave the ſeditious a

The ſenate releaſes him

† Plut. ibid. Liv. l. vi. c. 11.

leader

leader, provoked by the ſhame of his impriſonment, and incapable of following ſober counſels §. Accordingly, the moment he was at liberty, he began his factious intrigues a-new. His houſe was crouded day and night with the mutinous, whom he harangued without reſerve, exhorting them to ſhake off the yoke they groaned under, to aboliſh dictatorſhips and conſulates, to eſtabliſh an exact equality among all the members of one and the ſame republic, and to make themſelves an head, who would govern and keep in awe the patricians as well as the people. "*If you judge me worthy of that honour*, ſaid he, *the more power you give me, the ſooner you will be in poſſeſſion of what you have ſo long wiſhed for. I deſire authority with no other view but to make you all happy.* It is ſaid, that a plot was formed to ſeize the citadel, and declare him king. The ſenate, alarmed at the danger which threatened the ſtate, ordered the military tribunes *to be watchful, that the republic received no damage*; a form of words which was never uſed but in the greateſt dangers, and which inveſted thoſe magiſtrates with an authority almoſt equal to that of a dictator. After this, different means were propoſed for defeating the evil deſigns of *Manlius*. Some were for aſſaſſinating him; but *M. Mænius* and *Q. Publilius*, two of the tribunes of the people, thought it more adviſeable to take him off by the uſual forms of law, and offered to proſecute him before the *comitia*, not doubting but the people would immediately deſert him, when they ſaw their own tribunes become his accuſers. This advice was approved, and *Manlius* was ſummoned to his trial before the *comitia* by centuries. The crime laid to his charge was his aiming at ſovereign power. He appeared before his judges in deep mourning; but neither his own brothers, nor any of his relations, changed their dreſs, or ſollicited the judges in his behalf, as was uſually done by the friends of a perſon accuſed; ſo much did the love of liberty prevail in the hearts of the *Romans*, over all the ties of blood and kindred. He was found guilty, and condemned to be thrown headlong down from the very capitol which he had ſaved. His houſe was razed to the ground; and it was decreed, that no patrician ſhould ever after dwell on the capitol.

He renews his factious intrigues.

Is impeached of treaſon by two tribunes of the people.

Is condemned and thrown headlong from the capitol.

The *Volſci* threatened the republic with a new war; the cities of *Circæi* and *Velitræ* had actually revolted; *Lanuvium*, till now ever faithful to *Rome*, declared againſt her, and all the cities of *Latium* ſeemed ready to riſe. The *Præneſtini* too were already in arms. To add to the misfortunes of the *Romans*, a plague, which broke out immediately after the execution of *Manlius*, and which the fickle and ſuperſtitious multitude aſcribed to the anger of *Jupiter* againſt the

Year of *Rome* 375.

§ Liv. l. vi. c. 17.

authors of his death *; ſtill raged in the city. However, the ſenate judging it abſolutely neceſſary that war ſhould be declared againſt the ſeveral enemies of *Rome*, aſſembled the people, and, with their conſent, decreed a war. *Camillus* was raiſed a ſixth time to the military tribuneſhip. The command of the army which was to be employed againſt the *Volſci*, was decreed to *Camillus* by the ſenate; but it fell by lot to *L. Furius* to be joined with him. Theſe two generals took the field at the head of ſixteen thouſand men. They ſoon came up with the *Volſci*, who were far more numerous, and, contrary to the advice of *Camillus*, *Furius* attacked them with great violence. The *Romans* were repulſed, and obliged to retire in great diſorder. The *Volſci* purſued them to the very gates of their camp. *Camillus*, who, either becauſe he was not well, or that he was unwilling to have any concern in what he foreſaw would be the conſequence of *Furius*'s raſh attempt, had remained in his camp with a body of reſerve, no ſooner heard that the *Romans* were defeated, than he quitted his tent, and haſtening to the aſſiſtance of the flying legions, put himſelf at the head of his reſerve, rallied the fugitives, and obliged the enemy to retire, which was all he could do that day. The next day, drawing up his troops in the plain, he renewed the engagement. The numerous army of the *Volſci* was intirely routed, their camp taken, and their chief commanders either killed or made priſoners †.

The *Romans*, engage the *Volſci*, but are repulſed.

The *Volſci* defeated by *Camillus*.

The adminiſtration of the next military tribunes was diſturbed by domeſtic ſeditions and a foreign war. The latter was occaſioned by ſome incurſions of the *Præneſtini*, and the former by the election of new cenſors, which the patricians wanted to keep off for fear of a *cenſus*, which would diſcover their riches and exceſſive uſury, and which the tribunes of the people uſed their utmoſt endeavours to bring on as ſoon as poſſible. The diſputes ran ſo high that the ſenate, thinking it neceſſary to have recourſe to the uſual grand expedient in caſes of extremity, named *Titus Quinctius* dictator. The neceſſary troops were raiſed without oppoſition. *Quinctius*, coming up with the *Præneſtini*, near the banks of the *Allia*, gave them a total overthrow, took all their ſtrong holds in a few days, and then appeared before *Præneſte*, which capitulated. He returned to *Rome*, entered the city in triumph, and then laid down his office, which had laſted but twenty-five days ‡.

T. Quinctius dictator, dieth the *Præneſtini* and es *Præneſte*.

Of the ſix military tribunes for the next year, three were patricians, and three plebeians. The two *Manlii*, who were patricians, were appointed to command the army againſt the *Volſci*. But the *Romans* had ſoon occaſion to repent their

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* Plut. in Camill. Liv. l. vi. c. 29.
† Liv. l. vi. c. 23, 24. ‡ Ibid. c. 28, 29.

their

their choice: for the *Volſci*, artfully drawing the two generals, who had ſeparated their forces, into narrow paſſes, hemmed them in in ſuch a manner, that, had they not fought with even deſperate bravery, they muſt all have been cut to pieces. They loſt a prodigious number of men; and, to add to their misfortune, whilſt they were wholly intent on defending themſelves againſt one body of the enemy's army, another plundered the two *Roman* camps without reſiſtence.

The *Roman* camp taken and plundered by the *Volſci*.

The next year, only patricians were choſen for military tribunes; and two cenſors were alſo elected, who ſet about relieving the poor debtors from the oppreſſion of their avaritious creditors. But this work was interrupted by a freſh incurſion of the *Volſci*. Two armies were raiſed, which marched different ways into the enemy's country, laid it waſte, and returned to *Rome* with an immenſe booty; the *Volſci* not daring even to appear. The next year, the *Latines* and the *Volſci* entering into a new confederacy againſt the republic, took the field together, and encamped near *Satricum*. Three *Roman* armies were raiſed without the leaſt oppoſition. One of them was to guard the city; another to be ready to march on the firſt notice; and the third, and moſt numerous, marched againſt the enemy, under the command of *P. Valerius* and *L. Æmilius*. A battle ſoon enſued, but was interrupted by ſo violent a rain, that neither party could keep the field. It was renewed the next day, at firſt, with pretty equal ſucceſs on both ſides; but, at length, the *Latines* were put in diſorder, and the whole confederate army was defeated. Of thoſe that eſcaped, ſome fled to *Satricum*, and others to *Antium*. The *Antiates*, not thinking their city in a condition to hold out long, were for ſurrendering to the *Romans* on honourable terms; and, indeed, the reſt of the *Volſci*, being alſo weary of the war, ſeemed to deſire peace. Upon this, the *Latines* ſeparated from them in a violent rage, and vented their fury upon *Satricum*, which, though belonging to their friends, they reduced to aſhes. From thence they marched into the country of the *Tuſculans*, ſurprized their city, and put all the inhabitants they met with to the ſword, for their having renounced the *Latine* confederacy, and accepted the privileges of *Roman* citizens. Thoſe who had retired into the citadel, with their wives and children, ſent to the *Romans*, to acquaint them with their ſituation. An army was immediately ſent to their relief; *Tuſculum* was taken by aſſault, and all the *Latines* within the walls were put to the ſword,

Two cenſors choſen.

The country of the *Volſci* laid waſte.

A peace concluded with the *Antiates*, and the defeat of the *Latines*, gave the republic an interval of reſt from foreign wars: but at home, the avarice and over-bearing temper of the patricians increaſed the miſery of the poorer ſort of people, whoſe condition grew inſufferably hard. The ſpirits, not only of the meaner plebeians, but even of the moſt con-

ſiderable of that order, were ſo ſunk by a ſeries of cruel oppreſſion, that, indifferent what might happen, they not only ceaſed to ſtand in competition with the nobles for the military tribuneſhip, but even neglected to ſue for the plebeian magiſtracies. To this ſucceeded, on a ſudden, as great a violence for the other extreme, occaſioned by the trifling accident of a woman, whoſe elder ſiſter, married to a patrician, at that time one of the military tribunes, was treated with the honours due to her rank, whilſt ſhe herſelf, being married to a plebeian, was conſidered only in the light of any other woman. She complained to her father of the great difference between her ſiſter's condition and her own. Her father, who was very fond of her, bid her not be uneaſy, and aſſured her, that ſhe ſhould ſoon be as much honoured as her ſiſter. To this end, he entered into an aſſociation with his plebeian ſon in-law, *Licinius Stolo*, and *L. Sextius*, a young plebeian of great parts, who wanted nothing but a noble birth to qualify him for the higheſt offices of the republic. Their deſign was to aboliſh the military tribuneſhip, reſtore the conſulſhip, procure the plebeians a ſhare in that ſupreme dignity, and, in ſhort, to put the patricians and plebeians upon an equal footing. To this end it was thought expedient, that *Licinius* and *Sextius* ſhould begin with getting the plebeian tribuneſhip for the next year, as a ſtep towards their riſing afterwards to the higheſt dignities. Having gained this firſt point, they bent all their thoughts and power to deſtroy the grandeur of the patricians, and promote the intereſt of the people. They immediately propoſed a law for ſuppreſſing the military tribuneſhip, reſtoring the conſulate, and requiring, that of the two conſuls to be annually choſen, one ſhould always be a plebeian. To engage the people to paſs this law, they added two others to it, relating to the debts and the conquered lands. The firſt was, That whatever intereſt had been paid, ſhould be reckoned as a diſcharge of ſo much of the principal, and that the remainder ſhould be paid at different equal payments. The ſecond, that no *Roman* citizen ſhould poſſeſs more than five hundred acres of land; and that whatever any one had beyond that limitation, ſhould be taken from him, and divided among the poorer citizens.

Licinius and Sextius attempt to put the patricians and plebeians upon an equal footing.

The patricians, alarmed and terrified, met frequently to conſider how they might beſt avert the impending evil. No method ſeemed to them ſo effectual as that of dividing the tribunes of the people, and engaging one part of the college to oppoſe the attempts of the other. Accordingly, they gained over the other eight, who, as often as *Licinius* and *Sextius* aſſembled the people, in order to ge their law paſſed, always entered their proteſt againſt it. *Licinius* and *Sextius*, in their turns, to be revenged of their collegues, as conſtantly proteſted againſt whatever they propoſed. This perverſe oppoſition, ſometimes by one ſide, and ſometimes by

They are oppoſed by the other tribunes.

by

by the other, was ſure to be renewed upon every occaſion during five years that theſe two plebeian tribunes were continued in their office: the conſequence was, that the republic fell into a kind of anarchy, none but plebeian officers, that is, tribunes and ædiles, being elected. The patricians were, by this means, entirely excluded from the government; and this intermiſſion of ſuperior magiſtrates placed *Licinius* and *Sextius*, who were at the head of the tribunes of the people, in ſome degree, at the head of the republic.

Licinius and *Sextius* were elected tribunes of the people a ſixth time, when the *Veliterni* declared war againſt *Rome*, over-ran the lands of the republic, and even laid ſiege to the city of *Tuſculum*. Upon this occaſion the tribunes waved their oppoſition, and ſuffered an army to be raiſed, with which ſix patricians, in quality of military tribunes, marched againſt the enemy, defeated them, raiſed the ſiege of *Tuſculum*, and inveſted *Velitræ*. This city holding out till the year of the preſent military tribunes was expired, ſix new ones were therefore created, among whom, unfortunately for the patricians, was *Fabius Ambuſtus*, the father in law of *Licinius Stolo*. The promotion of this man encouraged the tribunes of the people to purſue their point with redoubled vigour. They found means to gain over three of their collegues, ſo that of the ten tribunes, five were now for the publication of the laws, and five againſt it. The *Veliterni* defeated.

The eighth year of the plebeian tribuneſhip of *Licinius* and *Sextius*, and likewiſe that of the military tribunes, expiring before the return of the army from the ſiege of *Velitræ*, new ones were choſen, and *Licinius* and *Sextius* were ſtill continued in their office, the people being eager to have theſe two oppoſers of the patrician party carry on their deſigns, and complete them. The *Roman* army was no ſooner returned, than *Licinius* and *Sextius* ſummoned the people, and declared, that they would proceed to the publication of the law, without any regard to the oppoſition of their collegues. The patricians, ſeeing their caſe deſperate, had recourſe to the laſt refuge, which was, to nominate a dictator. *Camillus*, the fitteſt man to ſit at the helm in ſo tempeſtuous a ſeaſon, was raiſed a fourth time to that high dignity. From the moment of his nomination, the power of the tribunes ought to have been ſuſpended; but *Licinius* and *Sextius* ſtill continued to aſſemble the people, and read to them the laws which they had drawn up. The tribes had already begun to vote in favour of the laws, when the dictator, full of indignation, and attended by a great body of patricians, repaired to the aſſembly, and there ſeated himſelf on his tribunal. He then declared, that he was come to ſupport the privileges of the people; and that he would never ſuffer one part of the tribunes to deprive the other of their right of oppoſition. The two heads of the tribunes, without *Camillus* dictator a fourth time. Year of *Rome* 390.

He prevents the passing of the laws proposed by the tribunes.

paying any regard to what he said, continued to collect the votes, which so provoked *Camillus*, that he ordered his lictors to drive away the tribes, protesting, that if they did not disperse immediately, he would assemble them in the *Campus Martius*, inlist them, and make them march directly into the field. The tribunes had the boldness to threaten the dictator, that as soon as his dictatorship was expired, they would get him condemned in a fine of fifty thousand drachmæ, if he prevented the people from giving their suffrages. However, the tribes, terrified at the menaces of a magistrate who had the power of life and death, retired, and the *comitia* were postponed to another day. *Camillus*, seeing that no good could be done, either by authority or persuasion, withdrew to his own house, and soon after laid down his office *.

Lays down his office.

P. Manlius dictator.

After a short *inter-regnum*, the senate named *P. Manlius* to succeed *Camillus*. *Manlius* soon shewed himself a great favourer of the people; for the first thing he did was to appoint a plebeian his general of the horse. *Sextius* and *Licinius* now thought themselves sure of bringing their designs to bear. They assembled the people, who were very earnest to pass the laws concerning the debts and conquered lands, but who did not like either the law by which one of the consuls was always to be a plebeian, or that by which the *duumviri*, who kept the *sibyline* books were to be changed into decemvirs, and told them, that if they would not suffer all of them to be passed, they should have none. Notwithstanding this difference, *Licinius* and *Sextius* were chosen tribunes the tenth time; and soon after this re-election, they obtained the passing of the law relating to the decemvirs.

Six military tribunes, all patricians, were created for the next year, without disturbance. In the very beginning of their administration, the tribunes used their utmost efforts to get the other laws passed, and the disputes ran so high on both sides, that the citizens were upon the point of taking up arms against each other, when news was brought to *Rome*, that a numerous army of *Gauls* was in full march from the coasts of the *Adriatic*, to revenge the defeat of their countrymen. The approach of so tremendous an enemy suspended all domestic divisions. Both parties united, and agreed to name a dictator. The great *Camillus*, now fourscore years of age, was raised to this dignity the fifth time. Old as he was, he undertook this charge with pleasure, for his country's sake, and, coming up with the *Gauls* on the banks of the *Anio*, once more defeated them, with prodigious slaughter. Those who escaped the sword of the conquerors, fled into *Apulia*. Some writers are of opinion, that from this time the *Gauls* began to spread themselves into *Il-*

Camillus dictator for the fifth time.

Year of *Rome* 401.

Defeats the *Gauls*.

* Liv. l. iv. c. 58.

lyricum,

Iyricum, *Pannonia*, *Thrace*, *Greece*, and *Asia Minor*. After this, the dictator led his victorious army against *Velitræ*, the siege of which had been interrupted. The *Veliterni* immediately submitted to him, without the least resistance, and he returned to *Rome*, where the honours of a triumph were decreed him both by the senate and people *.

The republic was in too great a ferment for the senate to consent to his resigning the dictatorship. The patricians thought, that under the shelter of his great name, and absolute authority, they should be better able to contend with their adversaries: for the people, proud of their late victory, were more obstinately bent than ever on passing the laws so long disputed. *Sextius* and *Licinius*, seeing themselves backed and supported by the multitude, grew more audacious than ever, and took a most extraordinary step to effect their purpose. As the dictator was one day sitting on his tribunal in the *forum*, an officer, sent by those tribunes, commanded him to rise and follow him, insolently laying his hand upon him, at the same time, as if he designed to seize him, and carry him away by force. Hereupon such a noise and tumult arose in the *forum*, as never had been heard before; the patricians, who attended *Camillus*, driving back the officer, and the multitude at the foot of the tribunal crying out, *Pull him down, pull him down*. The tribunes design was, by this violence, to frighten *Camillus* into an abdication; but he, though at a loss what to do in this exigence, would not lay down the authority which had been legally conferred upon him. In the midst of this confusion, he took refuge in the senate-house, whither the patricians followed him, and there the demands of the people and their tribunes were taken into consideration. On this occasion, *Camillus* made a vow to build a temple to *Concord*, in case he succeeded in quieting their commotions. As the populace could not be prevailed upon, by any means, to abate of their pretensions, it was at length resolved to comply with their request, and to accept the three laws in question, as the only means to extinguish their obstinate fury. Thus the government was changed, the consulate revived, and the military tribuneship laid aside for ever †.

The tribunes send an officer to seize *Camillus*, though dictator.

The people having thus carried their point, the *comitia* were held for the election of consuls, when *L. Æmilius Mamercinus* and *L. Sextius*, the plebeian tribune, was raised to that dignity; but the senate absolutely refused to confirm the election of *Sextius*. New disputes arose on this occasion, and were carried to so great a height, that the people were ready to leave *Rome*, and separate themselves from the patricians, as they had formerly done. All the wisdom

The first plebeian consul.

* Plut. in Camill. Liv. l. vi. c. 41.
† Plut. ibid. Liv. ibid.

ſo great a man as *Camillus* was neceſſary to bring about an accommodation. The conſuls, and military tribunes, who long ſupplied their places, were generals of the *Roman* armies, and, at the ſame time, judges of civil affairs. As they could not attend to both at the ſame time, *Camillus*'s expedient was, to ſeparate this laſt function from the conſulate, and to create a judge with the title of *Prætor*. He adviſed the ſenate to ſuffer one conſul to be choſen annually out of the plebeians, on condition that the prætors ſhould always be patricians *. This was agreed to by both parties; the election of *Sextius* was confirmed; and all feuds and diſſentions in the republic were laid aſide †.

Tranquility being thus reſtored, the ſenate, in gratitude to the gods, ordered the great games to be celebrated; and two curule ædiles were created, choſen from among the patricians, to preſide at them. The temple of *Concord*, which *Camillus* had vowed, was built at the expence of the public, upon an eminence at the foot of the capitol. Thus ended a year ſo glorious for *Camillus*. He had overcome the moſt formidable enemies of *Rome*, reſtored peace to the republic, and calmed the people, without exaſperating the nobility. Full of glory, and of years, he laid down the dictatorſhip, wholly bent on ſpending the ſmall remainder of his days in the repoſe and tranquility of a private life.

Under the conſulſhip of *L. Genucius*, a plebeian, and *Servilius Ahala*, a patrician, a dreadful plague broke out in *Rome*, which ſwept away prodigious numbers; among the reſt, one cenſor, three tribunes of the people, and one curule ædile: but the moſt fatal ſtroke of all was the death of the great *Camillus*, who was much regretted by all ranks of people. He was deſervedly ſtiled a ſecond *Romulus*; the firſt having founded, and he reſtored, the city *. He is ſaid never to have fought a battle, without gaining a complete victory; never to have beſieged a city, without taking it; and never to have led an army into the field, which he did not bring back loaded both with glory and booty. He was a zealous patriot, and, though perſecuted by his ungrateful country, would never liſten to his juſt reſentments. The

Death of *Camillus*.

His character.

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* They were afterwards choſen out of either the patricians or plebeians, as the people pleaſed. The prætorſhip was then looked upon as the ſecond dignity in the republic, the prætor being elected in the *comitia* by centuries, and under the ſame auſpices as the conſuls; ſo that they were in a manner collegues. The conſul had the management of political and military affairs; and the prætor was the chief magiſtrate concerned in the adminiſtration of juſtice. At firſt, only one prætor was appointed; but the number of prætors was afterwards increaſed, at different times, as we ſhall obſerve in the courſe of this hiſtory.

† Liv. l. vii. c. 1. ‡ Ibid. c. 2.

neceſſities

neceſſities of the public no ſooner obliged the people to have recourſe to him, than, forgetting the affronts he had received, he took upon him the conduct of the moſt difficult and laborious affairs. He was a patrician by deſcent, but not actuated by party-zeal, his love for the public being the only rule of his conduct. He favoured the plebeians, when the intereſt of the public required him ſo to do, but without flattery, or ſelf-intereſt. He had nothing in view, but to do every one juſtice, and put an end to the diſſentions which weakened the republic; ſo that he left his country in the enjoyment of a perfect tranquility, at his death, by means of the equality he had wiſely introduced, and the juſt balance he had ſettled between all orders of men in the republic. *Rome* may be ſaid to have furniſhed the world with many noble patterns of probity, but none perhaps more perfect than that of the incomparable *Camillus*.

The *Hernici* were the firſt enemies that diſturbed the peace which *Rome* now enjoyed. Encouraged by the diſtreſſed ſituation to which the plague had reduced the *Romans*, they revolted, and attacked the territory of the republic. *Genucius*, the firſt plebeian who had ever been conſul, was ſent againſt them with an army; but he fell into an ambuſcade, in which his troops abandoned him, and he was killed. Hereupon it was reſolved to create a dictator. *Servilius*, the ſurviving conſul, named to that high office *Appius Claudius*, the moſt inveterate enemy of the plebeian party, that he might repair the loſſes which the republic had ſuſtained by the miſmanagement of a plebeian conſul *. The dictator, with a new army, marched againſt the *Hernici*; and, after an obſtinate battle, defeated them, and purſued them to their camp, which, night coming on, he could not then attempt to force; and the next morning the *Romans* found it abandoned. This victory is ſaid to have coſt the *Romans* a fourth part of their army, and a great number of knights.

The *Romans* defeated by the *Hernici*, who are conquered by *Appius Claudius*. Year of *Rome* 462.

As the moſt violent enemy of the plebeians had been nominated dictator the laſt year by the patricians, ſo the moſt enterpriſing adverſary of the nobility, *C. Licinius Stolo*, was now raiſed to the rank of conſul, by the plebeians; and with him *C. Sulpicius*, ſurnamed *Peticus*. The two conſuls entered the enemy's country together, and took *Ferentium*, formerly a city of the *Volſci*, but ſince given up to the *Hernici* by the *Romans*. After the ſurrender of this place, they took the road to *Rome*; but, when they came to *Tybur*, they were ſurprized to find the gates of that city ſhut againſt them; and, upon enquiry, found that the *Tyburtes* were in ſecret alliance with the *Gauls*, who were again in motion. The apprehenſion of a war with ſo formidable an enemy,

Ferentium taken.

* Liv. l. vii. c. 6.

made

made them determine to create a dictator. *T. Quinctius Pennus* was nominated to that dignity, and he appointed *Cn Cornelius* to be his general of the horse. While the *Romans* were preparing for the war, the *Gauls* advanced as far as the banks of the *Anio*, within three miles of *Rome*. The *Roman* army, under the command of the dictator, advanced to meet them, and encamped on the opposite bank of the river. A bridge was between them, which became the place of several combats between the champions of both armies. Among others, a *Gaul* of gigantic stature, and fierce aspect, advancing upon the bridge, cried out, with a loud voice, *Let the bravest man in the* Roman *army enter the lists with me; the success of our combat shall determine which is the most valiant nation.* Not a *Roman* offered to accept the challenge, till young *Manlius*, the son of him who saved the capitol, touched with the affront offered to the *Roman* name, begged the dictator's leave to encounter the *Gaul*. His request being granted, he changed his round buckler, which he wore as a *Roman* knight, for a square one, and took a short sword. That of the *Gaul* was very long and heavy. *Manlius*, parrying the first blow that was aimed at him, closed in with his adversary, before he could recover himself, and stabbed him in two places. The *Gaul* fell: *Manlius* cut off his head, and, without troubling himself about the rest of his spoils, only tore a golden collar from his neck, and, bloody as it was, put it about his own, in token of victory. Hence he got the surname of *Torquatus*, which he transmitted to his posterity. The event of this combat so discouraged the *Gauls*, that they abandoned their camp in the night, and retired into *Campania* †.

Young *Manlius* kills a champion of the *Gauls*.

The two consuls for the next year, *C. Pætilius Libo*, and *M. Fabius Ambustus*, were ordered, the former to go and punish the *Tyburtes*, and the latter to march against the *Hernici*, who still persisted in their revolt. They had no sooner left *Rome* but the *Gauls* appeared again, and advanced so near the city that they blocked up the gate *Collina*. The senate, not chusing to recall either of the consuls, desired them to name a dictator. They made choice of *Servilius Ahala*, who, arming all the young men that were left in *Rome*, came to an engagement with the *Gauls* under the very walls of the city, and defeated them with great slaughter. They fled to *Tibur*, and took shelter there, notwithstanding the consul *Pætilius*'s endeavour to intercept and cut them off. *Fabius*, on his side, fought the *Hernici* with success, and overcame them in a general action. Thus was the republic this year victorious on all sides. *Servilius* declined the honours of a triumph, and, on his return to *Rome*, abdicated

Servilius Ahala, dictator, defeats the *Gauls* and *Hernici*.

† Liv. l. vii. c. 9, 10, 11. Oros. l. v. c. 6.

the

the dictatorship. *Pætilius* had a triumph; and his collegue, *Fabius*, an ovation ‡.

The next year, the *Tyburtes* came, in the dead of the night, to the very gates of *Rome*, and alarmed the city with an apprehension that the *Gauls* were come again. They were easily repulsed the next day. The consuls for the following year were *C. Fabius Ambustus* and *C. Plautius Proculus*. The latter marched against the *Hernici*, and totally subdued them; but the former, being sent against the *Tarquinienses*, who had entered the *Roman* territory in arms, was defeated by them. This disadvantage was followed by a new alarm from the *Boii*, who appeared on a sudden in the plain of *Prænestе*, and had advanced within ten miles of *Rome*. The *Latines*, very seasonably, renewed their alliance, and furnished such a body of troops, that the republic, with this reinforcement, was able to make head against all her enemies. As the two consuls were employed elsewhere, *Sulpicius*, surnamed *Peticus*, was created dictator, to conduct the war against the *Gauls*. He named *M. Valerius* his general of the horse, and marched against the enemy with the best legions of the two consular armies. Both sides were impatient to come to a battle; but the dictator, knowing that the *Gauls* must soon be distressed for want of provision, restrained the impetuosity of his troops as long as he could, till at length they openly declared, that they would either attack the enemy without his leave, or quit the camp, and march back to *Rome*. *Sulpicius*, to quiet his soldiers, was forced to engage the *Gauls* the next day. The fight was very obstinate; but, by the valour of *Sulpicius*, ended in favour of the *Romans*. The *Gauls* were, almost all, cut to pieces. *Sulpicius* was honoured with a triumph; after which he resigned the dictatorship, and the government returned into the hands of the two consuls for the year. During their administration, a law was passed against canvassing for votes at elections.

The *Hernici* subdued.

Sulpicius Pæticus defeats the *Gauls*.

Under the succeeding consuls, *C. Martius Rutilus*, and *Cn. Manlius Imperiosus*, the interest of money, which before was arbitrary, was settled at one *per cent*. A law was likewise made against holding the *comitia* for elections any where but at *Rome*, in order to guard against the influence of the military people, particularly the consuls, in case they should think of assembling them in the camp.

The two consuls for the following year, *M. Fabius Ambustus*, and *M. Popilius Lænas*, were employed; the first against the *Tyburtes*, who, not appearing in the field, had their country ravaged and plundered; and the latter against the *Falisci* and *Tarquinienses*, over whom he gained some advantage; but an all *Hetruria* taking up arms against him, he was obliged to

War with *Fali-sci*, *Tarquinienses*,

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‡ Liv. l. vii. c. 11, 12.

retire *. Upon his retreat, a numerous army of *Hetrurians* advanced within a few miles of *Rome*. This obliged the *Romans* to have recourſe to a dictator. The conſul *Papilius*, who was himſelf a plebeian, in the abſence of his collegue, pitched upon *C. Martius Rutilus*, the plebeian conſul for the laſt year; and he likewiſe choſe a plebeian, *C. Plautius Proculus*, for his general of the horſe. The patricians, highly provoked at theſe promotions, did all they could to prevent the dictator from having ſuch things decreed him as were neceſſary for the war. But the people, on the other hand, haſtened the preparations with ſuch diſpatch, that the dictator was able to take the field even earlier than uſual. He marched ſtrait to the enemy's camp, and ſurpriſed and forced it; nothing being able to withſtand the *Roman* ſoldiery, under the conduct of the firſt plebeian that had ever been raiſed to the high office of dictator. We are not told what number of *Hetrurians* periſhed in the battle; but if we may judge by the priſoners, who did not amount to leſs than eight thouſand, it muſt have been prodigious. This victory well deſerved the honour of a triumph, and accordingly *Martius* had it, in ſpite of the oppoſition of the jealous patricians †.

Year of *Rome* 407. *C. Martius Rutilus*, dictator.

Triumphs over the *Hetrurians*.

This adminiſtration was ſucceeded by a ſhort interregnum, during which the ſtate was governed by ſix patricians, who, when the election of new conſuls came on, managed ſo well, that two patricians, *C. Sulpicius Potitus*, and *M. Valerius Poplicola*, were choſen; though, for the laſt eleven years, one of the conſuls had always been a plebeian. The tribunes exclaimed againſt this election, as contrary to the laws; but they were over-ruled. The conſuls of this year did nothing worth mentioning, except their taking of *Empulum* from the *Tyburtes*. When the time came for new elections, they declared that they would not reſign their dignity into any hands but thoſe of the ſenate and patricians, from whom they received it. This occaſioned ſuch diſputes, that the people proteſted they would leave *Rome*; and ſome of them did actually go. Notwithſtanding this, two patricians were again choſen conſuls; *M. Fabius Ambuſtus*, and *T. Quinctius Pennus*; who immediately took the field againſt the *Tyburtes* and *Tarquinienſes*; the former of whom were totally ſubdued by *Fabius*, and the latter defeated in a bloody battle by *Quinctius*. Theſe victories gained the *Romans* ſuch reputation among the nations of *Italy*, that the *Samnites* ſent an embaſſy to propoſe an alliance with the republic. This offer was agreed to; the *Samnites* engaging to furniſh the republic with troops when required; and the *Romans* promiſing to protect them againſt their enemies.

The *Samnites* enter into an alliance with *Rome*.

* Liv. l. vii. c. 17.
† Ibid. Oror. l. iii. c. 5. Eutrop. l. ii. Faſt. Capit.

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The conſuls for the next year, *C. Sulpicius Potitus*, and *M. Valerius Poplicola*, were again patricians. The former marched againſt the *Tarquinienſes*, and the latter againſt the *Volſci*, who were again in motion. But they had ſcarce taken the field, when *Valerius* was recalled to nominate a dictator, the ſenate being informed by *Sulpicius*, that the *Cærites* were diſpoſed to take part with the *Tarquinienſes*, and that the *Faliſci* had already joined them. *Valerius* named *T. Manlius Torquatus* to the dictatorſhip, though he had never been conſul; a neceſſary ſtep to that ſupreme dignity. The new dictator was preparing to march againſt the *Cærites*, when they, ſenſible of their inability to reſiſt the brave *Torquatus*, ſent deputies to implore the clemency of the *Romans*. A truce was granted them for an hundred years, in conſideration of their having received the veſtals when *Rome* was taken by the *Gauls*. The dictator then led his army againſt the *Faliſci*: but they not appearing, he laid their country waſte, and returned to *Rome*. The dictatorſhip and the conſulate expiring together, an inter-regnum enſued. The diſputes about the next election ran ſo high, that there was danger of an open revolt of the people. The patricians, to ſatisfy them, ſuffered the *Licinian* law to take place; and *P. Valerius Poplicola*, a patrician, and *C. Martius Rutilus*, a plebeian, were elected conſuls.

Manlius Torquatus dictator.

The *Cærites* ſubmit.

An inter-regnum.

The first care of the new conſuls was to regulate the payment of debts, the only obſtruction now to a perfect union of the patricians and plebians. They no longer conſidered the relief of the debtors as a private affair, but as a general concern to the public, and therefore choſe out five men of known probity, and great experience, to take an account of all the debts of the plebeians. Theſe five were called *bankers*, and had the command of the public treaſury to enable them to diſcharge their commiſſion; which they did to the ſatisfaction of both parties. Thoſe who, out of ſloth and idleneſs, had plunged themſelves into debts, either borrowed money of theſe bankers, giving the treaſury ſecurity for it, or depoſited the value of their debts in their creditors hands in effects, which were valued by the bankers. By this means the greateſt part of the debtors were relieved, without doing injury to any perſon, and with little loſs to the public.

The payment of debts regulated.

The *Romans*, taking the opportunity of the peace they now enjoyed, fixed a day for the *comitia* to proceed to the election of new cenſors. Hitherto, none but the moſt illuſtrious patricians had ever enjoyed this dignity: but *C. Marcius Rutilus*, thinking himſelf, though a plebeian, qualified for any poſt in the republic, after he had been twice conſul, and once dictator, ſtood candidate for this office; and, in ſpite of all the oppoſition of the nobles, was elected with *Cn. Manlius*, a patrician. *Ovinus*, one of the tribunes of the people, to give a new luſtre to an office to which a plebeian had, for the firſt time, juſt been promoted, propoſed a law, depriving

The cenſorſhip opened to the plebeians.

depriving the conſuls of the prerogative of filling up the ſenate, and lodging this power in the cenſors. The law paſſed; and, what is very extraordinary, this important change was made in the republic without the leaſt diſturbance.

M. Popilius Lænas, a plebeian; and *L. Cornelius Scipio*, were the next conſuls. This laſt falling ſick ſoon after his election, the plebeian conſul, to the great mortification of the nobility, became ſole general of the *Roman* troops *.

The *Gauls* enter *Latium*, The *Gauls* at this time having entered *Latium* anew, were advancing towards *Rome*. *Popilius* ordered levies to be made; and ſo great a number of ſoldiers inliſted on this occaſion, that two armies were immediately raiſed; one to guard the city, under the command of *M. Valerius Poplicola*, who was then prætor, and the firſt in that employment who was ſeen at the head of an army. *Popilius*, with the other, marched againſt the *Gauls*, whom, with ſome difficulty, he defeated, and then plundered their camp. He himſelf was wounded in the battle with a javelin. He was decreed a triumph at his return to *Rome*; but his wound hindered his enjoying it juſt then. As his collegue, *Scipio*, continued likewiſe indiſpoſed, the ſenate deſired the two conſuls to name a dictator, to preſide at the approaching election. They made choice of *L. Furius Camillus*, ſon of the great *Camillus*. The dictator himſelf was choſen for one of the conſuls; and *Appius Claudius*, ſurnamed *Craſſus*, another patrician was appointed his collegue †.

and plunder it. In the beginning of their conſulate, the *Gauls*, who, in their late defeat, had fled for refuge to the hills of *Alba*, appeared again in great numbers on the ſea-coaſt of *Latium*, and plundered that country, from the mouth of the *Tiber* up to *Antium*. *Appius* dying, the care of driving away theſe dangerous enemies was left to *Camillus*, whoſe very name was an omen of ſucceſs in a war with the *Gauls*. While the two armies lay obſerving each other, a fierce *Gaul*, remarkable both for his ſtature and the richneſs of his armour, challenged the braveſt man in the *Roman* legions to a ſingle combat. *M. Valerius*, a legionary tribune, accepted the challenge, and killed his enemy. Whilſt *Valerius* was preparing to ſtrip him, the *Gauls* poured in upon him, and the *Romans* haſtening to the aſſiſtance of their countrymen, a general battle enſued, in which the *Gauls* were entirely defeated. Thoſe who eſcaped, took their way through the country of the *Volſci*, and, entering *Campania*, croſſed the plains of *Falernum*, penetrated as far as *Apulia*, and retired to the coaſts of the *Adriatic* ſea.

The *Gauls* defeated.

The time for electing new conſuls coming round, before *Camillus*, who thought it neceſſary to remain a while on the coaſt

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* Liv. l. vii. c. 22. † Liv. l. vii. c. 23. Appian. Celtic.

coaſt of *Latium*, to watch ſome *Greek* pirates who hovered about there, could return to *Rome*, he was obliged to nominate a dictator to preſide in the *comitia*. The perſon he promoted to that dignity was the famous *Manlius Torquatus*, who, charmed with the exploit of *Valerius*, ſo much reſembling his own, and having great influence in the elections, prevailed with the people to chuſe him one of the conſuls, tho' he was but twenty-three years of age, and too young even to have a place in the ſenate. His collegue was *Popilius Lænas*. *Manlius Torquatus* dictator. Year of *Rome* 415.

Whilſt the *Romans* enjoyed a profound peace both at home and abroad, under the adminiſtration of theſe two conſuls, ambaſſadors came from *Carthage* to *Rome*. The *Carthaginians* were the firſt nation the *Romans* were acquainted with out of *Italy*, and with whom they entered into a treaty, relating chiefly to navigation and commerce, as early as the firſt year after the expulſion of the *Tarquins*. The negotiating of this treaty was the whole employment of the preſent conſuls. They were ſucceeded by *C. Plautius Hypſæus*, and *T. Manlius Torquatus*, who had been twice dictator, but was now for the firſt time conſul. During this conſulate, the republic enjoyed a profound peace. The intereſt of money was reduced to one half *per cent.* and debtors were allowed, on paying down one fourth of their debts, three years to diſcharge the remainder, by annual and equal payments. A new war broke out during the adminiſtration of the ſucceeding conſuls; *Valerius Corvus*, the conqueror of the champion of the *Gauls*, now a ſecond time conſul; and *C. Petilius Libo*. *Valerius* defeated the enemy, took from them *Satricum*, and burnt it, ſparing only the temple of the goddeſs *Matuta*‡. He was honoured with a triumph, in which four thouſand captives marched before his chariot. In this conſulate, the ſecular games, inſtituted in the year of *Rome* 297, were celebrated the ſecond time. The next year's conſuls, *M. Fabius Dorſo*, and *S. Sulpicius Camerinus*, named *L. Furius Camillus* dictator a ſecond time, on occaſion of a war with a new enemy, the *Aurunci*, a petty nation near the confines of *Latium*, on the coaſt of the *Tyrrhenian* ſea. *Furius* overthrew them, and, at his return, built a temple, which he had vowed during the battle, to *Juno Moneta*. The next year, *P. Valerius* was appointed dictator for the ſolemnization of the feſtival called *feriæ Latinæ*.

A treaty with *Carthage*.

The *Volſci* defeated and *Satricum* taken.

M. Furius overthrows the *Aurunci*.

M. Valerius Corvus, and *Cornelius Coſſus*, were choſen conſuls for the next Year. During their adminiſtration, the friendſhip between the *Romans* and the *Samnites* was, on a ſudden, changed into a violent and laſting hatred. The occaſion of it was this. The *Sidicini*, a People of *Auſonia*, being attacked by the *Samnites*, and not able to defend them-

‡ Liv. ibid.

ſelves,

Occaſion of the war with the *Samnites*. Year of *Rome* 420.

ſelves, had recourſe to the people of *Campania*, who took up arms, as well to aſſiſt their injured neighbours, as to guard againſt the farther progreſs of a powerful enemy, which they themſelves had great reaſon to fear. Hereupon the *Samnites*, having a proſpect of greater advantages in the conqueſt of the *Campanians*, than in that of the *Sidicini*, turned their arms againſt the former, and, after defeating them in two pitched battles, threatened to beſiege the city of *Capua*, their metropolis. In this diſtreſs, the *Capuans* ſent an embaſſy to *Rome*, to implore the aſſiſtance of the republic. The ſenate anſwered, that they thought them worthy of the protection of the *Romans*, but that they could not take arms for them, conſiſtent with their antient friendſhip for the *Samnites*, whom they would however deſire to put an end to their hoſtilities.

The *Campanians* ſurrender themſelves and country to the *Romans*.

The deputies of *Capua* had hitherto ſpoken only of an alliance and confederacy with the *Romans*; but now, purſuant to the powers with which they had been inveſted, they made this farther declaration: *Since the* Romans *ſcruple to attack openly the* Samnites, *contrary to the faith of their treaties; let them, at leaſt, not be afraid to defend their own property againſt the unjuſt uſurpation of their enemies: the people of* Campania, *the city of* Capua, *our lands, our temples, every thing we have, divine and human, we abſolutely give and ſurrender to you. From this time, therefore, all our loſſes will be yours* *.

The conſcript fathers, thinking this donation of too much conſequence to be ſlighted, immediately diſpatched ambaſſadors to deſire the *Samnites*, as friends, to ſpare a province that belonged to *Rome*. The *Samnites*, inſtead of paying any regard to this meſſage, ſent for the commanders of their troops, and, in the preſence of the *Roman* ambaſſadors, ordered them to go inſtantly and ravage *Campania*. This inſult filled both the people and ſenate with indignation. War was ſolemnly declared againſt the *Samnites*. Two armies were raiſed; one of which, under the command of the brave *Valerius*, was ordered into *Campania*, whilſt *Cornelius*, with the other, carried the war into *Samnium*. *Valerius* and the *Samnites* engaged with pretty equal numbers, and the victory was long diſputed, till *Valerius*, throwing himſelf into the midſt of the *Samnites* cohorts, bid his legions follow him. This bold action turned the ſcale at once. From this moment a dreadful havock enſued: the dead lay in heaps round the ſtandard of the army, who yet kept their ground. The battle laſted till night came on; and all that the *Romans* knew by the next day that they had gained the victory, was, that the *Samnites* had abandoned their camp in the night †.

War declared againſt the *Samnites*,

Who are defeated by *Valerius*.

Cornelius brings his army into

Whilſt *Valerius* was thus ſignalizing his valour in *Campania*, his collegue, *Cornelius*, brought his army into great danger in *Samnium*, by imprudently leaving an advantageous

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* Liv. l. vii. c. 29—31. † Ibid. c. 32, 33.

For

poſt where he was encamped, and marching his troops through a mountainous country into a foreſt, out of which there was no way but through a valley, which, as well as the wood, was lined with enemies. *P. Decius Mus*, who was then only a legionary tribune, and who afterwards ſignalized his love for his country in an eminent manner, fortunately extricated him from this danger by a happy ſtratagem. Obſerving at a diſtance an eminence which commanded the camp of the *Samnites*, and which had been neglected by them, he propoſed to the conſul, that he might be detached with a ſmall body to take poſſeſſion of it. *When you ſee me poſted there*, added he, *be under no apprehenſions of the enemy, but continue your march.* *Cornelius* approved of the deſign. *Decius* was not perceived till he and his ſoldiers were actually climbing up the rock. The *Samnites* were in ſuch ſurprize, that they knew not whether they ſhould attack the conſul or *Decius*. While they were in this ſuſpenſe, *Cornelius* marched out of the valley without moleſtation. *Decius* remained poſted on the hill till the middle of the night, and then, having before agreed with his men to cut their way through the enemy, if they could not eſcape otherwiſe, he put himſelf at the head of his troop, and marched down the rock in great ſilence. They had got half way through the enemy's camp, when a *Roman* ſoldier, ſtriking his foot againſt the buckler of a *Samnite*, awaked a centinel, who gave the alarm in that quarter. The *Samnites*, not yet knowing what the matter was, ran to arms in ſtrange confuſion; which *Decius* obſerving, he ordered his men to give a great ſhout. This redoubled the conſternation of the *Samnites*; which the *Romans* taking advantage of, gained the plain, joined the army under *Cornelius*, whom he adviſed to march away immediately, and ſurpriſe the enemy's camp. The conſul did ſo. He found the *Samnites* ſcattered, as *Decius* imagined they would be, and purſued them to their camp, which he took and plundered, after having cut to pieces above thirty thouſand of them. *Decius* was honoured, both by his general and his fellow-ſoldiers, with all the military rewards that were ever given to a ſubaltern. This campaign did not end with this victory; for *Valerius* likewiſe overthrew the *Samnites*, who had recruited, with ſo great ſlaughter, that, we are told, his ſoldiers brought him forty thouſand of the enemy's bucklers, together with an hundred and twenty of their ſtandards. Both conſuls returned to *Rome*, and were honoured with a triumph. This year ended with a *cenſus*; by which it appeared, that the number of *Romans* able to bear arms amounted to one hundred and ſixty thouſand.

great danger.

Decius Mus extricates him.

Cornelius defeats the *Samnites*, who are conquered again by *Valerius*.

The next year *Privernum* revolted, but was quickly reduced by *C. Plautius Hypſæus*, now the ſecond time conſul. His collegue, *L. Æmilius*, laid waſte the country of the *Samnites*, who were ſo weakened by their two late overthrows,

that they were glad to ſue for peace and an alliance with *Rome*; which was granted. The *Sidiceni* and *Campanians* joined the *Latines*, and an army of theſe three united nations entered *Samnium*, and laid all waſte before them: but as they could not bring the *Samnites* to a battle, they ſoon retired for want of proviſions.

The *Sidicini*, *Campanians*, and *Latines*, unite againſt the republic.

In the beginning of the conſulate of the famous *Manlius Torquatus*, and *Decius Mus*, the former of whom was a patrician, and the latter a plebeian, *Alexander*, king of *Epirus*, and brother to *Olympia*, the mother of *Alexander* the Great, came into *Italy*, on the invitation of the *Tarentines*, to aſſiſt them againſt the *Brutians*. This prince hoped to have ſubdued all *Italy* with the ſame eaſe as his nephew had reduced *Perſia*: but he was ſoon made ſenſible of his miſtake, and found it neceſſary to court the friendſhip of the *Romans* in particular, with whom he concluded an alliance *. After this the two conſuls made it their whole buſineſs to prevent the revolt of the *Latines*; and, to this end, ten of the *Latin* chiefs were ſummoned to appear at *Rome*, and give an account of their preparations for war. The *Latines* ſent them; and they demanded, as a condition of renewing the alliance between the two nations, that *one of the conſuls, and half of the ſenate, ſhould, for the future, be choſen out of the* Latines. This demand was rejected with indignation, and war was immediately declared. Two armies were raiſed, which encamped in *Campania*, at the foot of Mount *Veſuvius*, at a ſmall diſtance from the enemy's camp. The night before the battle, both conſuls are ſaid to have dreamed the ſame dream: *That a man of gigantic ſtature appeared to them, and told them, that the victory was decreed to that army whoſe general ſhould devote himſelf to the* Dii Manes. When it was day, the two conſuls communicated this dream to each other. Perhaps they had courage enough to feign an apparition, which muſt coſt one or other of them his life, purely to raiſe the courage of their ſoldiers. Hereupon it was agreed, in a council of war, that *Manlius* ſhould command the right wing, and *Decius* the left; and, that he, whoſe troops ſhould firſt give way, ſhould devote himſelf to ſave his country, and ruſh into the midſt of the enemy's battalions. It was likewiſe determined, in the ſame council, that the antient diſcipline ſhould be ſtrictly obſerved in the preſent war, and that no officer or ſoldier ſhould dare to fight the enemy without expreſs orders, or out of his rank, upon pain of death.

Alexander king of *Epirus*, comes to *Italy*.

The *Romans* march againſt the *Latines*.

Soon after the proclamation of theſe orders, young *Manlius*, the conſul's ſon, being ſent at the head of a detachment of horſe to obſerve the enemy's motions, met an advanced ſquadron of the enemy, commanded by one *Geminius Me-*

* Liv. l. viii. c. 2, 3.

tius,

tius, who, knowing the conſul's ſon, challenged him to a ſingle combat. *Manlius*, piqued in point of honour, and forgetting the late orders of the generals, engaged and killed him. Then, ſtripping him of his armour, he returned to the camp, and going ſtrait to his father's tent accoſted him thus: *Father, I have followed your example: I was challenged, like you, by an inſulting enemy; and here lay his ſpoils at your feet.* The conſul, at theſe words, turning his back upon his ſon, ordered the troops to be immediately aſſembled, and, in their preſence, made him this reply: *Since you*, Titus Manlius, *have been ſo raſh as to fight the enemy without my orders, you muſt expiate your crime yourſelf. You have indeed conquered. and therefore deſerve to be rewarded. But your diſobedience muſt be puniſhed with the utmoſt ſeverity. How could you deſpiſe the authority both of a father and a conſul? How could you break through that diſcipline, to the ſtrict obſervance of which* Rome *has hitherto owed her preſervation? Hard is the neceſſity you reduce me to when you force me either to forget, that I am a father, or that I am a judge. But neither your grief nor mine ſhall prevail over the fidelity I owe my country. We ſhall be a melancholy example to poſterity, but a wholeſome precedent to the* Roman *youth. In you I loſe a ſon endeared to me by the tender affection of a father, and by your late victory. But, alas! ſince I muſt either eſtabliſh the conſular authority by a rigorous act of juſtice, or weaken it by your impunity, die as bravely as you have conquered. If you have but one drop of the* Manlian *blood in your veins, you will not refuſe to repair the breach you have made in the military diſcipline by undergoing the puniſhment due to your offence.* This ſaid, he firſt crowned his ſon as victor, and then ordered the lictors to tie him to the ſtake, and ſtrike off his head. All preſent were ſtunned, as if this ſentence had been pronounced againſt themſelves. They covered the dead body with the ſpoils of the conquered enemy, and expreſſed their affliction by the moſt pompous obſequies they could poſſibly perform in the field. It is ſcarce to be imagined how tractable this ſeverity of *Manlius* made his army for the future. To it he owed, in a great meaſure, the victory he gained a few days after *.

Manlius's ſon encounters and kills a *Latin* champion but is put to death by his father for fighting without orders.

The two armies engaged with pretty equal numbers; and, as their manner of fighting was exactly ſimilar, neither had any advantage for ſome time; but, at length, the left wing of the *Romans* gave way. *Decius* then remembring his agreement with his collegue, called out to *Valerius*, the *pontifex maximus*, to perform on him the ceremony of conſecration, that he might devote himſelf in due form. *Valerius* ordered him to quit his military habit, and put on the robe wore in the ſenate. Then he covered his head with a veil, ordered

Decius Mus devotes himſelf.

* Liv. l. viii. c. 7. Flor. l. i. c. 14. Zonar. l. vi. c. 16.

him to put forth his hand under his robe to his chin, and ſtanding with both his feet upon his javelin, to repeat after him the following words: *O* Janus, Jupiter, Mars, Romulus, Bellona, *and ye* Lares *and* Novenſiles! *O all ye heroes who dwell in heaven; and all ye gods, who rule over us and our enemies; eſpecially ye gods of hell! I honour you, invoke you, and humbly intreat you, to proſper the arms of the* Romans; *and to transfer all fear and terror from them to their enemies: and I do, for the ſafety of the* Roman *people, and their legions, devote myſelf, and with myſelf, the army and auxiliaries of the enemy, to the infernal gods, and the goddeſs of the earth.* *Decius* then ordered his lictors to go and acquaint his collegue, that he had devoted himſelf for the ſafety of the army. Then, tucking up his robe, and girding it round him, he mounted his horſe, and rode full ſpeed into the thickeſt of the enemy's battalions, where a ſhower of darts ſoon ended his days. The death of the conſul gave new courage to the *Romans*. Now, grown furious, they attacked the enemy with irreſiſtible force, and made ſo terrible a ſlaughter of them, that ſcarce a fourth part of their army remained alive. Thoſe who eſcaped, fled to the *Minturnæ*, a little above the mouth of the *Liris*. There they recruited, and afterwards took the road to *Capua*, determined once more to try their fortune. But *Manlius* met them, defeated them again, and then entered *Latium*, and laid that country waſte. All the *Latin* cities ſurrendered at diſcretion, as did *Pivernum*, in the territory of the *Volſci*; and all *Campania*, together with its capital, *Capua*, was brought into ſubjection to its former maſters.

The *Latines* defeated,

are again routed, and ſubmit with the *Campanians*.

Manlius ſoon after fell ſick; and as a *Roman* general was wanted in the field to oppoſe ſome freſh incurſions of the *Antiates*, he nominated *L. Papirius Craſſus*, then prætor, to the dictatorſhip. *Papirius* kept his troops ſome months in the enemy's country upon free-quarter, and then returned to *Rome*, to preſide at the election of conſuls for the next year, when *Q. Publius*, a plebeian, and *Tib. Æmilius*, a patrician, were choſen. During their adminiſtration, the *Latines* revolted, and formed two armies. *Publilius*, ſucceeding in an expedition againſt one of them, was honoured with a triumph; but *Æmilius*, who had not been ſo fortunate, was refuſed that diſtinction; which ſo incenſed him, that no tribune of the people ever inveighed more bitterly againſt the nobility than the patrician-conſul did on this occaſion. Hereupon the ſenate, to prevent diſturbances, ordered him to name a dictator. *Æmilius* obeyed: but, in revenge, named his plebeian collegue; who appointed *Brutus Scæva*, another plebeian, to be his general of horſe. The dictator, who was entirely devoted to the people, employed all his power and influence to eſtabliſh their rights on a ſolid foundation. This he effected by three laws, which he either made or revived. The firſt was, That the decrees made by

The *Latines* revolt,

the

the people, at the requeſt of their tribunes, ſhould bind all the ſubjects of the republic in general. The ſecond, that the laws which were to be paſſed by the centuries, ſhould be firſt approved by the ſenate, and that the people ſhould put the laſt hand to them. The third law was, That one of the cenſors ſhould always be a plebeian*. The ſenate, to pique *Æmilius*, ordered the next year's conſuls, *L. Furius Camillus*, grandſon to the great *Camillus*, and *C. Mænius*, a plebeian, to put an end to the war which he had left unfiniſhed; and, that the new conſuls might not fail of ſucceſs, they furniſhed them plentifully with arms, ammunition, and all things neceſſary. The united forces of the *Latines* were defeated, and all *Latium* was brought under ſubjection. The conſuls returned to *Rome*, and were honoured, not only with a triumph. but alſo with two equeſtrian ſtatues erected in the *forum*†.

but are ſubdued, and their fate determined.

The next thing to be done was, to determine the fate of the conquered. As ſome cities had been more criminal than others, it was thought proper to make a diſtinction in the treatment of them. *Lanuvium*, *Aricia*, *Nomentum*, and *Pedum*, were made *Roman municipia*. Their ſoldiers had the privilege of being incorporated in the legions, and ſhared all the advantages of the *Roman* ſoldiery, being no longer conſidered in the light of auxiliaries. The *Tuſculans* were reſtored to the enjoyment of their antient privileges. *Vilitræ* was razed, and its ſenate and inhabitants were removed to another city beyond the *Tiber*. The *Antiates* were allowed the freedom of *Roman* citizens. The inhabitants of *Tybur* and *Præneſte* were deprived of all their lands; and, laſtly, all the *Latines*, without exception, were forbid to aſſemble their diets; to marry out of their reſpective tribes, or to have common markets or fairs for trade. As for the cities of *Campania*, their lands were taken from them, and divided among the *Romans*. Thus were the two moſt powerful provinces of *Italy* ſubdued by the republic; and the *Latines*, from allies of *Rome*, made her ſubjects‡.

The next year, *Publilius*, though a plebeian, obtained the prætorſhip; the only great dignity which the plebeians had not before ſhared with the nobility. The conſuls of the following year led an army againſt the *Sidicini* and *Auſones*, and defeated them. The year after, their metropolis, *Cala*, was taken, and an army marched againſt the *Sidicini*; but before theſe laſt could be ſubdued, the year of the preſent conſulſhip expiring, and the conſuls being returned to *Rome* for the election of new ones, a report prevailed, that the *Sidicini* had aſſembled a very formidable army, and were

A plebeian prætor.

The *Sidicini* and *Auſones* conquer'd. Year of *Rome* 425.

* Liv. l. viii. c. 12. † Ibid. Eutrop. l. ii. Faſt. Capit.
‡ Liv. l. viii, c. 13Fr. l. i, c. 11.

joined by the *Samnites*. Upon this, *P. Cornelius Rufinus* was named dictator, and appointed to march againſt them: but the augurs having found ſome defect in the circumſtances of his nomination, he was obliged to abdicate. The next year the forces were transferred to *L. Papirius Curſor* and *C. Pætilius Libo Viſolus*, who completed the reduction of the *Sidicini*. The numbers of *Roman* citizens being greatly increaſed ſince the reduction of the *Latines*, two new tribes, the *Mæcian* and *Scaptian*, were added to the former twenty-ſeven *.

Two new tribes added to the *Romans*.

Whilſt *Rome* enjoyed a perfect tranquility after the reduction of the *Latines*, there ſprung up within her boſom a new ſet of monſters. Several women of diſtinction, ſome ſay three hundred and ſixty, others an hundred and ſeventy, for what reaſon we know not, entered into an agreement to get rid of their huſbands by poiſon; and took the opportunity of an epidemical diſtemper to put their wicked deſign in execution. People were ſurpriſed to ſee ſo many men of note die, nearly at the ſame time, and all with the ſame ſymptoms; little dreaming of a crime ſo contrary to the manners of the *Romans*, that they even had not any law againſt it. At length, a female ſlave, who aſſiſted one of theſe furies in making her poiſon, went to *Q. Fabius*, who was at that time *curule ædile*, and, upon a promiſe of impunity, diſcovered to him the whole myſtery of the iniquity. The *ædile* imparted the ſecret to the conſuls, and the conſuls to the ſenate; by whoſe orders the ſlave, attended by proper officers, went to the houſes of above twenty *Roman* ladies, who were all found buſy in preparing poiſons. Among theſe were two patrician women, who being brought before the aſſembly of the people, and there examined, maintained, that they had prepared only medicines for the ſick, and that there were no poiſonous ingredients in them. Upon this, the ſlave, finding herſelf ſuſpected of calumny, propoſed, that the two ladies ſhould take their own potions. They were ordered ſo to do. They then deſired firſt to confer with their accomplices; which being granted, they all, by agreement, drank their own poiſon, and thereby avoided a more cruel death. The republic aſcribed this unheard of wickedneſs to a ſpirit of madneſs ſent as a puniſhment by the angry gods; and therefore, to appeaſe their wrath, had recourſe to a ceremony formerly practiſed in times of plagues and general calamities. This was, for a dictator to drive a nail into the wall of the temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*. *Cn. Quintilius* was raiſed to that dignity only to perform this ſuperſtitious ceremony; which was no ſooner done than he reſigned his dignity, and gave way to the conſulate of *L. Papirius Craſſus* and *L. Plautius Venno* †.

Several *Roman* women agree to poiſon their huſbands.

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* Liv. l. viii. c. 17.

† Liv. l. viii. c. 18.

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The *Privernates* revolted in the beginning of this year; but the new conſuls ſoon reduced them, and took their capital *Privernum*. While the ſenate was deliberating what the fate of the conquered city ſhould be, one of the captives, whom *Plautus* had brought to the door of the ſenate-houſe, in order to intercede the more forcibly for them, being aſked by a ſenator, who was for putting them all to death, what puniſhment he and his fellow-captives deſerved, anſwered, with great intrepidity, *We deſerve the puniſhment which is due to men who are jealous of their liberty, and think themſelves worthy of it.* *Plautius*, perceiving that this anſwer exaſperated ſome of the ſenators, endeavoured to prevent the ill effects of it by putting a milder queſtion to the priſoner. *How would you behave*, ſaid he, *if* Rome *ſhould pardon you? Our conduct*, replied the generous captive, *depends upon yours. If the peace you grant us be an honourable one, you may depend on a conſtant fidelity on our parts: if the terms of it be hard, or diſhonourable, lay no ſtreſs on our adherence to you.* Some of the judges conſtrued theſe words as menaces; but the wiſer part, finding in them a great deal of magnanimity, cried out, that a nation whoſe only deſire was liberty, and whoſe only fear, that of loſing it, was worthy to become *Roman*. Accordingly a decree was paſſed in favour of the priſoners, and *Privernum* was declared a *municipium* *.

Privernum taken, and declared a *municipium*.

A colony, which the *Romans* planted the next year in *Fregellæ*, a city on the borders of *Samnium*, proved the occaſion of that bloody war which broke out ſoon afterwards between the two nations. In the mean time, the *Palæpolitans*, taking advantage of the new diſcontent of the *Samnites*, committed hoſtilities in the *Roman* territories. Theſe people were originally *Eubæans*, who, coming into *Italy*, built *Cumæ*, and thence ſpreading farther, founded the city of *Naples*, or *Neapolis*, that is, the *New City*, in the neighbourhood of a town they found ready built, and of which they poſſeſſed themſelves, calling it *Palæpolis*, or the *Old City*. The *Palæpolitans* were the firſt of all the *Greeks* who ventured to attack the *Romans*. *L. Cornelius Lentulus* and *Q. Publius Philo* were raiſed to the conſulate. The latter marched againſt the *Palæpolitans*, and, to cut off their communication with *Naples*, from whence they had their ſupplies, encamped on a narrow tract of ground between thoſe two cities. His collegue, with another army, took his poſt near *Capua*, to keep the *Campanians* in awe. Here he received undoubted intelligence, that the *Samnites* had ſolicited the inhabitants of *Privernum*, *Fundi*, and *Formia*, to revolt. Upon this, the ſenate ſent an embaſſy into *Samnium*, to complain of a conduct ſo contrary to the faith of treaties; and even offered to refer their differences to the arbitration of the common

The *Palæpolitans* invade the *Roman* territories. Year of *Rome* 431.

* Liv. l. viii. c. 20, 21.

friends and allies of both nations. The *Samnites* haughtily replied, that they would have no arbitrators but the gods and their arms. *Go*, Romans, added they, *and tell your conſuls, that we wait for them in the plain between* Capua *and* Sueſſula. *Our ſwords will there determine which of the two nations ought to give law to the reſt of* Italy. The ambaſſadors replied, that their generals would lead them whither they ſhould think fit, and that they ſhould follow them. In the mean while, the time for new elections drawing near, the ſenate, without recalling the conſuls, ordered a dictator to be named, to preſide in the *Comitia*. *C. Publilius Libo* and *L. Papirius Mugellanus* were choſen conſuls for the enſuing year. Theſe, putting themſelves at the head of the army which *Cornelius* had commanded, entered *Samnium*, and being joined by the *Lucanians* and *Apulians*, two nations to which the *Romans* had hitherto been ſtrangers, penetrated farther into the enemy's country, ravaged their lands, and took three of their cities. On the other hand, *Publilius* being continued by the people at the head of the army he had commanded the year before, with the title of proconſul, at length, took *Palæpolis*.

Palæpolis taken.

The *Lucanians* enter into a league with the *Samnites*.

This conqueſt ſtirred up new enemies againſt the *Romans* in *Great Greece*. The *Tarentines* artfully ſeduced the *Lucanians*, who had gone over to the *Romans*, into a league with the *Samnites*. In the following conſulate of *L. Furius Camillus* and *D. Junius Brutus*, the *Veſtini*, a people on the coaſt of the *Adriatic* ſea, took arms againſt *Rome*, but were defeated by *Brutus*, who ſeized on the two cities of *Cutina* and *Cingilia* †. *Camillus*, who was to act againſt the *Samnites*, falling ſick, named to the dictatorſhip *L. Papirius Curſor*, who appointed *Q. Fabius Rullianus* to be his general of the horſe. The dictator took the field againſt the *Samnites*, but being obliged ſoon after to return to *Rome*, on account of ſome religious ſcruples relating to the auſpices conſulted previous to his departure, he forbad *Fabius*, to whom he left the command of the army, to venture a battle in his abſence. But *Fabius*, diſdaining to have his hands ſo tied up, notwithſtanding the dictators prohibition, attacked the *Samnites*, and gained a complete victory, having killed above twenty thouſand on the ſpot. The dictator, haſtening back, tried *Fabius* for this diſobedience; and, as he could offer nothing in his defence, *Papirius* ordered the lictors to ſtrip him, and prepare their rods and axes. But while the executioners were tearing off his cloaths, he found means to eſcape out of their hands, and ran for ſhelter to a body of veterans. A loud ſhout was immediately heard from the place whither *Fabius* had fled, which was anſwered by the whole army. The ſoldiers, to a man, declared in

Q. Fabius engages the *Samnites*, and gains a complete victory.

Is condemned by the dictator, but reſcued by the ſoldiers.

* Liv. l. viii. c. 27.

his

his favour: ſome threatened the dictator; others, in a ſuppliant manner, begged that he would ſpare the life of *Fabius*, and not condemn all the troops in him. The dictator was inflexible; the ſoldiers perſiſted; and conſequently the ſedition increaſed and grew more furious; but night coming on put an end to the tumult. *Fabius* eſcaped to *Rome*, where his father immediately got the ſenate aſſembled, in hopes of obtaining a decree in his favour. But *Papirius*, arriving on a ſudden, took his place in the ſenate, and ordered the lictors to ſeize young *Fabius*. In vain did the ſenators intercede for the criminal: *Papirius* was inexorable. Hereupon the father, having no other reſource, appealed to the people in *comitia*. There had never yet been any inſtance of an appeal from the ſentence of the dictator; but, nevertheleſs, *Papirius* did not think fit to diſallow the ſuperior authority of the people: ſo the cauſe was brought before the *comitia* aſſembled in the *forum*. The dictator repaired thither with few attendants; but the *Fabii* were eſcorted by all the people of diſtinction in *Rome*. The whole aſſembly was on the ſide of the *Fabii*: at leaſt, they pitied them, but could not condemn the ſeverity of *Papirius*. The *Fabii* cited the caſe of *Minucius* and *L. Furius*, who, though they had fought contrary to the advice of *Cincinnatus* and the great *Camillus*, both dictators, had not been puniſhed with ſuch ſeverity. The dictator, on his ſide, urged the examples of *Manlius* and *Brutus*, who had ſacrificed their own children for the public good. He expatiated on the evil conſequences to the republic of admitting appeals from the dictator to the people, eſpecially in caſes of diſobedience in war, and concluded with aſking the tribunes, whether they were willing to anſwer thoſe conſequences with their heads. Theſe words threw both the tribunes and the people into great perplexity. The receiving of appeals from the ſentence of the dictator would indeed increaſe the power of the plebeians; but they were afraid of the conſequences of ſo dangerous an incroachment on a ſovereign authority. Inſtead, therefore, of taking upon them to judge in the affair, they became interceſſors for the criminal, humbly beſeeching the dictator to pardon his general of the horſe. The *Fabii* themſelves fell proſtrate at the dictator's feet, and implored his clemency.

The father of *Fabius* appeals from the dictator to the people.

To theſe interceſſions the dictator anſwered thus: *Both military diſcipline, and the authority of generals, are to be preſerved inviolate. The temerity of* Fabius *expoſed both to great dangers; but he has not been judged innocent; only pardon is aſked for him. This I readily grant, in deference to the* Roman *people, and to the interceſſion of their tribunes. They have not pronounced him innocent as judges, but interceded for him as friends. Live then,* Quintus Fabius, *more fortunate in this unanimous conſent of all the orders of the republic to ſave you, than in the victory you lately gained. Live,* Fabius, *though you have dared to commit a crime, which your father himſelf, had he been*

The dictator, at the requeſt of the people, pardons the offender.

in

in my place, would have expiated with your blood. You shall be again received into my favour at your pleasure. But as to the Roman *people, to whom you owe your life, you can never express your gratitude to them better, than by punctually and implicitly obeying, whether in peace or in war, your lawful commanders. Go; you are at liberty.*

Papirius returned to the army with a new general of the horse, a relation of his own. The *Samnites*, knowing how much his great severity had indisposed the troops against him, offered him battle. He accepted it. The *Romans* were posted so advantageously, that it was not possible for them to be intirely defeated. Though they fought but faintly, the number of the slain was much greater on the side of the *Samnites*, than on that of the *Romans*. From this day *Papirius* changed his conduct entirely, with respect to his troops, and made himself as much beloved as they had before disliked, and even hated him. He soon after gave the enemy a total overthrow, laid their country waste, and reduced them to sue for peace, which he granted them, on condition, that they should cloath all his troops, give them a year's pay, and get the treaty confirmed by the senate. On his return to *Rome* he was decreed a triumph, after which he presided at the election of the new consuls, *C. Sulpicius Longus* and *Q. Aulius Cerctonus*, and then resigned his dignity.

Defeats the *Samnites*.

Q. Fabius and *L. Fulvius Corvus* defeat the *Samnites* and *Apulians*.

The *Samnites* took the field again as soon as *Papirius* had quitted the dictatorship, and were joined by the *Apulians*. The consuls of the next year, *Q. Fabius*, who had been general of the horse to *Papirius*, and *L. Fulvius Corvus*, came to a battle with them, and defeated them with great slaughter. *Fulvius* returned to *Rome*, but *Fabius* proceeded to *Apulia*, where his arms were attended with success. The *Samnites* sued again for peace, but were refused: upon which they made great preparations for carrying on the war with vigour, and appointed one *Pontius*, an able and experienced officer, to command their troops. The *Romans* chose for consuls this year *T. Veturius* and *Sp. Postbumius*, who, by a stratagem of the enemy, were led through narrow defiles till they came at last to that fatal spot, since known by the name of the *Caudine Forks*. This place was surrounded with prodigiously steep hills and rocks, so covered with trees and briars, as to be absolutely insurmountable, and the valley itself was a perfect bog. There was but one way out of it, which was narrow and steep, and the *Samnites* had stopped it up with huge stones and trees laid across. The consuls gave orders, to clear it; but that was impracticable. They then endeavoured to retreat by the hollow way thro' which they had come; but that too was blocked up with

Year of *Rome* 437.

The *Roman* army surrounded by the enemy.

* Liv. l. ix. c. 1-7.

huge

huge trees and ſtones; and the tops of the eminences were guarded all round by the enemy. In this ſituation both ſides ſpent the night. The *Samnites*, having the *Roman* army now in their power, deliberated what uſe they ſhould make of this advantage. A council of war was held, in which it was agreed to ſend to *Pontius*'s father, *Herennius*, a venerable old man, who, in his younger days, had been at the head of the *Samnite* armies, and was now, on account of his great wiſdom, looked upon as the oracle of that nation. A meſſenger was diſpatched to him with a letter, informing him of the ſituation to which his ſon had reduced the *Roman* army, and deſiring his advice how they ſhould treat them. The wiſe old man returned this anſwer: *I adviſe my ſon to open a paſſage for the* Romans, *and let them return home, without doing them the leaſt harm.* The officers, ſurpriſed at this anſwer, and imagining the meſſenger had miſunderſtood *Herennius*, ſent again to him, and then the old man returned this anſwer: *Tell the council*, ſaid he, *that I would not have them ſpare the life of one* Roman; *let them be all put to the ſword, without diſtinction.* This ſtrange difference between theſe two anſwers made the *Samnites* preſs *Pontius* to deſire his father to come himſelf to the camp, and explain his meaning, which to them ſeemed quite myſterious. When *Herennius* came he told the council, that *Rome* was a powerful ſtate, from whoſe friendſhip they might promiſe themſelves the greateſt benefit, and from whoſe enmity they had reaſon to fear the greateſt misfortunes. *If*, ſaid he, *we gain her affection by a ſignal act of generoſity, we ſecure to ourſelves an happy and laſting tranquility. On the other hand, if we cut off all the flower of her youth at one blow, we ſhall be ſafe, at leaſt for a time. In good policy, there is no medium between theſe two extremes. Either ſave the* Romans *in ſuch a manner as to make them your friends, or deſtroy them ſo effectually as to render them leſs formidable enemies.* Neither of theſe methods was taken, but a middle one, not ſo generous as the former, nor quite ſo rigorous as the latter.

Deſperate condition of the *Roman* army.

The *Romans*, preſſed by hunger, and ſeeing no proſpect of relief, ſent a deputation to the *Samnites*, to deſire either a peace upon equitable terms, or a battle. *We have no battles to fight*, anſwered *Pontius* with a haughty air, *the victory is already obtained. Not a man of your legions ſhall eſcape, till you have all been diſarmed, and paſſed, one by one, under the yoke. This is a preliminary, which I abſolutely inſiſt upon. Beſide this, the* Romans *ſhall leave* Samnium, *and withdraw their colonies from all the cities which they have taken from us. Tell your conſuls this from me, and if they do not accept the terms propoſed, appear no more in my preſence.*

Hard and diſgraceful as theſe terms were, the *Romans* were forced to accept them, and to give ſix hundred *Roman* knights as hoſtages for the performance of this convention, with this further condition, that the *Samnites* might cut off their

their heads, if the republic did not fulfil the conſuls promiſes. Accordingly, the ſix hundred knights marched out of the camp, unarmed, and with their under garments only, and were put into the enemy's hands. The two conſuls appeared next, and were ordered to pull off their military cloaks, and the enſigns of their dignity. This done, they, the firſt of any, ſtripped off their habits, and, half-naked, paſſed under the yoke. The inferior officers followed, according to their rank, and, at laſt, the ſoldiers, one by one. They were then allowed to depart, and might have reached *Capua* the ſame day, but that, partly out of diſtruſt of the *Capuans*, and partly out of ſhame to be ſeen there in ſo wretched a condition, they threw themſelves on the ground at ſome diſtance from that city, with a deſign to paſs the night there, without ſhelter, food, or refreſhment. But the *Capuans*, being informed of their misfortunes, immediately ſent cloathes, horſes, arms, and even lictors and faſces to the conſuls, and great plenty of proviſions for the whole army; and when, the next day, they drew near the city, the ſenate and people went out to meet them with every demonſtration of friendſhip and kindneſs. But the conſuls and their troops, overwhelmed with ſhame, ſeemed unaffected with this friendly hoſpitaliy, keeping their eyes fixed on the ground, and remaining ſilent. The flower of the *Campanian* nobility accompanied them to the frontiers of their country; but they ſtill obſerved the ſame behaviour, and ſhewed the ſame dejection of mind.

The *Roman* army paſſes under the yoke.

The *Capuans* relieve them

The news of the conſular army's being ſurrounded by the enemy having reached *Rome*, levies were raiſing to go to their aſſiſtance: but in the mean time, the ſenate receiving an account of the ſhameful peace, a ſtop was put to all farther preparations. The people, of their own accord, put on the deepeſt mourning; the courts of juſtice were neglected, and the ſhops were ſhut up; and, in ſhort, the city was in as great conſternation as the army, which, on its return, ſtole into the city by night, every one hiding himſelf in his own houſe, and even the conſuls looking upon themſelves as diſgraced, and in a manner degraded. They baniſhed themſelves from public ſociety, and only performed one function of their office, which was indiſpenſable, that is, they named a dictator to preſide in the *comitia* for the election of new conſuls; thinking themſelves unworthy to appear at the head of the republic in the *Campus Martius*.

Q. Fabius Ambuſtus was appointed dictator, to preſide at the *comitia* for the election of new conſuls: but ſome defect having been found in his nomination, it was ſet aſide, and *Æmilius Papus* was appointed in his ſtead, who named *Valerius Flaccus* his general of the horſe. The election of conſuls was ſtill deferred; the ſtate, for a while, fell into an interregnum; the whole city put on mourning, and grief was pictured in every face.

Æmilius Papus dictator.

The

The next year, *Papirius Curſor* and *Publius Philo* were choſen conſuls; and the ſenate being aſſembled, *Poſthumius* generouſly propoſed that he and his collegue might be delivered up to the enemy, in diſcharge of the *Caudine* treaty which they had made; inſiſting, that only they two were bound by it, and not the ſtate, which had no ſhare in what they had done. This offer was gratefully accepted; and the two late conſuls were accordingly ſent back to the *Samnites*, as their priſoners, to be dealt with as they ſhould pleaſe: but *Pontius* refuſed to receive them, and exclaimed greatly againſt the perfidiouſneſs of the *Romans*, who ſoon took the field again under the conduct of *Papirius*; overthrew the *Samnites* in ſeveral battles; made them all paſs under the yoke; recovered their towns, and freed the ſix hundred hoſtages they had given as a ſecurity for their performance of the *Caudine* convention. The enemy, reduced to great diſtreſs, obtained, with difficulty, a two year's truce; during which, two new tribes, the *Uſentine* and the *Falerine* were added to the reſt, and made their number thirty-one. Conſuls elected. The tribes increaſed a ſixth time.

Little more than a year of this truce had elapſed, when the *Samnites*, encouraged by ſeveral of their neighbours, appeared again in arms; and at the ſame time the *Hetrurians* made great preparations for war To oppoſe this danger, the *Romans* created dictator *L. Æmilius*, who gained a great victory over the enemy at *Saticula*, a city which he had inveſted. The next year *Fabius Maximus* was created dictator, who carried on the war with great ſucceſs againſt the *Samnites*; took *Saticula*, and extended the *Roman* dominions conſiderably in thoſe parts. The following year, a conſpiracy diſcovered at *Capua* occaſioned the creating of another dictator, *C. Mænius*, who ſoon ſuppreſſed that diſturbance. The year after, the *Samnite* war was carried on with great vigor and ſucceſs by the dictator *C, Petælius*. *Junius Bubulcus* was created dictator the next year, and marched againſt the *Hetrurians*; but as they kept entirely upon the defenſive, his exploits were not great. In this year, *Appius Claudius*, being one of the cenſors, made, at his own expence, ſays *Livy*, the famous cauſey called the *Via Appia*; an amazing work; and built a noble aqueduct, by which water was brought into the city. The war with the *Hetrurians* laſted near two years, when *Papirius*, who had been created dictator, and had choſen *Bubulcus* for his general of the horſe, gave them the greateſt overthrow they had ever yet received; their loſs was ſo great, that they were never more able to make any conſiderable oppoſition to the *Romans*. Four years after, *Cornelius Scipio* was created dictator, to hold the *comitia* for the election of conſuls, and *Decius Mus* was his general of the horſe. Two years after this, the *Samnites* obtained a peace, which laſted twelve years. At the end of that time, they broke it, were defeated, and forced to renew their antient league with *Rome*.

Year of *Rome* 441.

The *Hetrurians* totally defeated.

Year of *Rome* 443.

Rome. This happened thirty-seven years after their first war with that nation.

Soon after this peace was concluded, the *Romans* turned their arms against the *Æqui*, and chastised them for having assisted the *Samnites*. Other nations, bordering upon them, intimidated by the subjection of their neighbours, submitted of their own accord, and the *Roman* dominions increased daily. Some, however, made such resistance, that it was
Year of *Rome* 451. thought necessary to create a dictator. *Junius Bubulcus*, invested with that high dignity, marched against the enemies of the republic, with *M. Titinius*, his general of the horse, and in eight days returned triumphant over them. In less than a year after, the *Hetrurians*, having joined the *Umbrians*, a people on the north of them, and the *Sabines*, *Valerius Maximus* was created dictator. *Æmilius Paulus* was his general of the horse. This dictator entirely broke the power of the *Hetrurians*, and reduced all their territories to the *Roman* subjection, four hundred and thirty years after the first wars with them. The *Umbrians* were likewise much weakened, and lost a considerable part of their country; the *Romans* still extending their dominions on all sides, and continually increasing their strength.

Rome was no sooner at peace with foreign enemies, but her own subjects began, as usual, to be dissatisfied. The tribunes of the people complained greatly, that all the priests and augurs were chosen from among the patricians; and demanded, that the plebeians might also partake of those offices. The senate, accustomed to yield in matters of greater moment, acquiesced in this. To the four chief priests, and the same number of augurs, antiently instituted to answer to the four tribes in the city, were now added four more of each, and to them five more chosen out of the plebeians. The consul, *Valerius*, likewise preferred this year a law of *appeal*, amended from the old one. This was the third time of confirming this law since the expulsion of the kings, and
The tribes increased a seventh time. always at the suit of the same family. *Valerius* attacked the *Æqui*, who were now in open rebellion, and soon forced them to submit. Two new tribes, the *Arienis* and the *Tarentine*, were added the next year to the old ones, so that their number amounted to thirty-three, The city was also
Year of *Rome* 454. much increased; for at the next *lustrum*, five years after, there were cessed 262,322 free citizens.

The *Samnites* revolt; About a year after this, the *Samnites*, who had been quiet six years, broke their league with the *Romans*. Several battles were fought, in which the former were almost always worsted. But the most memorable was that about three years after this last breach, when they got the *Umbrians* and *Gauls*, with some of the *Hetrurians*, to assist them; and re-
but are defeated. ceived a fatal overthrow by the consuls *Fabius Maximus* and *Decius Mus*. *Decius*, seeing his party retire, and in danger of

of being defeated, followed the great example of his father, about forty years before, and, ſolemnly devoting himſelf to the gods, ruſhed into the midſt of the enemy, recovered his army, but loſt his life. About two years after, *Papirius*, ſon of the former, gained a complete victory over them, took upwards of fifteen thouſand priſoners, and ſeveral towns, and was juſtly rewarded with a ſplendid triumph. The next year, the *Samnites* ventured another battle, in which they defeated the conſul *Fabius Gurges*. The ſenate was thereupon going to remove him: but his father, *Fabius Maximus*, to prevent that diſgrace, begged to be lieutenant to his ſon. His requeſt was granted, and he procured him a great victory, and the honours of a triumph. The *Samnites* carried on the war two years longer; but with ſuch diſadvantage, that, after loſing their general, *Pontius*, who was taken and killed, they were obliged to ſue for peace, which was granted, and the league was renewed with them a fourth time.

Decius Mus devotes himſelf.

The *Samnites* ſubmit.

In leſs than a year after, the *Samnites* revolted again, but were puniſhed with the loſs of ſeveral battles and more towns. The conſul, *Dentatus*, triumphed over them twice in one year. Two years after this, the *triumviri* for capital matters were created, with power to impriſon and puniſh all malefactors; and in the ſame year 273,000 free citizens were ceſs'd. Three years after, the people, grievouſly oppreſſed by their tyrannical creditors, inſiſted on being relieved with reſpect to their debts. Violent diſputes aroſe between them and the patricians, and they withdrew to the hill *Janiculus*. This was the third ſeparation of the plebeians. The ſenate, to appeaſe this dangerous tumult, created *Q. Hortenſius* dictator; who, with much difficulty, perſuaded them to return, promiſing them, that their *plebeſcita* ſhould have the force of laws, and be binding to the whole ſtate. This was called the *lex Hortenſia*; though the ſame had, in fact, been granted twice before. Soon after, a war was carried on with ſucceſs againſt the *Lucani*, one of the moſt remote people of *Italy*, who had moleſted the *Thurini*, allies of the *Romans*. But the laſt of the *Italian* nations that made much oppoſition, were the *Tarentines*, who inhabited a very large and rich city in the ſouth-eaſt part of *Italy*, about two hundred and forty miles from *Rome*. Their having plundered ſeveral *Roman* ſhips, was the occaſion of the war. Though they were joined by the *Lucani*, the *Meſſapii*, the *Brutii*, the *Apulii*, and the *Samnites*, they were not able to reſiſt the power of the *Romans*; but were in a ſhort time ſo diſtreſſed, that they were obliged to call in *Pyrrhus*, king of *Epirus*, to their aſſiſtance. Thus began the memorable war of the *Romans* with that great commander; by far the moſt conſiderable they had ever been engaged in.

Year of *Rome* 462.

Third ſeceſſion of the plebeians.

War with the *Tarentines*.

Year of *Rome* 473.

Pyrrhus, who was of a generous but ambitious temper, liſtened readily to their invitation. He dipatched *Cineas*, a *Theſſalonian*, an excellent orator and a ſcholar of *Demoſthenes*,

to

to *Tarentum*, with three thouſand men, and ſoon after embarked himſelf with twenty elephants, three thouſand horſe, twenty thouſand foot, two thouſand archers, and five hundred ſlingers: but meeting with a great ſtorm, his ſhips were diſperſed, and ſome of them loſt, ſo that he arrived at *Tarentum* with only a ſmall part of his army. Obſerving, on his arrival, how much the *Tarentines* were intent upon their pleaſures, he ſhut up their places of public diverſion, called them to arms, and inliſted all that were fit for ſervice. In the mean time the reſt of his troops arrived, and he received intelligence that the *Roman* conſul, *Lævinus*, was upon his march with a numerous army, waſting *Lucania* as he paſſed. Upon this he drew out his forces: but before the two armies could meet, he ſent to *Lævinus*, offering a mediation between the *Romans* and their adverſaries. *Lævinus* anſwered, *that he neither valued him as a mediator, nor feared him as an enemy*: then ordering his meſſengers to be led through the camp, he bid them *go tell their maſter what they had ſeen*.

Pyrrhus arrives at *Tarentum*, and propoſes a mediation which is refuſed.

The two armies engaged in the plain between *Pandeſia* and *Heraclia*. *Pyrrhus*'s horſe was killed under him in the midſt of the battle; upon which he changed armour with one that was near him, his own being very remarkable for its richneſs. The perſon he changed with, being taken for the king, was killed ſoon after, and ſtripped; and this armour being carried about by the *Romans* as a token of *Pyrrhus*'s death, ſtruck ſuch a terror into his ſoldiers, that it muſt have loſt him the victory, had he not, with ſome difficulty, made himſelf known. Whilſt the battle ſeemed doubtful, the elephants were ſent in among the *Romans*, who, ſurpriſed at this ſight, and their horſes being frightened at it, broke their ranks. *Pyrrhus*, taking advantage of this diſorder, commanded the *Theſſalian* cavalry to charge them, and gave them a total rout, with great ſlaughter on both ſides. The *Romans* loſt near fifteen thouſand men, and eighteen hundred priſoners, and the other ſide thirteen thouſand. *Pyrrhus* himſelf was wounded.

The *Romans* defeated.

Pyrrhus uſed the *Roman* priſoners with great courteſy, and ordered their dead to be buried. Looking at the bodies of the ſlain, and obſerving what noble and ſtern countenances they had, and that they were all wounded before, he lifted up his eyes, and cried, *How eaſily might I conquer the world, were I maſter of ſuch ſoldiers!* After this battle, *Pyrrhus*, being joined by the auxiliary troops of the *Samnites*, *Lucani*, and *Brutii*, marched towards *Rome*, and advanced as far as *Præneſte*, laying waſte all before him. Thinking it more adviſeable to treat with the *Romans* after this victory, than to ſtay till they had recruited their forces, which they were doing with all poſſible expedition; and having alſo but ſmall hopes

Pyrrhus advances,

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* Plut. & Dion. Hal.

of

of being able to ſubdue them, he ſent to them *Cineas*, a man of ſuch perſuaſive eloquence, that *Pyrrhus* himſelf acknowledged *he had ſtormed more towns by his tongue, than he ever did by his arms*. *Cineas* applied himſelf cloſely to ſeveral of the nobility, with preſents, as from his maſter, for themſelves and their ladies: but he found them ſo ſteady and unmoved, that not a ſingle perſon would receive any; and both men and women anſwered, *that if a treaty were publicly concluded, they ſhould then be ready to ſhew all due reſpect to ſo great a man as* Pyrrhus.

and ſends *Cineæas* to treat with the *Romans*.

Cineas, finding that theſe methods would not do, applied openly to the ſenate aſſembled; paid them the greateſt compliments; and, in his maſter's name, offered to return, without ranſom, all that had been taken in the battle, and aſſiſt the *Romans* to conquer all *Italy*, if they would only grant *Pyrrhus* and the *Tarentines* their friendſhip and alliance. Theſe propoſals made the ſenate incline to a treaty, till *Appius Claudius*, now blind and very old, being brought into the ſenate-houſe, ſo warmed the aſſembly by his ſpeeches, that *Cineas* was diſmiſſed, and bid to tell his maſter, *that the* Romans *would treat with him about friendſhip and alliance, whenever he ſhould withdraw his troops from* Italy; *but that, till then, they were reſolved to carry on the war with the utmoſt vigor, tho' they ſhould meet with ever ſo many defeats*. *Cineas*, at his return, being aſked by *Pyrrhus*, *What he thought of* Rome? anſwered, *That the ſenate appeared to him like a venerable aſſembly of ſo many kings; and that the people were like the hydra, whoſe numbers increaſed the more for being defeated; for the conſul had already raiſed twice as great an army, and there were ſtill far greater numbers remaining*.

Soon after *Cineas*'s return, the *Romans* ſent to *Pyrrhus*, to treat about ranſoming the priſoners, among others, *C. Fabricius*, a perſon eminent for his great virtues, and remarkable for his profeſſed poverty. *Pyrrhus* received him with extraordinary kindneſs, and offered him gold, aſſuring him, that he meant it only as a token of his reſpect for a perſon of his excellencies. *Fabricius*, who was not to be wrought upon by any ſuch means, beheld it with the utmoſt indifference. The next day, *Pyrrhus*, to try him another way, ordered one of his largeſt elephants, completely armed, to be placed behind the hangings, and, in the midſt of their diſcourſe, upon a ſignal given, the tapeſtry was drawn aſide, and the elephant, raiſing his trunk over *Fabricius*'s head, made a hideous noiſe. *Fabricius*, though he had never ſeen ſuch a creature before, was not at all afraid, but, gently turning about and ſmiling, ſaid, *Neither your gold yeſterday, nor your great beaſt to-day, can make any impreſſion upon me*. *Pyrrhus*, amazed at the greatneſs of his mind, releaſed the priſoners, upon his promiſe, that if the ſenate did not agree to a peace, they ſhould return to him; which accordingly they did. *Lævinus*'s colleague, *Coruncanius*, triumphed this year over ſome

C. Fabricius ſent to treat with *Pyrrhus*.

of the *Hetrurians*; and a *luſtrum* being performed, the number of free citizens was found to amount to 278,222.

Year of *Rome* 474. The *Romans* engage the *Greeks* near *Aſculum*.

Sulpicius Saverris, and *Decius Mus*, the conſuls for the following year, were ſent againſt *Pyrrhus*. The two armies met near the city of *Aſculum*, at a place interſected by a rapid current of water, and ſo covered with woods, that *Pyrrhus*'s cavalry was greatly incommoded, and his elephants, for want of ſure footing, could not keep up with the infantry. Many were wounded and killed on both ſides, when night put an end to the engagement. The next morning, *Pyrrhus*, in order to fight on even ground, and to have the elephants in the thickeſt of the enemy, cauſed a detachment to poſſeſs themſelves of thoſe incommodious grounds, and mixing ſlingers and archers among the elephants, advanced in a cloſe and well ordered body. The *Romans*, obliged to fight man to man upon plain ground, made a great ſlaughter among the *Grecian* ſpear-men; but, after a long and obſtinate combat, being overpowered by the prodigious force of the elephants and *Grecian* cavalry, they retreated to their camp with the loſs of ſix thouſand men. The enemy loſt near four thouſand. *Pyrrhus*, being congratulated upon this victory, ſhrewdly anſwered, *another ſuch will entirely ruin us:* for by this time he had loſt a great part of the troops he had brought with him, and almoſt all his beſt commanders.

The remainder of the year was employed in providing for the next campaign, when *Fabricius* and *Æmilius Papus* were choſen conſuls. The two armies were near joining, when *Fabricius* received a letter from the king's firſt phyſician, offering to poiſon *Pyrrhus*, and thereby end the war, provided he might have a reward proportionable to the greatneſs of the ſervice. *Fabricius*, ſtruck with horror at this villainy, immediately ſent notice of it to *Pyrrhus*, adding, *that the* Romans *abhorred all treacherous practices, it being their cuſtom to conquer an enemy by the power of their own arms, and not by the treaſon of other's ſubjects. Pyrrhus*, more and more ſurpriſed at the greatneſs and generoſity of the *Romans*, cried out, *This is that* Fabricius, *whom it is harder to turn from the ways of virtue, than to make the ſun change its courſe.* Such was the noble ſpirit of the *Romans* in thoſe days, when each man preferred the honour of the public to his own private advantage.

Pyrrhus's phyſician offers to poiſon him, but *Fabricius* nobly diſcovers it to *Pyrrhus*.

Pyrrhus ordered the phyſician to be executed: and, that he might not be outdone in generoſity, he immediately ſent to *Rome* all the priſoners, without ranſom; and again employed *Cineas* to negotiate a peace with the *Romans*, being now more than ever deſirous of their alliance. The *Romans*, on their ſide, thinking the return of ſo many priſoners, without ranſom, either too great an obligation from an enemy, or too great a reward for barely not doing ill, immediately releaſed as many *Tarentines* and *Samnites*; but would admit of no debate of peace or alliance with *Pyrrhus*, till he ſhould with-

draw

draw his forces from *Italy*, and return to *Epirus* in the ſame ſhips that brought him. *Pyrrhus* was at a loſs what to do. On one hand, he was unwilling to continue this war; and, on the other, more ſo to quit it diſhonourably. A ſhort time relieved him from this perplexity, by an expedition into *Sicily*, whither he was invited by the inhabitants, to expel the *Carthaginians*, and clear that iſland of tyrants. This was an honourable pretence for drawing off his forces, and leaving *Italy*. He therefore ſent *Cineas* before him, and, leaving a garriſon in *Tarentum*, embarked for *Sicily*, with an army of thirty thouſand foot and five and twenty hundred horſe, after he had been in *Italy* two years and four months.

Pyrrhus withdraws his troops and goes to *Sicily*.

Pyrrhus's abſence gave the *Romans* time to puniſh the *Samnites*, *Tarentines*, *Lucani*, and *Brutii*, who, finding themſelves unable to reſiſt, ſtrongly ſollicited that general to return. He, glad of ſo ſpecious a pretence to leave *Sicily*, where his arms had been ſucceſsful enough for two years, but where he himſelf was grown ſo diſpleaſing to the people, that he could not have ſtaid any longer there without great danger, returned to *Italy*. About the time of his return, ſo dreadful a plague afflicted *Rome*, that *Cornelius Rufinus*, the laſt year's conſul, was created dictator, for the ceremony of driving a nail into the temple of *Jupiter*. This was the third dictator created on that account. The conſuls for the following year were *Curius Dentatus* and *Cornelius Lentulus*; the former of which, raiſing new levies, and being oppoſed by the people, who refuſed to inliſt, commanded the name of every tribe to be put into a box, and the lot falling upon the *Pollian* tribe, the firſt that was drawn of that tribe was cited. On his not anſwering, *Curius* ordered his goods to be ſold; and, upon his appealing to the tribunes, he ſold the man too, ſaying, *The commonwealth ſtood in no need of ſuch a member as refuſed all obedience.* The tribunes made no oppoſition: and from this time it became a cuſtom to make a ſlave of whoever refuſed to inliſt in a juſt muſter, when commanded.

He returns to

Year of *Rome* 477. Plague in *Rome*.

Pyrrhus arrived at *Tarentum* with twenty thouſand foot and three thouſand horſe. After raiſing new levies there, he marched into *Samnium*, where the *Romans* had a powerful army. *Pyrrhus* divided his forces into two bodies, one of which he ſent into *Lucania*, to hinder *Lentulus* from joining his collegue *Curius Dentatus*; whilſt he himſelf, at the head of the other, conſiſting of his beſt troops and elephants, marched with all expedition to attack this laſt, who was advantageouſly poſted near *Beneventum*. He hoped to ſurpriſe the *Roman* camp in the night; but in his paſſage through ſome woods his lights failed him, and his men loſt their way. At break of day, his approach was diſcovered by the *Romans*, who were at firſt greatly alarmed; but recovering themſelves, *Curius* drew out his troops in haſte, attacked *Pyrrhus*'s van-guard, put it to flight, and took ſome of his

Pyrrhus endeavours to ſurpriſe the *Roman* camps.

but meets with a total overthrow.

elephants. This ſucceſs greatly diſcouraged the reſt of *Pyrrhus*'s troops, and *Curius* deſcending into the plain, joined battle with the whole army. In one wing he repulſed the enemy; in the other, by the violence of the elephants, he was forced back to his trenches, where thoſe who guarded them attacking thoſe beaſts, ſo annoyed them with darts and fired pitch and hemp, that they ran back upon their friends, bearing down and breaking all their ranks, ſo that the victory fell to the *Romans*, *Pyrrhus* having loſt twenty-three thouſand men. His camp, which was alſo taken, was not only much admired, but proved of very great uſe to the *Romans*, by teaching them how to make regular intrenchments, a thing they had never been acquainted with before. To this they owed the origin of that vaſt ſkill in encamping, for which they were ſo juſtly famous in after times. *Curius Dentatus* obtained a moſt ſplendid triumph for this victory, being graced with four elephants and thirteen hundred priſoners of different nations. A few days after, his collegue triumphed over the *Samnites* and *Lucani*. This year was likewiſe remarkable for the cenſorſhip of *Fabricius* and *Æmilius*, who removed *Rufinus*, though he had been twice conſul, and once dictator, out of the ſenate, for having ten pounds of ſilver plate for the uſe of his table. By a *cenſus* taken this year, there were found to be 271,224 free citizens. *Pyrrhus*, who bore his defeat with great firmneſs of mind, receiving letters from *Greece* and *Aſia*, aſſembled the *Epirots* and *Tarentines*, and told them they would ſoon receive aſſiſtance. This report kept the *Romans* within their camp, of which taking advantage, he paſſed, the night following, undiſturbed into *Epirus*, with eight thouſand foot and five hundred horſe, after leaving a garriſon in *Tarentum*, more to preſerve his reputation than for any other uſe. Thus, in about ſix years, ended the wars with the famous *Pyrrhus*, the greateſt commander in his time, but who knew better how to conquer than to keep.

He returns into *Epirus*.

Year of *Rome* 480. The *Roman* name, famous before, was now become formidable by the defeat of ſo great a man as *Pyrrhus*, which made way for new conqueſts. and the firm eſtabliſhment of the *Roman* empire. In the ſecond year after *Pyrrhus*'s retreat, *Ptolomy Philadelphus*, king of *Egypt*, ſent ambaſſadors to congratulate the *Romans* on their ſucceſs, and to enter into an alliance with them. The *Romans*, in return, ſent ambaſſadors to *Egypt*, where they were graciouſly received, and ſent home laden with gifts. The following year, the *Tarentines*, not being able to remove the garriſon *Pyrrhus* had left under *Milo*, deſired aid of the *Carthaginians*. Their requeſt was granted; but the *Romans* overthrew both them and their new auxiliaries. *Milo*, ſenſible of his inability to reſiſt, by leave from the conſul *Papirius*, departed with his men, and quitted the caſtle. The *Romans*, taking it, eaſily made themſelves maſters of the city, the walls of which

Ptolomy Philadelphus ſends ambaſſadors to *Rome*.

The *Tarentines* defeated, and their city taken

which they demoliſhed. Peace and liberty were granted to all the citizens; and this year the two conſuls triumphed, having finiſhed both the *Tarentine* and *Samnite* wars. The laſt of theſe had continued, with ſome intermiſſions, ſeventy-one years, and afforded the *Romans* thirty triumphs. Year of *Rome* 481.

The *Romans*, maſters of the greateſt part of *Italy*, were, by the late acceſſion of the *Tarentines*, *Samnites*, and *Lucanians*, and alſo by that of the *Hetrurians* not long before, now grown much too powerful for any of their neighbours. The *Campanian* legion, who had treacherouſly ſeized upon *Rhegium*, and kept it to themſelves, were beſieged, and, upon ſurrender, put to death by fifty at a time. Soon after, the inhabitants of *Apollonia* in *Illyricum*, having ſent ambaſſadors to *Rome*, ſome of the young nobility inſulted and beat them; but the *Romans* were ſo juſt as to deliver them up to the *Apolloniates*. In the ſame year the *Picentes* were ſubdued, and colonies were ſent to *Arminium* in the country of the *Piceni*, and to *Beneventum* in that of the *Samnites*. The *Campanian* legion taken, and put to death.

About this time, the firſt ſilver was coined at *Rome*, large quantities of that metal having been found in a caſtle of the *Samnites*, and the riches of the *Romans* being greatly increaſed by their conqueſts. Only braſs money had been uſed before. A year after, the *Sabines*, who had been for ſome years denizens of *Rome*, received the farther privilege of voting in elections. About four years after this, the quæſtors were increaſed from four to eight; and, in the ſame year, the reduction of the *Umbri* and *Salentini*, together with that of the city of *Brunduſium*, completed the conqueſt of all ancient *Italy*, a country about five hundred miles long, and one hundred and thirty broad, and which comprehended about one half of what is now called *Italy*. The firſt ſilver coined at *Rome*. Year of *Rome* 484. All ancient *Italy* ſubjected to the *Roman* power.

CHAP. IV.

From the Beginning of the Punic *or* Carthaginian *Wars, to the Deſtruction of* Carthage, *the Capital of* Africa.

Year of *Rome* 489. AT this time * began the firſt *Punic* or *Carthaginian* † war. The occaſion of it was the *Carthaginians* joining with *Hiero*, king of *Syracuſe*, againſt the *Mamertines*, and laying ſiege to *Meſſana* ‡, which obliged that people to ſend to *Rome* for ſuccour. The *Romans*, who had not forgot the *Carthaginians* aſſiſting the *Tarentines* ſome time before, were glad of an opportunity to declare war againſt them. *Appius Claudius*, one of the conſuls, was immediately ſent over to *Sicily* with an army and a ſmall fleet, and ſoon raiſed the ſiege of *Meſſana*, after which he defeated both *Hiero* and the *Carthaginians* in two ſeveral battles. At his return to *Rome* he was honoured with a triumph, the firſt that ever was obtained for any foreign action. Notwithſtanding the numbers which had periſhed by continual wars, 292,224 free citizens were ceſſed this year, which is alſo remarkable for *D. Junius Brutus*'s firſt introducing the cuſtom of having fencing-matches performed by gladiators at funerals; a cuſtom very much in uſe in after times.

Beginning of the firſt *Punic* war.

Fencing matches firſt introduced at funerals.

The following year, both the conſuls were ordered to *Sicily*, with all their legions. Their arms were attended with ſuch ſucceſs, that, upon their preparing to inveſt *Syracuſe*, *Hiero* ſubmitted to a peace, and agreed to reſtore all the *Roman* priſoners without ranſom, and to pay an hundred talents of ſilver. The *Romans* were the more ready to embrace this alliance, becauſe, the *Carthaginians* being maſters at ſea, they could not ſupply their armies with proviſions and neceſſaries, ſo eaſily as *Hiero* could. *Valerius*, one of this year's conſuls, had the ſurname of *Meſſala* given him, from *Meſſana*. He alſo, after the taking of *Catana*, carried from thence a new ſun-dial to *Rome*; *Papirius Curſor* hav-

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* In the 489th year of *Rome*, the 3740th of the world, the 4th of the 128th Olympiad; 244 ſince the beginning of the conſular ſtate; 125 ſince the deſtruction of the city by the *Gauls*; 65 ſince the beginning of the *Macedonian* empire by *Alexander the Great*, and 263 before the birth of *Chriſt*.

† The *Carthaginians*, beſides that vaſt tract of *Africa* which now goes by the general name of *Barbary*, extending about 2000 miles along the ſea coaſt, had, at this time, the iſlands of *Sardinia* and *Corſica*, and the greater part of *Sicily*, together with ſome other leſſer iſles.

‡ Now *Meſſina*,

ing,

ing, thirty years before, ſet up the firſt that ever was in that city. This, though not perfect, was made uſe of ninety-nine years, till *M. Philippus* the cenſor, cauſed a perfect one to be made. About the ſame time, *Scipio Naſica*, being cenſor, firſt made the equal diviſion of the day into hours, by the dropping of water out of one veſſel into another. This year, the city being afflicted with a peſtilence, *Fulvius Maximus* was created dictator, for the ceremony of driving a nail into the temple of *Jupiter*. This was the fourth dictator created upon the like occaſion. Year of *Rome* 490.

Annibal defeated by the *Romans*.

The *Romans* found themſelves ſo much eaſed of the burden of the war by this alliance with *Hiero*, that they ſent but two legions to *Sicily* the following year, when they inveſted *Agrigentum*. *Annibal*, the *Carthaginian* admiral, who came to relieve it, was defeated on land by the conſuls *Poſthumius* and *Manilius*, and *Agrigentum* was taken, after a long ſiege. The *Romans* now began to think of nothing leſs than clearing all *Sicily*, and making the conqueſt of that iſland. By land they were ſufficiently proſperous, for the two ſucceeding conſuls carried on the war with great ſucceſs; but the *Carthaginians* were abſolutely maſters of the ſeas, and by that means made the maritime towns revolt to them, and the coaſt of *Italy* was infeſted with the *Carthaginian* fleet, whilſt *Afric* was unmoleſted. Theſe conſiderations made the *Romans* apply themſelves diligently to ſea affairs, of which they were then totally ignorant. Having thoroughly obſerved a *Carthaginian* ſhip or two, which had been driven aſhore, they ſet about building an hundred veſſels, of five oars on a ſide, and twenty of three, which they fitted out as well as they could, well knowing that their courage muſt ſupply their want of experience.

The *Romans* apply themſelves to ſea affairs.

With this fleet, in the fourth year of this war, the conſuls *Cornelius* and *Duilius* boldly ventured abroad, and more boldly ſtill, engaged an enemy who had been for ages in poſſeſſion of the empire of the ſea. *Cornelius*, parting from the reſt of his ſquadron, with ſeventeen gallies, in order to reduce *Lipara*, fell in with a greater number of the *Carthaginians*, by whom he was taken, with all his ſhips. His colleague *Duilius*, more ſucceſsful, firſt defeated fifty of the enemy's ſhips, then falling upon the reſt, he gained a complete victory over them, and took fifty; and, purſuing his advantage, raiſed the ſiege of *Ægeſta*, and took *Marcella* by ſtorm. The ſenate, who did not expect this ſucceſs, decreed *Duilius* unuſual honours; for beſides his obtaining the glory of the firſt naval triumph, he was ever after attended from ſupper with muſic and flambeaux. *Annibal*, on the other ſide, to ſecure himſelf from puniſhment, ſent with all ſpeed to *Carthage*, before the battle was known there, one of his friends, who told the ſenate, that the *Romans* were under ſail with a great fleet, and that he wanted inſtructions about engaging them. The ſenate ſaid, he muſt fight without de-

They defeat the *Carthaginians* at ſea.

lay; upon which the meſſenger replied, *That he had already fought, and was overthrown.* They could not then condemn an action they had juſt before approved of.

The *Romans* invade *Sardinia* and *Corſica*, and defeat the *Carthaginians*

This year the *Romans* had but ſmall ſucceſs by land; for a breach between the legions and the auxiliaries occaſioned a ſeparation, which the *Carthaginian* general, *Amilcar*, took ſuch advantage of, that he cut in pieces four thouſand of them. But the *Romans* were ſo far animated by the advantage they had gained at ſea, that, the next year, they invaded the iſlands of *Sardinia* and *Corſica* with ſuch ſucceſs, that *Hanno*, the *Carthaginian* general there, was ſlain, and his army cut off by the conſul *Cornelius Scipio*. This victory was followed by another over *Annibal*, whom they ſurpriſed at ſea, newly recruited from *Carthage*. The unfortunate admiral was crucified by thoſe of his ſoldiers who out-lived this defeat. The next year many towns were loſt and won in *Sicily*; but a noble action of *Calpurnius Flemma*, a tribune of the army, deſerves particular mention. *Attilius Collatinus*, the conſul, having imprudently brought his army into ſo deſperate a ſituation, that there was no hope of eſcaping, *Calpurnius*, with three hundred choſen men, poſſeſſed himſelf of an eminence juſt by, and, with incredible courage, kept the whole army of the *Carthaginians* at bay, whilſt the conſuls troops paſſed with little oppoſition. *Calpurnius* was the only perſon that ſurvived of the three hundred, being miſerably wounded, and covered with dead bodies. The next year, the conſul *Attilius Regulus* ſubdued the iſlands of *Lipara* and *Melita**. Certain prodigies in *Rome*, or the belief of them, occaſioned the creating of a dictator for the celebration of the *feriæ Latinæ*. *Ogulnius Gallus* was the perſon choſen for this purpoſe, and the ſecond dictator created upon that account.

Calpurnius Flemma extricates the *Roman* army from a great danger.

The *Romans* ſubdue the iſlands of *Lipara* and *Melita*

Year of *Rome* 497.

The war with the *Carthaginians* had now continued eight years; when the *Romans*, finding themſelves ſtrong by ſea as well as by land, reſolved to remove the ſeat of it into *Africa*, and accordingly put to ſea with a fleet of three hundred and thirty ſail, under the command of the conſuls *Regulus* and *Manlius*. The *Carthaginians*, being ſenſible how neceſſary it was to keep the war at a diſtance from their own country, oppoſed them with a fleet of three hundred and fifty ſail. Three battles were fought on the ſame day, in all of which the *Romans* were conquerors. They took from the enemy fifty-four ſhips, with all their men, and ſunk thirty, loſing themſelves but twenty-four, without their men. In conſequence of this victory, they made a deſcent upon *Africa*, the neareſt part of which is two hundred miles from *Sicily*. *Clupea*, a city on the promontory *Hermæa*, was ſoon ſurrendered to them. After this, they

The *Romans* invade *Africa*.

Defeat the *Carthaginian* fleet three times in one day.

* Now *Malta*.

marched

marched up into the country, laying waſte all before them, which they did without oppoſition. Soon after, they received orders from the ſenate, that *Regulus* ſhould remain in *Africa* in quality of pro-conſul, with forty ſhips, fifteen thouſand foot, and five hundred horſe, and that *Manlius* ſhould return to *Rome* with the remaining forces.

The *Carthaginians* oppoſed *Regulus* with a conſiderable army; but they were ſoon defeated, and *Tunetum*, (now defeated *Tunis*) was forced to ſurrender. They then had recourſe to and taken the *Lacedæmonians*, from whom they procured *Xantippus*, an priſoner. excellent officer, for their general. *Xantippus* defeated *Regulus*, took him priſoner, and cut off moſt of his army: the reſt eſcaped to *Clupea*. *Xantippus* met with ſtill worſe uſage than *Regulus*; for the treacherous *Carthaginians*, under pre- Treachetence of conducting him home with honour, ordered their ry of the ſeamen to throw him and his companions over-board, to *Carthagi*rob the *Lacedæmonians* of the glory of the victory. The *nians*. *Romans* were beſieged in *Clupea*, till their enemies perceiving the ſmall probability of reducing them, broke up the ſiege, and prepared to oppoſe the ſuccours ſent under *Æmilius Paulus* and *Fabius Nobilior*, the two conſuls for the following The *Car*year. Theſe conſuls, with three hundred and fifty ſhips, *thaginian* met the *Carthaginians* near their own coaſt, and intirely de- fleet deſeated them, taking thirty ſhips, and ſinking one hundred feated by and four, with the loſs of only nine of their own. After the *Ro*this, the conſuls took in the garriſon from *Clupea*, and ſailed *mans*. again for *Sicily*, expecting that ſeveral towns there would ſurrender to them upon the news of this victory; but before The *Ro*they could make the ſhore, a violent ſtorm aroſe, which de- *mans* ſtroyed moſt of their ſhips. Both the conſuls periſhed. wrecked The few that eſcaped were kindly received by *Hiero*, who on the furniſhed them with cloaths and other neceſſaries, and con- coaſt of veyed them ſafe to *Meſſana*. *Sicily*.

Karthalo, the *Carthaginian* commander, taking advantage of this misfortune, immediately laid ſiege to *Agrigentum*, took it, and demoliſhed its fortifications. The *Romans* ſet about building other ſhips, and proſecuted that work with ſuch extraordinary diligence, that, we are told, two hundred and twenty new ones were built and launched in three months. On the other hand, *Aſdrubal* the *Carthaginian* arrived at *Sicily* with a fleet of two hundred ſail, and a powerful army. The conſuls *Attilius* and *Cornelius* being ordered to *Sicily* this year, took ſeveral towns; after which they returned. Their ſucceſſors, *Servilius* and *Sempronius*, in the following ſpring, paſſed over to *Sicily* with the whole fleet, and from thence to *Africa*, where they landed in many places, but did nothing remarkable. Being unacquainted with that coaſt, they fell upon certain quickſands near the *Leſſer Syrtis*, but got off without much damage, and returned to *Panormus* in *Sicily*. Sailing from thence for *Rome*, through the ſtreights, they were taken in a ſtorm, and loſt one hundred

13 senators struck off the list.

dred and fifty of their ships. This same year the censors struck thirteen members off the list of the senators, for misdemeanors they had been guilty of; and a *lustrum* being performed, the number of free citizens amounted to 297,797.

The great losses which the *Romans* had suffered at sea, obliged them, this year, to place all their hopes in their land forces. *Cæcilius* and *Metullus* were sent into *Sicily* with the legions and sixty ships, only for necessaries. They not only yielded the dominion of the sea to the *Carthaginians*, but likewise feared them by land, on account of their great preparations, and especially for their elephants, by which they had been sorely annoyed. *Asdrubal*, the *Carthaginian* general, knowing their fears, and also that one of the consuls was now returned to *Italy* with half the army, ravaged all the country about *Panormus*. The consul *Metellus*, who had hitherto kept within that city, watched his opportunity so well, that, sallying out upon the *Carthaginians*, he gave them a total overthrow, killing twenty thousand of their men, and taking twenty-six elephants; for which he was rewarded with a noble triumph. The *Carthaginians* immediately lost all *Sicily*, except *Lilybæum* and *Drepanum*, to the former of which places *Asdrubal* escaped; but being condemned at *Carthage*, he was taken, and put to death as soon as he returned.

The *Carthaginians* totally defeated in *Sicily*.

The *Carthaginians* desire a peace.

Year of *Rome* 502.

The *Carthaginians*, weary of a war which had now lasted fourteen years, and by which they had been great losers, began to wish for peace, and accordingly sent to *Rome* to treat about it. *Regulus*, who had been their prisoner five years, was sent with the ambassadors, after binding him with an oath to return to *Carthage*, in case no peace or exchange of prisoners was made. Preferring the public welfare to his own safety, he informed the senate of the weakness of the *Carthaginians*, and advised the *Romans* not to make peace. The senate approved of the advice, but pitied and admired the adviser, whose ruin they knew depended upon his return. They therefore desired him to stay; but he, with an undaunted resolution told them, *That tho' he knew, that death and the greatest tortures were preparing for him at* Carthage, *he could not comply with their request, which he should have looked upon as a command, had he been still his country's servant, as he was* Afric's *slave, and upon that account not capable of living as became a citizen of* Rome; *but that he yet had so much of the true spirit of a* Roman, *as to be incapable of doing a base or dishonourable thing; and that he feared the tortures of the most cruel rack, much less than the shame of an infamous action; the former touching only the body, but the latter piercing the mind.* He returned to *Carthage*, where, we are told, the *Carthaginians* first cut off his eye-lids, keeping him for a while in a dark dungeon; then they brought him out in the middle of the day, with his face turned full against the sun, and at last put him into a barrel stuck with nails, with the

Noble behaviour of *Regulus*.

His cruel death.

the points inwards, where he died in the greateſt miſery. The ſenate, upon hearing of this barbarous treatment of *Regulus*, is ſaid to have delivered up ſome of the moſt diſtinguiſhed of the *Carthaginian* priſoners to his widow *Marcia*, who ſhut them up in a ſmall cloſet ſtuck round with iron ſpikes, deſigning to torment them in the ſame manner that her huſband had been, and kept them five days without food, in which time *Boſtar* the *Carthaginian* died of pain and hunger: but *Hamilcar*, being a ſtronger man, was kept in, with the dead body of *Boſtar*, five days longer, having only juſt ſo much ſuſtenance allowed him as might ſerve to prolong his life in miſery. At laſt, the magiſtrates being informed of this, began to relent, and ſtrictly forbidding any more ſuch uſage, ordered *Boſtar*'s aſhes to be ſent home, and the reſt of the priſoners to be treated with humanity, to ſhew the enemy, that the *Romans* were too generous to inſult over the miſeries of unhappy men, or to countenance any cruelty, though they had received the higheſt provocations, and were urged by all the ſentiments of a moſt juſt retaliation.

The next year the *Romans* fitted out another fleet, and beſieged *Lilybæum** by ſea and land. They were very unſucceſsful in this expedition, loſing moſt of their ſhips in a ſhort time, partly by the miſmanagement of the conſul *Claudius Pulcher*, and partly by other misfortunes. *Lilybæum* was ſtill cloſely inveſted by land, when the ſmall ſucceſſes of the preſent conſuls, and the ſeveral loſſes the republic had ſuſtained, occaſioned the creating of a dictator to command the forces in *Sicily*. *Attilius Calatinus*, who was promoted to that dignity, was the firſt dictator that ever led an army out of *Italy*, and he did nothing remarkable in *Sicily*. The *Romans* now began to feel the weight and charge of the war; for the city was drained of money, and at the next *luſtrum*, there were but 251,222 free citizens. The *Romans* fit out another fleet, but loſe moſt of it. Year of *Rome* 504.

The *Romans* made no more maritime preparations for ſeven years; but about the end of that time, *Amilcar*, the *Carthaginian* admiral, infeſting the coaſts of *Italy* exceſſively, made them reſolve once more to try their fortune at ſea. Accordingly they fitted out a conſiderable fleet at the private expence of the citizens, the treaſury being quite exhauſted, and with it gave the *Carthaginians* a great overthrow, near the *Ægatian* iſles, taking and ſinking at leaſt one hundred and twenty of their ſhips. This defeat brought the enemy to a peace, which was concluded after only two conferences upon theſe conditions: 1ſt, *That the* Carthaginians *ſhould pay down one thouſand talents of ſilver, and two thouſand two hundred more within ten years.* 2dly, *That they ſhould quit* Sicily, *and all the iſles thereabouts.* 3dly, *That they ſhould never* Year of *Rome* 510. The *Romans* fit out a fleet with which they defeat the *Carthaginians*.

* *Lilybæum* ſtands upon the ſouthern promontory of *Sicily*, over againſt *Africa*.

make

make war upon the Syracusans, *or their allies, nor come with any ships of war within the* Roman *dominions.* And 4thly, *That they should deliver up all their prisoners without ransom, and also the deserters.* Thus ended the first *Punic* or *Carthaginian* † war, after it had lasted twenty-four years. The *Romans* are said to have lost in it seven hundred ships, and the *Carthaginians* only five hundred. In the same year that this long war was ended, two new tribes, the *Veline* and the *Quirine*, were added to the rest, and made up the number thirty-five, which never was exceeded.

End of the first *Punic* war.

Year of *Rome* 513.

Eighth and last increase of tribes.

The *Romans* now began to grow more polite, and to apply themselves a little to study and learning, particularly *poetry*. The year after this war, the first *tragedies* and *comedies* that had been seen in *Italy*, were written by *Livius Andronicus*, a *Grecian* by birth, one year before the poet *Ennius* was born, about one hundred and sixty years after the death of *Sophocles* and *Euripides*, and sixty-two after that of *Alexander*. *Andronicus* drew the minds of the people from that kind of satyr which had immediately succeeded the old stage-plays, or *ludi Fescennini*. The satyr here meant was a sort of dramatic poem, full of jests and raillery, quite different from the later satyrs of *Lucilius* and *Horace*. *Nævius* was the first poet that followed *Andronicus*'s example, five years after; the year before which were celebrated, for the third time, the great *secular games*, likewise called *ludi magni*, and *ludi Tarentini* *, and were of two sorts; the *greater*, celebrated every one hundred and twenty years, and first instituted in the two hundred and ninety-eighth year of the city; and the *lesser*, celebrated every hundredth year, and first instituted about the three hundred and fifth year of the city, after the abolition of the *decemviri*.

War between the *Carthaginians* and their mercenaries.

The *Carthaginians*, soon after the conclusion of the peace with the *Romans*, were forced to enter into a bloody war with the mercenary troops in their service, who, partly for want of pay, and partly for want of employment, took up arms against their masters. This war lasted upwards of three years, and was ended at last by *Amilcar*, not without much difficulty and loss. During this time, several *Romans* who traded in *Africa* were secured by the *Carthaginians*, lest they should furnish their enemies with provisions. But when ambassadors were sent to *Carthage* to complain of this usage, they immediately released all that were in custody; which so affected the *Romans*, that they generously sent them all their prisoners without ransom; and, for a short space, there seemed to be an extraordinary friendship between the two nations. Just after this, the *Sardinians* having invited the

† The Greek writers call it the Sicilian war.

* There were also other games, called *Ludi Tarentini*, which were very different from the *Ludi Saeculares*.

Romans

Romans over to their iſland, they went thither. The *Carthaginians* were offended at this ſtep, and prepared to ſend forces to *Sardinia*. The *Romans* thereupon declared war againſt them, complaining, that theſe preparations were deſigned more againſt them than the *Sardinians*. This ſo terrified the *Carthaginians*, who were not in a condition to begin a new war, that they were forced to yield to neceſſity, and not only to quit all *Sardinia*, but alſo to pay the *Romans* one thouſand two hundred talents. This, though ſubmitted to at preſent, proved afterwards the occaſion of a more bloody and dangerous war than the former.

In the ſixth year after the *Carthaginian* war, the *Romans* being in perfect peace with all their neighbours, the temple of *Janus* was ſhut the ſecond time, after having been open four hundred and thirty-ſeven years. In the following year, was the firſt divorce that was ever known in *Rome*: and two years after, *C. Duilius* was created dictator for holding the *comitia*. The temple of *Janus* ſhut the ſecond time. Year of *Rome* 522.

The temple of *Janus* continued ſhut five years; but it was opened in the ſixth by a war with the *Illyrians*, a people bordering upon *Greece*, who inhabited the country now called *Dalmatia*. *Teuta*, queen of that nation, gave her ſubjects commiſſion to rob all they met with at ſea. Some of the ſufferers happened to be merchants of *Italy*, who, beſides being plundered, were uſed with great barbarity. Upon intelligence of this, the *Romans* ſent two ambaſſadors, *Caius* and *Lucius Coruncanus*, to *Illyricum*, to demand ſatisfaction. *Teuta* told them, *That ſhe would take care that no public injury ſhould be offered to the* Romans; *but that ſhe thought it never was the cuſtom of princes to hinder their ſubjects from making what private advantage they could from the ſea.* *Caius* replied, *That the* Romans *had learned a better cuſtom; which was, to puniſh private injuries with public revenge; and to relieve the diſtreſſed: and that they, by the help of the gods, would take care to reform her princely cuſtoms.* The queen was ſo nettled at this anſwer, that, contrary to the law of nations, ſhe ſent after the ambaſſadors and ſlew *Lucius*. The *Romans* immediately proclaimed war againſt her, and the two conſuls ſent to *Illyricum Fluvius* with a fleet, and *Poſthumius* with a land army. Moſt of the *Illyrian* towns ſurrendered upon their firſt appearance; and the queen, with a few followers, retired to *Rhizon*, a ſtrong place, from whence ſhe ſent to *Rome* the next ſpring to beg peace; which was granted upon theſe terms: 1, *To pay a yearly tribute:* 2, *To quit all* Illyricum, *except a very few places:* and, 3, *Not to ſail beyond the river* Liſſus *with more than two barks, and thoſe unarmed.* Thus was the firſt *Illyrian* war ended in leſs than two years time. First war with the *Illyrians*.

Theſe wars in *Illyricum* ſtill enlarged the dominions of the *Romans*, and their generous behaviour gained them as much love, as their valour did reputation in thoſe parts; particularly among the *Athenians* and *Corinthians*; which laſt decreed them

them the freedom of the *Isthmian* games, one of the four so-
Year of *Rome* 527. The *Gauls* take arms, but are defeated and refused their suit for peace.
lemn exercises of *Greece*. This same year the prætors were increased to four; one being sent to the province of *Sicily*, and another to that of *Sardinia*. In the mean time, domestic disturbances about the division of lands taken from the *Gauls*, awakened that nation, who, concluding that the *Romans* fought more out of covetousness than glory, began the war, which the *Latin* historians call *Bellum Gallicum Cisalpinum*. These fierce people invited from beyond the *Alps* other *Gauls*, called *Gessatæ*, dwelling near the river *Rhone*; who come over with a prodigious force, and joining the rest made an irruption into *Hetruria*, with an army of fifty thousand foot and twenty thousand horse. The *Romans*, on their side, made the greatest preparations that had ever been known, all *Italy* being up in arms, to the number of seven or eight hundred thousand men, which were placed in different parts, to be in readiness upon all occasions. The consuls themselves led a particular army of fifty thousand eight hundred foot and four thousand two hundred horse.

The *Gauls* laid waste all before them, till they came to *Clusium*, about three days journey from *Rome*, where they were blocked up by the *Romans*, the prætor on their back, and the consuls before, possessing all the passes; so that they were obliged to form two fronts, and to fight very disadvantageously, both by reason of their nakedness and the unfitness of their arms. But the vanity of the *Gessatæ* proved the most injurious to them; for they, throwing off all their cloaths, would fight quite naked, and began the first charge; and these being easily broken, so discouraged the rest, that all fled. Upwards of forty thousand *Gauls* were killed, and ten thousand taken prisoners. The consuls obtained a most splendid triumph for this great victory. The next year the *Romans* attacked the *Gauls* in their own territories, and defeated them several times. Thus harrassed and weakened they sent ambassadors to *Rome* to beg peace on any terms: but their request was refused. Upon this they resolved to make their last effort, and procured 30,000 auxiliaries from the *Gessatæ*. The consuls marched into the country of the *Insubres*, and laid siege to *Acerræ*; whilst the *Gauls* invested *Clastidium*, a town in alliance with the *Romans*. *Marcellus*,
Year of *Rome* 532. They are defeated again.
with only two thirds of his cavalry, and a small detachment of light-armed infantry, marched night and day till he came up with the enemy, whom, notwithstanding the great inequality of numbers, and the extraordinary fatigue of his troops, he engaged, and totally defeated. *Marcellus*, with his own hands, killed *Virdomarus*, king of the *Gessatæ*; and
Third *spolia opima*.
dedicated the third *spolia opima*, or *royal spoils*, to *Jupiter Feretrius*. A magnificent triumph was decreed him for this victory. Those that escaped fled to *Mediolanum*, now *Milan*, the chief city of the *Insubrian Gauls*; which being shortly after taken, the *Gallic* war; which had now lasted six years,

was

was ended, to the conſiderable enlargement of the *Roman* dominions, colonies being planted ſoon after at *Cremona* and *Placentia*.

About this time, a multitude of *Libertini*, or *freed ſlaves*, who lived diſperſed among the tribes, occaſioned great diſturbances in the city; which made the cenſors, at the next *luſtrum*, confine all ſuch to four tribes; the *Eſquilina*, the *Palatina*, the *Suburrana*, and the *Collina*. At this *luſtrum* 270,213 free citizens were ceſſed. *C. Flaminius*, one of the cenſors for this year, built a *circus*, and paved the highway as far as *Arminium*, being one hundred and thirty miles. Both theſe great works were afterwards called by his name. Within a year after, the *Illyrians* revolted, but were reduced, though with ſome difficulty. But the greateſt concern the *Romans* had now, was the ſucceſsful progreſs of the *Carthaginians* in *Spain*, where, beſides their having gained a great part of that country, they had taken *Saguntum*, a town in alliance with *Rome*, and that after they had been deſired to deſiſt. The *Romans* thereupon ſent ambaſſadors to *Carthage*, to require their general *Hannibal* to be delivered up; and if that was not granted, to declare war. The ambaſſadors found the *Carthaginians* little inclined to give any ſatisfaction; upon which the eldeſt of them, holding out the ſkirt of his robe, ſaid to the ſenate, *Here we bring you peace or war*; *chuſe which you pleaſe*. The chief of the other anſwered, *Deliver which you will*. The *Roman* replying *War*, the other accepted it: and thus began the ſecond *Punic* or *Carthaginian* war, thirty-three years after the end of the firſt. The ſecond *Punic* war. Year of *Rome* 536.

The *Carthaginians* committed the care of this war to *Hannibal*, a man of wonderful abilities, conduct, and valour, of a hardy, laborious, and indefatigable body, as well as of a fierce, enterpriſing, and undaunted mind; and, above all, a mortal enemy to the *Romans*. Leaving *Hanno* with a ſufficient force to guard his conqueſts in *Spain*, he croſſed the *Pyrenæan* mountains into *Gaul*, with an army of fifty thouſand foot and nine thouſand horſe. He then paſſed the *Rhone*, and, in ten days after, arrived at the foot of the *Alps*, over which he reſolved to paſs into *Italy*, notwithſtanding the fears of his men, his ignorance of the ways, the labour of the march, and all the numerous perils that attended ſo vaſt an enterprize, eſpecially in the midſt of winter, as it then was. His averſion to the *Romans* made him think nothing either dangerous or difficult, where there was a proſpect of humbling them. After nine days march through untrodden paths, amidſt dreadful precipices, deep ſnow, and intenſe cold, he at laſt gained the top of theſe vaſt mountains, where he halted two days to refreſh his troops. From thence he deſcended into the plains, having been fifteen days in paſſing the *Alps*; and it being now the fifth month after his ſetting out from *New Carthage*, a city built by *Aſdrubal* in *Spain*. At his arrival in the country of the *Inſubres*, he found his army reduced *Hannibal* paſſes the *Alps*.

reduced to about eighteen thouſand foot and ſix thouſand horſe; the reſt having periſhed in croſſing the *Alps* *.

and defeats the *Romans* at *Ticinum*.

The conſul *Scipio* haſtened to meet him before his men were well refreſhed. Both armies met at *Ticinum*, now *Pavia*; in which battle *Scipio*, being wounded, was ſaved by the valour of his young ſon, afterwards called *Africanus*; but in a few hours was defeated, cheifly by means of the *Numidian* cavalry, who fell unexpectedly upon his rear. Soon after this defeat, the other conſul, *Sempronius*, joined *Scipio* at the river *Trebia*; and, having been ſucceſsful in ſome ſkirmiſhes, reſolved to give the enemy battle before too many of the *Gauls* had joined him, though *Scipio*, who was laid up with his wounds, was much againſt it. This was what *Hannibal* wanted. Upon the approach of the two armies, he hid a thouſand of his beſt horſe in ambuſcade, and ſent another party to brave the *Romans* before they could provide themſelves with proviſions, or guard againſt the extremity of the weather; ſo that engaging with cold and hunger, paſſing the river up to the arm-pits, and being unexpectedly charged both in front and rear, they were immediately defeated. Twenty-ſix thouſand of the *Romans* were either ſlain, taken, or drowned in the river, and ten thouſand eſcaped to *Placentia*. The ſlaughter was great on the ſide of the *Carthaginians*, who likewiſe loſt many of their men, and almoſt all their beaſts and elephants, by the exceſſive inclemency of the weather.

The *Romans* again defeated.

Year of *Rome* 537. *Hannibal* marches into *Hetruria*.

C. Flaminius, who was more an orator than a ſoldier; and *Servilius Geminus*, were conſuls for the next year; when *Hannibal*, having now ſufficiently recruited his army in the country of the *Gauls*, reſolved to remove the ſeat of the war into *Hetruria*. After ſome conſultation about the way thither, he fixed upon that of the fens, as ſhort and unexpected to the enemy, though far more difficult to paſs. His men were ſorely diſtreſſed in this march, being forced to wade through water three or four days and nights, without any ſleep or reſt. Many of the beaſts were left dead in the mud, and the hoofs came off the horſe's feet. *Hannibal*, who rode upon an elephant, the only one he had left alive, loſt one of his eyes by the exceſſive wet and cold. Being at laſt arrived upon dry ground, and knowing *Flaminius*'s fiery temper, the better to entrap him, he paſſed by his camp, and marched farther into the country, waſting it with fire and ſword. This enraged *Flaminius*, who, thinking himſelf deſpiſed by the enemy, immediately reſolved to give them battle, in ſpite of all that could be ſaid to diſſuade him from it, or to prevail on him to ſtay till his collegue had joined him.

Hannibal was now at a lake called *Thraſymene*, between which and a chain of mountains bordering upon it, was a

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* Polyb.

narrow

narrow paſſage which led to a valley encompaſſed with a ridge of hills. *Hannibal* took poſſeſſion of thoſe hills, and diſpoſed his men ſo that when *Flaminius* followed him into the valley, he was immediately hemmed in, attacked on all ſides, killed, and his whole army deſtroyed. About fifteen thouſand of the *Romans* fell in the valley, and *Hannibal* took near the ſame number of priſoners, out of which he releaſed the *Latines* without ranſom, but kept the *Romans*. *Servilius*, the other conſul, had detached four thouſand men, under the command of *Centinius*, with orders to join *Flaminius*, if poſſible, before the battle. *Hannibal* being informed of it, immediately after the victory ſent away *Maherbal* with a much ſtronger force, who cut off one half of the *Romans*, and made the reſt priſoners.

Battle of *Thraſymene*. The *Romans* entirely defeated.

The *Romans* now ſeeing the neceſſity of having a general with abſolute authority, created dictator *Fabius Maximus*, a perſon of extraordinary wiſdom and experience, and endowed with a happy mixture of caution and boldneſs. *Fabius* choſe for his general of the horſe *Minutius Rufus*, whoſe temper was more hot and violent. Having made what preparations he was able, he ſet forward to meet *Hannibal*, leſs with a deſign to fight him than to watch his motions, ſtraiten his quarters, and cut off his proviſions, which he knew would be the moſt effectual way to ruin him, in a country ſo far diſtant from his own. He always encamped on the higheſt grounds, free from the inſults of the enemy's cavalry, but ſtill keeping pace with them: when they marched, he followed them; when they encamped, he did the ſame, but at ſuch a diſtance as not to be forced to engage; by which means he gave them no reſt, but kept them in a continual alarm. This cautious way of proceeding, which got him the name of *Cunctator*, made moſt men ſuſpect his courage; but *Hannibal* judged otherwiſe. This laſt, intending to go to *Caſinum*, was by miſtake conducted to *Caſilinum* near *Campania*, where entering a valley environed with mountains, *Fabius* detached four thouſand choſen men who poſſeſſed themſelves of the entrance, and with another party cut off eight hundred of the enemy's rear and put their whole army into ſome diſorder. *Hannibal*, finding himſelf blocked up, and in a dangerous ſituation, one night ordered ſmall faggots and lighted torches to be tied to the horns of two thouſand oxen, which, by their toſſing their horns and ſcattering the fire, ſo frightened the guard that they quitted their poſts, and gave *Hannibal* an opportunity to draw off his army.

Fabius Maximus dictator.

Hannibal extricates himſelf from a dangerous ſituation.

This action, though excellently well managed by *Fabius*, cauſed many complaints againſt him, which *Hannibal* ſecretly improved as much as he could; and, to give them the greater appearance of being well founded, he ravaged the country all around him, but artfully ſpared *Fabius*'s lands, to render him ſuſpected of a ſecret correſpondence with him. Theſe ſuſpicions, and *Fabius*'s want of courage, as his men believed,

lieved, proved ſo prejudicial to him, that, in his abſence ſoon after, *Minutius*, his general of the horſe, having ſkirmiſhed with ſome ſucceſs, became ſuch a favourite with the multitude, that his power was made equal with that of the dictator; a thing without example. *Minutius* was ſo exalted with his late ſucceſſes and this new honour, that he reſolved, contrary to all the perſuaſions of *Fabius*, to engage *Hannibal* with his part of the army. The *Carthaginian* cunningly drew him into a diſadvantageous place, where he was in great danger of being defeated, when *Fabius*, who had obſerved the action from an eminence in his camp, falling upon the enemy, forced them to retreat and ſaved *Minutius*. *Hannibal*, after this battle, told his friends, *that he thought the cloud which had ſo long hovered upon the mountains would ſome time break upon them with a ſtorm.* *Minutius*, convinced of his error, renounced his new power, and freely ſubjected his office to the dictatorſhip.

Fabius ſaves *Minutius.*

Year of *Rome* 538. *Fabius*'s power expired, and *Æmilius Paulus* and *Terentius Varro* were choſen conſuls. The former was prudent and experienced; the latter, hot, raſh, and inconſiderate. They got together an army of eighty thouſand foot and ſix thouſand horſe, which gave great hopes to the people, but raiſed as great fears in ſome of the wiſer ſort, eſpecially *Fabius*, who ſtrongly cautioned *Æmilius to beware of the policy of* Hannibal, *and the raſhneſs of* Varro. Both armies met at a village in *Apulia*, called *Cannæ*, where *Varro* reſolved to engage, contrary to *Æmilius*'s advice, the enemy being about forty thouſand foot and twenty thouſand horſe. This battle was fought with prodigious fury on both ſides; and *Hannibal* had placed his men with ſuch art, that the *Romans* were not only forced to fight with wind, duſt, and ſun, but, on their preſſing forward, they were in a little time almoſt ſurrounded. The abilities of the *Punic* general never appeared ſo much as on this occaſion. His ſkill much more than over-matched the ſuperior number of the *Romans*, of whom a moſt dreadful ſlaughter was made, till *Hannibal*, quite weary of it, commanded his ſoldiers to give over. The conſul *Æmilius* was killed, and with him fifty thouſand men. *Polybius* ſays ſeventy thouſand, two quæſtors, twenty-one tribunes, eighty of the ſenatorial order, and ſo many knights, that it is ſaid three buſhels of their rings were ſent to *Carthage*. The enemy loſt but 5700 men.

Battle of *Cannæ.*

The conſternation of *Rome* upon the news of this dreadful diſaſter, is eaſier to be imagined than deſcribed. It was ſuch, that it was thought neceſſary to create a dictator to preſerve order in the city, and to ſet ſtrict guards at the gates to keep the people from abandoning it. *Varro* arrived ſoon after with the ſhattered remains of his army; and, though he had been the principal cauſe of this defeat, yet the *Romans*, out of an extraordinary greatneſs of mind, went out to meet him in multitudes, and the ſenate returned him thanks, *for that he had*

had not despaired of the commonwealth. Notwithstanding this prodigious loss, and the revolt of a great part of *Italy* immediately after it, the *Romans* would never so much as mention peace.

If *Hannibal*, after this victory, had marched directly to *Rome*, he might, in all probability, have put an end both to the war and the *Roman* state: but, as *Maherbal*, captain of his horse, told him, *he knew perfectly how to gain a victory, but not how to use and improve it.* His negligence that summer gave the *Romans* an opportunity of recovering themselves, when they were almost reduced to a despairing condition. But what proved most fatal to him, was, his wintering in *Capua*, a wealthy and most luxurious city, which, among many others, had surrendered to him since his last victory. Here he utterly spoiled an excellent and hardened army. His men, before inured to toil and labour, were now so enervated by their immoderate use of the pleasures and effeminacies of that place, that they could not bear fatigue, or the strictness of the antient military discipline. *Capua* proved as fatal to *Hannibal*'s soldiers, as *Cannæ* had been to the *Romans*. From this time his fortune began to change; for, in the next campaign, against which the *Romans* had made all possible preparations, even arming several thousands of slaves, he was worsted by the prætor *Marcellus* in a sally out of *Nola*; and repulsed at *Casilinum*, after he had brought the place to great extremities; and, not long after, *Marcellus* gained a considerable advantage over him near *Nola*. These successes made the *Romans* hope for greater. Year of *Rome* 533. A change in the fortune of *Hannibal.*

In *Spain*, the *Scipios* managed the war successfully, defeating both *Hanno* and *Asdrubal*; which last had just received orders from *Carthage* to join *Hannibal* in *Italy*. In *Sicily* and *Sardinia*, though several attempts were made by the *Carthaginians*, and some revolts happened, yet affairs succeeded prosperously, especially in *Sardinia*, where a battle was fought in which twelve thousand *Carthaginians* were killed, and a great many taken prisoners, among whom were some of great distinction. The *Romans* successful in *Spain*, *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, and against *Philip* of *Macedon.*

Rome had now the misfortune of having enemies on all sides of her, and in all parts of her dominions; so that the vigor and diligence of her inhabitants in sending recruits and supplies into *Spain*, *Sicily*, and *Sardinia*, was really admirable. But a still greater instance of the *Roman* courage and magnanimity, was their proclaiming war against *Philip*, king of *Macedon*, not long after their defeat at *Cannæ*, for his making a league with *Hannibal*; and their invading his dominions, which they did with good success.

The affairs of *Sicily* were soon altered by the death of *Hiero* king of *Syracuse*, and the murder of his grandson *Hieronymus* not long after, which occasioned great factions in that city. The prevailing party being against the *Romans*, *Marcellus* was sent thither. He besieged *Syracuse* by sea and land, but The *Romans* besiege and take *Syracuse.*

could not ſtorm it with all his power, his efforts of every kind being always baffled by the ſkill of that great mathematician *Archimedes*, who contrived ſuch engines as demoliſhed all the batteries and ſome of the ſhips of the *Romans*. *Syracuſe* held out three years, and was at laſt taken by ſurprize, whilſt all its inhabitants were buſied with a feſtival. *Marcellus* could not help ſhedding tears at the deſtruction of ſo glorious and magnificent a city, which he endeavoured to ſave, but could not: but what grieved him moſt of all was, the death of *Archimedes*, whom he had given ſtrict orders to his men not to hurt. *Archimedes* was juſt then ſo intent upon his ſtudies, that he did not obſerve the noiſe and uproar in the city; and a common ſoldier, not knowing him, entered his houſe and killed him. His body was honourably interred by *Marcellus*'s order. *Syracuſe* was twenty-two miles in compaſs, and the plunder of it immenſe.

Archimedes killed.

Year of *Rome* 542. *Tarentum* betrayed to *Hannibal*.

The wars in *Italy*, during this time were attended with various ſucceſs. *Tarentum* was betrayed to *Hannibal*, but the caſtle ſtill held out; and the *Romans* inveſted *Capua*, and ſtraightened it ſo that the inhabitants were forced to ſend to *Hannibal* for relief, He made no great haſte to relieve them, wanting to take the caſtle of *Tarentum* firſt; but conſidering afterwards how great a diſgrace the loſs of ſuch a place as *Capua* would be, he broke up the ſiege of *Tarentum*, and directed his march thither. He attacked the *Romans* in their trenches, but was repulſed with conſiderable loſs. Finding that attempt too hazardous, he reſolved to fall upon *Rome* itſelf, and accordingly marched that way, expecting that the very name of ſuch an enterprize would oblige them to raiſe the ſiege. In that, however, he was diſappointed: the proconſul, *Fulvius*, only was ſent for from the ſiege, with fifteen thouſand foot and ten thouſand horſe, for the defence of *Rome*.

Hannibal was then encamped about eight miles from the city, but he ſoon after advanced to the river *Arno*, within three miles of *Rome*; from whence he went to take a view of the city with a party of two thouſand horſe. *Flaccus* ſoon forced him to retreat. Soon after he decamped, and marched to the river *Turia*, and from thence to the lake of *Feronia*, where he plundered a temple of that goddeſs, and afterwards traverſed the countries of the *Lucani* and *Brutii* in the ſame outrageous manner. *Capua* ſurrendered ſoon after. The heads of the revolt were put to death, and the common people ſold. This city, on account of the richneſs of the ſoil round about it, was reſerved for the uſe of all ſorts of huſbandmen, labourers, and artificers, without any ſhew of government of its own, as it formerly had.

Capua ſurrenders to the *Romans*.

The *Romans* maſters of *Sicily*.

Valerius Lævinus, one of the conſuls for the next year, being ſent into *Sicily*, reduced that whole iſland to the *Roman* obedience. This was the firſt time that the *Romans* had been maſters of all *Sicily*. *Fabius Maximus* was choſen conſul

ful the following year, in which *Tarentum* was betrayed into his hands. The number of free citizens this year was but one hundred and thirty-ſeven thouſand, one hundred and eight; which ſhews what prodigious loſſes the *Romans* had ſuſtained by the late wars. *Marcellus*'s ſucceſs againſt *Hannibal* this year, was unequal. The year after he was made conſul a fifth time, when, going againſt *Hannibal*, he was ſlain in an ambuſcade. *Marcellus* was called the *ſword*, and *Fabius* the *buckler*, of *Rome*. His collegue, *Criſpus*, alſo received a wound, which proved mortal.

The following year, *Aſdrubal* was ordered to leave *Spain*, and go to the aſſiſtance of his brother *Hannibal* in *Italy*; whereupon the conſul, *Livius*, was ſent to meet and oppoſe him, whilſt his collegue, *Nero*, obſerved *Hannibal*'s motions. *Nero*, having had ſome ſucceſs againſt *Hannibal*, with great ſecrecy and expedition joined his collegue with a detachment of ſix thouſand foot and one thouſand horſe; and they two ſurrounded *Aſdrubal*, and cut his whole army in pieces. *Nero* returned immediately to his camp, and, before *Hannibal* knew of his departure, caſt his brother's head into his camp, which was the firſt information he had of his defeat. The year after this, *Scipio* reduced all *Spain* to the obedience of *Rome*, and drove the *Carthaginians* entirely out of it. But *Hannibal* ſtill continued to harraſs *Italy*.

Aſdrubal defeated and killed. Year of *Rome* 547. All *Spain* reduced.

Scipio, on his return from *Spain*, when he was but twenty-nine years old, was made conſul and governor of *Sicily*, with leave to paſs over into *Africa*. He did ſo, after ſtaying a year in *Sicily* to provide for his expedition; and upon his arrival in *Africa*, he was joined by *Maſaniſſa*, king of *Numidia*, who had before aſſiſted him in *Spain*. *Hanno*, who oppoſed him, was defeated and ſlain, together with three thouſand of the *Carthaginians*: and *Scipio*, encouraged by this ſucceſs, inveſted *Utica*, but afterwards raiſed the ſiege on the approach of a numerous army of the enemy joined by *Syphax*, who had diſpoſſeſſed *Maſaniſſa* of his kingdom of *Numidia*. He inveſted *Utica* again in the winter; and learning that the enemy were encamped not far off, he ſent ſome of his men, diſguiſed like ſlaves, to view their camp, which, the tents being covered with mats, reeds, dry boughs, and the like, he ſuddenly ſet fire to, and, in the midſt of the hurry and confuſion occaſioned thereby, he fell upon them, killed forty thouſand, and took ſix thouſand priſoners. Not long after, he gave them another great overthrow, which ſo terrified the *Carthaginians*, that they recalled *Hannibal* from *Italy*, where he himſelf had been in a declining condition for a conſiderable time, and where he had now ſpent fifteen years.

Year of *Rome* 549. *Scipio* goes into *Africa*, and defeats the *Carthaginians*.

Syphax made a laſt effort to defend his uſurpation. Having collected a great number of raw undiſciplined ſtrangers, he ventured to give *Scipio* battle, but was defeated and taken priſoner. *Maſaniſſa* marched with all ſpeed to *Cirta*, the capital of *Numidia*, which, being informed of *Syphax*'s fate, opened

Maſaniſſa regains *Numidia*

opened its gates to him. Among others who were in the city, was queen *Sophoniſba*, *Syphax*'s wife, a woman of incomparable beauty, who earneſtly beſought him that ſhe might not be delivered up to the *Romans*. *Maſaniſſa* granted her requeſt, and, to confirm his promiſe, married her himſelf that day. *Scipio*, who arrived ſoon after, greatly diſapproved of this action, and told him, *That the* Romans *had a title to her, as being their captive, one of their greateſt enemies, and the principal cauſe of all* Syphax's *treachery*. Upon this, *Maſaniſſa*, in a violent paſſion, ſent her a bowl of poiſon; at receiving which ſhe only ſaid, *That if her huſband had no better token to ſend to his new wife, ſhe muſt accept of that*; adding, *That her death would have been more honourable, if her marriage had been farther from it*; and then drank it off.

marries *Sophoniſba*.

and poiſons her.

Hannibal arrived at *Leptis*, after a paſſage of a few days, and from thence marched to *Adrumetum*, and next to *Zama*, five days journey from *Carthage*. *Scipio* was encamped not far from him. The *Carthaginians* made ſome overtures of peace; but they not being agreed to, the deciſion of the quarrel was referred to the ſword. Never was a more memorable battle fought, whether we conſider the generals, the armies, the two ſtates that contended, or the importance of the victory, on which depended, whether *Rome* or *Carthage* ſhould give law to the world. Both generals ſhewed the utmoſt ſkill and courage; but the genius of *Scipio* prevailing, *Hannibal* was overcome, with the loſs of twenty thouſand ſlain, and as many taken priſoners. The *Carthaginians*, humbled by this blow, ſent ambaſſadors to *Rome* to beg peace, which was granted; and, the power of concluding it being referred to *Scipio* and two others, was at laſt agreed to upon the following terms: 1. *That the* Carthaginians *ſhould enjoy all their territories in* Africa; *but that the* Romans *ſhould hold* Spain, *with all the iſlands in the* Mediterranean: 2. *That all rebels and deſerters ſhould be delivered up to the* Romans: 3, *That the* Carthaginians *ſhould deliver up all their beaked ſhips, except ten triremes, with all their tamed elephants, and ſhould tame no more*: 4, *That they ſhould not make war in* Africa, *or elſewhere, without leave from* Rome: 5, *That they ſhould reſtore to* Maſaniſſa *all that belonged to him, and enter into alliance with him*: 6, *That they ſhould ſupply the* Roman *troops with money and corn, till the return of the ambaſſadors*: *and*, 7, *That they ſhould pay ten thouſand talents of ſilver in fifty years time, and give an hundred hoſtages for the performance of this treaty*. Thus ended the ſecond *Punic* or *Carthaginian* war, to the great ſatisfaction of *Rome*, and the great renown of *Scipio*, who, beſides a moſt ſplendid triumph, obtained the ſurname of *Africanus*. It was ſeven years ſhorter, but far more bloody and dangerous, than the firſt *Punic* war.

Hannibal totally defeated by *Scipio*.

Year of *Rome* 552. Peace concluded with *Carthage*.

End of the ſecond *Punic* war.

The *Romans* had now gained conſiderable addition of dominion, riches, and honour, as well as of experience and knowledge in war. Their intercourſe with the *Greeks* likewiſe

wiſe gave them a greater reliſh than ever they had before for learning and the liberal arts. *Ennius*, *Licinius Tegula*, and *Cæcilius*, three dramatic poets who flouriſhed about this time, afforded them much delight. One foreign war, however, yet remained to be carried on: namely, that againſt *Philip* of *Macedon*; the occaſion of which, already mentioned, being now aggravated by his breach of faith with the *Ætolians* and other *Roman* allies in thoſe parts, by the complaints of *Attalus* king of *Pergamus*, and thoſe of the *Rhodians*, and alſo by the earneſt requeſt of the *Athenians*, war was declared a-new againſt him.

This *Philip*, king of *Macedon*, was the tenth of the ſucceſſors of *Alexander* the Great, and a powerful prince in *Greece*. The conſul, *Sulpicius Galba*, worſted him ſeveral times, and was very near taking him priſoner. With the aſſiſtance of *Attalus* and the *Rhodians*, *Sulpicius* raiſed the ſiege of *Athens*; upon which the *Ætolians* and the *Athenians* invaded *Philip*'s dominions. The prætor, *Furius*, obtained a great victory this year over the *Gauls*, who had revolted and inveſted *Cremona*, killing thirty thouſand men, and with them *Amilcar*, a *Carthaginian* commander. For this action, after much diſpute in the ſenate, he triumphed, though againſt the cuſtom, and without precedents; for none ever yet obtained this honour for a victory gained with another's army, as he had this with the troops of the conſul *Aurelius Cotta*, who therefore very juſtly reſented this affair. Little was done in *Macedonia* the year following: but the prætor, *Bebius*, entering unadviſedly into the territories of the *Inſubrian Gauls*, was ſurrounded, and loſt above ſix thouſand ſix hundred of his men. First *Macedonian* war.

In the third year of the *Macedonian* war, the conſul, *Quintus Flaminius*, beat *Philip* out of the Streights, where he was advantageouſly poſted; and his brother *Lucius*, aſſiſted by *Attalus*, attacked him by ſea, and regained ſeveral confederate towns. The prætors in *Rome* were increaſed this year from four to ſix, by reaſon of the great buſineſs of the commonwealth: and the time being come for the election of conſuls, the tribunes rightly obſerved, that the cuſtom of making the new conſuls ſuperſede the old ones, greatly hindered the progreſs of the wars; whereupon *Quintus* was continued in his command. He was then upon the point of taking the caſtle of *Opus*, and *Philip* deſired to treat with him; but they came to no agreement. Soon after, *Philip* delivered up *Argos* into the hands of *Nabis*, tyrant of *Lacedæmon*, who uſed the inhabitants with great cruelty and oppreſſion. *Quintus* at laſt followed *Philip* into *Theſſaly*, and defeated him entirely at *Cynocephalæ*, killing eight thouſand, and taking five thouſand priſoners; ſo that he was forced to beg peace, which was granted. About the ſame time, two great victories were gained over the *Gauls*; and the ſlaves in *Hetruria*, who Year of *Rome* 556. *Philip* of *Macedon* forced to make peace.

had revolted, were quelled and chaſtiſed by the prætor *Attilius*.

The *Romans* generouſly reſtore liberty to *Greece*.

The *Romans*, from a principle of generoſity, reſolved to reſtore liberty to the cities of *Greece* which they had taken in this war; and, to that end, they ſent thither ten of their greateſt patricians, with *Flaminius* at their head. Theſe commiſſioners went to the *Iſthmian* games, where all the chief men of the *Greeks* were then aſſembled; and there, in the name of the ſenate and people of *Rome*, they publicly proclaimed liberty to all the cities and people of *Greece*, to the great and unexpected joy of all that heard it. Thus ended the firſt *Macedonian* war, five years after it was laſt proclaimed, and twenty after it firſt began.

Year of *Rome* 559.

The year following, ſome diſturbances were raiſed in the city concerning the *Oppian* law; a law prefered by *Oppius*, tribune of the people, ſoon after the defeat at *Cannæ*, forbidding women to wear gold or purple, and ſome other ornaments. The preſent tribunes endeavouring to abrogate this law, the occaſion of it being now removed, were violently oppoſed by the conſul *Portius Cato*: but they, and the importunities of the women at laſt prevailed, and the law was annulled. *Cato* then went to *Spain*, which was his province, where, by his ſeverity to himſelf as well as his ſoldiers, he reſtored the *Roman* diſcipline, and reduced many of the *Spaniſh* nations which had lately revolted. The *Romans* were ſtill at war with the *Gauls*, who had been joined by their neighbours the *Ligurians*; but this war was not very burthenſome to the ſtate, nor ſuch as hindered the progreſs of learning in the city; for about this time *Plautus* had many plays acted at *Rome*, and it was he who firſt brought comedy to its perfection there, having a great genius for that kind of compoſition, and being a complete maſter of the *Latin* tongue, which, though not arrived to its utmoſt purity, had even then a maſculine ſtrength and energy.

Plautus's comedies firſt acted at *Rome*.

The *Romans* were alſo not without ſome wars in *Greece*; for *Nabis* ſtill oppoſed them, but was ſoon forced to ſubmit: and about this time, *Antiochus*, king of *Syria*, urged, partly by his own ambition and his hatred to *Rome*, and partly by the perſuaſions of *Hannibal*, who had lately been forced thither by the ingratitude of his own countrymen, made incroachments upon the *Roman* allies, which the *Romans* could not help reſenting. Negociations were ſet on foot to accommodate matters, but to no great effect; and at laſt *Antiochus*, whom the *Ætolians* had treacherouſly joined, proceeded ſo far into *Greece* itſelf, that the *Romans* proclaimed war againſt him.

The *Romans* declare war againſt

This *Antiochus*, who was one of *Alexander*'s ſucceſſors, was ſurnamed the *Great*, on account of his power and the extenſiveneſs of his dominions. The greater preparations were therefore made againſt him, and the conſul *Acilius* was

ſent

sent into *Greece* to manage the war. *Acilius* easily recovered all the places which *Antiochus* had taken in *Thessaly*, and, following him to the streights of *Thermopylæ*, gave him such an overthrow, that he immediately quitted *Greece*, and left the *Ætolians* to the mercy of the conquerors. At the same time, his collegue *Nasica* obtained a great victory over the *Boian Gauls* in *Italy*, which intirely broke all their power. *Lucius Scipio* and *Lælius Nepos* were consuls for the next year, when the department of *Greece* was given to *Scipio*, with power to pass into *Asia*, if he thought proper. *Scipio Africanus* was his lieutenant. *Antiochus*, king of *Syria*. Year of *Rome* 536.

Antiochus was now at *Ephesus*, where he thought himself secure from the *Romans*; but *Hannibal*, who had advised him to invade *Italy*, told him, he rather wondered they were not already arrived, than doubted of their coming, and persuaded him to send for his troops from the distant provinces, and to get ready all his ships, to guard the passage of the *Hellespont*, where the consul most probably would pass. *Pergamus*, the chief city of *Eumenes*, a friend to the *Romans*, was likewise invested; but the siege was soon raised, and *Antiochus* sent to the *Roman* admiral *Æmilius*, then on those coasts, to treat about a peace; but *Æmilius* answered, that he had no power of concluding it without the consul. Soon after, the *Rhodians* defeated their admiral at sea, which was *Hannibal*, who was there out of his element, and who soon after lost that command, being again defeated by *Æmilius*, *Eumenes*, and the *Rhodians*. *Antiochus*, affrighted at this ill fortune, imprudently abandoned *Lysimachia*, which might have kept the consul in action a year longer; and, by another indiscretion, suffered the *Scipios* to pass the *Hellespont* without opposition. This was the first time that the *Romans* got footing in *Asia*, which so alarmed *Antiochus*, that he offered to quit all places in *Europe*, and such in *Asia* as were friends to the *Romans*, to pay half the charges of this war, and even to give up part of his own kingdom, if that was insisted on. But these proposals, though backed with the offer of releasing without ransom the son of *Africanus*, who had been taken prisoner, were rejected. Upon which, *Antiochus* prepared for a battle. *Africanus* fell sick just at this time; but his brother, who gained by this expedition the surname of *Asiaticus*, engaged *Antiochus*, whose forces amounted to seventy thousand foot, and twelve thousand horse, and totally defeated him. He was now desirous to make peace with the *Romans* on any terms, and accordingly sent ambassadors to *Africanus*, who told them, that the *Romans* were never wont to insult over their conquered enemies, and therefore nothing should be required of him more than formerly. The terms were, to pay fifteen thousand talents of *Eubœa* for the expence of the war; to quit all their possessions in *Europe*, and likewise all *Asia* on this side of *Mount Taurus*; *Antiochus* totally defeated.

Taurus; to deliver up *Hannibal* and other incendiaries, and to give twenty hoſtages for ſecuring the peace.

Year of *Rome* 565. *Manlius*, one of the conſuls for the next year, chaſtiſed the *Ætolians* for their late behaviour in *Greece*, and, ſoon after, undertook an expedition againſt the *Gallo-Gracians*, or *Gallatians*, in *Aſia*, in which he was ſucceſsful. The return of his army firſt brought into *Rome* the luxury and idleneſs of the *Aſiatics*. The number of free citizens ceſſed this year was 258,328.

Scipio Africanus maliciouſly accuſed

In the third year after the ending of the war with *Antiochus*, *Scipio Africanus* was maliciouſly accuſed of defrauding the treaſury of the booty taken in the war, and of too cloſe a correſpondence with *Antiochus*, together with ſome other matters of the like nature. A day was fixed for him to anſwer this charge before the people. The time appointed being come, and the tribunes having taken their places in the *roſtra*, *Scipio* entered the aſſembly, with a mighty train of friends and clients, all the people having their eyes fixed upon him with admiration. Silence being made, he, with an undaunted bravery, put on his triumphal crown, and, with the voice of a conqueror, cried, *This very day, O* Romans, *I overcame the fierce* Hannibal, *and vanquiſhed the powerful* Carthaginians. *Let us therefore lay aſide private conteſts, and go to the capitol, to thank the gods for giving me the power of doing my country ſo great a ſervice.* At theſe words he walked on to the capitol; the whole aſſembly followed him, and left the tribunes alone, who from accuſers were now become admirers.

Shortly after, the ſenate accuſed him in the ſenate-houſe, and deſired he might be brought to his anſwer. *Scipio*, boldly riſing up, produced his books and accounts, and tore them in pieces before them all, diſdaining to give an account for ſo ſmall a matter, in compariſon of the vaſt ſums he had brought into the treaſury. Another day was appointed for his trial, when his brother appearing, declared that he was indiſpoſed, and could not attend. A third day was thereupon fixed, before which time he withdrew to *Linternum*, a ſea town of *Campania*, and there lived a private life. In his abſence the tribunes were very violent againſt him; but through the interpoſition of *Gracchus*, who was one of them, he was not condemned. His brother *Aſiaticus* was ſhortly after called to an account about matters of the ſame nature, and likewiſe eſcaped public puniſhment by *Gracchus*'s means. *Scipio Africanus* died about three years after, and, in the ſame year, died alſo *Hannibal*, who, after wandering from place to place, to avoid falling into the hands of the *Romans*, at laſt fled to *Pruſias*, king of *Bithynia*, who, out of fear, was about delivering him up, when *Hannibal* took poiſon, which, it is ſaid, he carried about him in his ring, firſt invoking the gods of hoſpitality,

Scipio Aſiaticus likewiſe accuſed.

Year of *Rome* 571.

Death of *Hannibal.*

as

as witneſſes of the violated faith of king *Pruſias*, and upbraiding the preſent *Romans* with degenerating from their anceſtors, who had honourably prevented the murther of their mortal enemy *Pyrrhus*; whereas theſe had baſely ſent to *Pruſias* to murder his gueſt and friend.

For about twelve years after this, the *Romans* were chiefly employed in wars with their neighbours, the *Ligurians* and *Illyrians*, and likewiſe with the *Sardinians* and *Corſicans*, and the *Celtiberians* in *Spain*, all which they reduced to ſubjection. About this time were found the works of *Numa Pompilius*, the ſecond king of *Rome*, after they had been buried in a ſtone cheſt 535 years. They were burnt by order of the ſenate. The number of free citizens of *Rome* amounted now to 293,244. Year of *Rome* 583. Works of *Numa Pompilius* found.

About two years after this, *Perſeus*, king of *Macedon*, the ſon of *Philip*, emboldened by the great preparations his father had made before his death, renounced the league made with the *Romans*, and began the ſecond *Macedonian* war, twenty-five years after the finiſhing of the firſt, and eighteen years after that with *Antiochus*. *Quintus Marcius* and others were thereupon ſent into *Greece*, to ſecure the confederates in their fidelity. *Perſeus* then repenting what he had done, applied to *Marcius* about a treaty for peace, relying upon the ancient friendſhip between their two families. The ambaſſadors, to divert him from action, politicly granted him a truce till they could ſend to *Rome*; for had he began the war juſt then, he would have taken the *Romans* at a great diſadvantage, they having neither army nor commander yet arrived in *Greece*. Second *Macedonian* war.

The ſenate denied him peace, and the conſul *Attilius* was ſent to ſeize upon *Bariſſa*, the chief city of *Theſſaly*. *Perſeus* thereupon aſſembled a more numerous army than any of his predeceſſors had had ſince *Alexander the Great*. The conſul *Licinius* led ſuch raw undiſciplined troops into *Macedonia*, and through ſuch difficult and almoſt impaſſable places, that had *Perſeus* made his advantage of this opportunity, he might eaſily have deſtroyed them. Inſtead of this, he ſent to *Licinius*, offering to ſubmit on the ſame terms as his father *Philip* had done: but this propoſal was alſo rejected. Soon after the prætor *Lucretius* took *Thebes* and *Aleurtus*, and the conſul poſſeſſed himſelf of ſome towns, and then went into winter quarters; whilſt *Appius Claudius* loſt many men in *Illyricum*. The next year, the conſul *Hoſtilius*, who ſucceeded to this command, did little more than bring his men to that ancient diſcipline which his predeceſſor had too much neglected. *Perſeus* might have taken great advantage of the inexperience of the next commander, *Marcius Philippus*, but, ſtruck with a groundleſs panic, he retreated to *Pydna*, and left all the paſſes open to him. *Æmilius Paulus*, who had been conſul ſeventeen years before, ſucceeded *Marcius*, and came to a battle with the *Macedonians*, in

Perſeus totally defeated, and driven from his kingdom.

in which *Perſeus* loſt the day, and with it his kingdom. He fled to the iſle of *Crete*, where, being abandoned by all, he ſurrendered himſelf into the hands of *Cn. Octavius*. *Æmilius* ſeverely chaſtiſed the *Epirots*, who had joined with *Perſeus*, plundering and demoliſhing about ſeventy of their towns. This booty was ſo great, that the ſhare of each foot ſoldier amounted to upwards of ſeven pounds ſterling, and that of the horſe to twice as much. The troops got little or no plunder in *Macedonia*, nor any of the king's treaſure, for which reaſon they denied their general a triumph, which he, however obtained, and that a more ſplendid one than *Rome* had ſcarce ever ſeen before. *Perſeus* and his two ſons being led before his triumphal chariot. *Cn. Octavius*, who commanded the *Roman* fleet, triumphed alſo this year; as did likewiſe *L. Anicius*, before whoſe chariot was led *Gentius*, king of the *Illyrians*, who had been a confederate with *Perſeus*. Thus ended the ſecond *Macedonian* war in three years time, and with it the kingdom of *Macedon*, one hundred and fifty-ſix years after the death of *Alexander the Great*. This conqueſt brought* two hundred millions of ſeſterces into the treaſury.

End of the ſecond *Macedonian* war, and of the kingdom of *Macedon*.

Year of *Rome* 586. The *Romans* had now attained ſuch a height of grandeur, that many kings and potentates became voluntary ſuppliants to the ſenate, and begged their friendſhip and protection. Learning too flouriſhed among them more than ever, being greatly promoted by their intercourſe with the *Greeks*, whom they had lately conquered, and much encouraged by *Scipio* and *Lælius*, two noble patrons of eloquence, poetry, and the arts. In this time flouriſhed the famous comedian *Terence*, whoſe writings helped greatly to perfect the *Roman* tongue. His firſt play was acted about a year after the conqueſt of *Macedonia*. With the learning, riches, and dominions of *Rome*, were likewiſe increaſed the number of its inhabitants, which now amounted to 312,081 free citizens. For ſeventeen or eighteen years after this, the *Romans* were employed in quelling revolts and inſurrections among the *Ligurians*, *Corſicans*, *Dalmatians*, *Spaniards*, and *Macedonians*; but none of theſe wars were of ſufficient conſequence to merit a particular detail.

Year of *Rome* 604. Soon after they were over, the *Romans* began the third *Punic* war, under pretence of the *Carthaginians* being in arms againſt *Maſſaniſſa*, a *Roman* ally, though they had ſufficient juſtce on their ſide. The *Roman* ambaſſadors who were ſent to *Carthage*, finding that city very rich and flouriſhing, (the effect of fifty years peace) at their return, inſiſted much on the danger which threatened *Rome* from that ſtate. *Cato*, in particular, on whatever buſineſs he ſpoke in the ſenate, always ended his ſpeech with ſaying, *Delenda*

The third *Punic* war.

* Vell. Paterc.

eſt

eſt Carthago; *Carthage muſt be deſtroyed.* In this he was often oppoſed by *Scipio Naſica*, who juſtly foretold, that upon the removal of ſo powerful a rival, ſecurity would cauſe the ruin and diſſolution of the *Roman* commonwealth. *Cato*'s reaſons, however, prevailed, and both the conſuls were ſent with orders to deſtroy *Carthage*. The *Carthaginians*, affrighted at the preparations of the *Romans*, immediately condemned thoſe who had broken the league, and humbly offered any reaſonable ſatisfaction. Anſwer was returned, that they ſhould enjoy all as formerly, provided they ſent three hundred hoſtages of the chief of the city within thirty days to *Sicily*, and did what the conſuls ſhould farther command them. The hoſtages were ſent within the limited time; and on the arrival of the conſuls at *Utica*, the *Carthaginians* ſent deputies to wait upon them, and know their pleaſure. The conſul *Cenſorinus* demanded all their arms, which were delivered up, without any fraud. They then, with tears and all poſſible ſubmiſſion, begged for mercy, and deſired to know their laſt doom. The conſuls told them, that they were commanded to leave their city, which they had orders to level with the ground; and that they might build another any where elſe in their own territories, but not within leſs than ten miles of the ſea. This ſevere command was received with all the concern and rage of a deſpairing people; and the *Carthaginians* reſolved to ſuffer the greateſt extremities, rather than abandon their ancient habitation.

The conſuls were in no hurry to begin the war, not doubting but they ſhould eaſily become maſters of the city, defenceleſs as it now was. But they found it otherwiſe; for the inhabitants, both men and women, worked night and day to make arms; and where iron and braſs were wanting, they made uſe of gold and ſilver; and the women cut off the hair of their heads, to ſupply the place of tow or flax. *Aſdrubal*, who had lately been condemned, was now made their general and governor of the city, where he had already a good army. The conſuls were repulſed ſeveral times with loſs, which would probably have been much greater, had not *Scipio Æmilius* found means to gain over *Pharneas*, who commanded the *Carthaginian* horſe. *Maſſaniſſa* died this year, at the age of ninety, leaving his kingdom and a young ſon to *Scipio*'s care; and the ſame year *Cato* died at *Rome* in the eighty-fifth year of his age.

The conſuls did but little the following year, for they only inveſted *Clupea* and *Hippo*, without taking either of them. But at *Rome* the eyes of all were fixed upon *Scipio*, who was looked upon as deſtined to end the war; and whereas he ſought only for the ædileſhip, the people gave him the conſulſhip, diſpenſing with his age and other uſual qualifications. *Scipio* ſoon let them know that their honours were not ill beſtowed; for having reſtored diſcipline, which had been

been too much neglected by the late conſuls, he ſoon took that part of *Carthage* called *Megara*, and drove the inhabitants into the citadel, or *Byrſa*. Then ſecuring the iſthmus which led to the city, he cut off all ſupplies of proviſions from the country, and blocked up the haven. But the beſieged, with incredible induſtry, cut out a new paſſage into the ſea, by which they could, at certain times, receive neceſſaries from the army without. *Scipio* therefore, in the beginning of the winter, attacked that army, of which he killed ſeventy thouſand, and took ten thouſand priſoners. The beſieged, now deprived of all aſſiſtance from abroad, were by this means reduced to the utmoſt diſtreſs. In the beginning of the next ſpring, he took, with prodigious ſlaughter of the beſieged, all the city, except the citadel, which ſtill held out ſome time longer, but at laſt ſurrendered, on condition that the lives of all ſhould be ſpared, the authors of the revolt excepted. Upwards of fifty thouſand laid down their arms, and were ſaved. *Aſdrubal*, ſoon after, did the ſame, for which he was much reviled by the revolters, who, finding their condition deſperate, ſet fire to the temple, and burnt themſelves with it. *Aſdrubal*'s wife too, in her rage, threw herſelf and two children into the midſt of the flames. This magnificent city, which was twenty-four miles in compaſs, continued burning ſeventeen days, at the end of which it was totally reduced to aſhes. The *Roman* ſenate received this news with extraordinary joy, and ſent ſome of their own order to aſſiſt Scipio in diſpoſing of the country. Heavy curſes were denounced againſt whoever ſhould attempt to rebuild *Carthage*. All the cities which had aſſiſted in this war were ordered to be demoliſhed, and the lands given to the friends of the *Roman* people; and the reſt of the towns were to be tributaries, and governed yearly by a prætor, appointed for that purpoſe. All the captives were ſold, except ſome of the principal. Such was the fatal end of one of the moſt renowned cities in the world, ſeven hundred and eight years after it was firſt built, and upwards of one hundred years after it had been the rival of *Rome*; and thus alſo ended the third and laſt *Carthaginian* war, in the fourth year after it began, to the great increaſe of the dominions, power, and riches of the *Roman* ſtate. This *Scipio*, like the former, was honoured with the ſurname of *Africanus*.

Carthage taken and deſtroyed.

Year of *Rome* 608.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

From the Deſtruction of Carthage *to the Battle of* Actium, *when the* Roman Republic *was changed into a* Monarchy.

THE year in which *Carthage* was deſtroyed, proved equally fatal to *Corinth*, one of the nobleſt cities in *Greece*. The *Achaians* had not only affronted the *Roman* ambaſſadors that were ſent to diſſolve the confederacy of the ſtates of *Greece*, and leave the cities of that country to the government of their own peculiar laws, but likewiſe joined with others in a war againſt the *Lacedæmonians*, who were allies of *Rome*. For theſe reaſons the ſenate decreed war againſt them, and *Metellus*, then in *Macedonia*, was ordered to manage it. Accordingly, he drew down his army thro' *Theſſaly* into *Bœotia*, overthrew *Critolaus*, and took *Thebes* and *Megara*. For theſe exploits he was ſurnamed *Macedonicus*. The conſul *Mummius*, who ſucceeded him in his command, defeated the *Achaian* general *Dieus*, and took *Corinth*, which he levelled with the ground, becauſe that was the place were the ambaſſadors had been affronted. Purſuing his advantage, he reduced all *Greece* and *Epirus* into the form of a province, afterwards called by the general name of *Achaia*; and by his ſucceſs he obtained the ſurname of *Achaicus*. *Corinth* demoliſhed.

It was now ſeventy-four years ſince the *Romans* firſt invaded *Spain*, where many ſtruggles had been made, eſpecially ſince the departure of the elder *Scipio Africanus*. *Viriatus*, who from a ſhepherd became a robber, and from a robber a general of a numerous party of men like himſelf, now gave them full employment. *Fabius*, the brother of *Scipio* the younger, was reduced to ſuch extremities, that he was forced to accept of peace on equal terms, which *Cæpio*, one of the conſuls for the following year, refuſed to ſtand to, having received new orders from the ſenate to proſecute the war. *Cæpio* attempted to deſtroy *Viriatus* by ſurpriſe; but he eſcaped, and ſoon after ſent ambaſſadors to treat of a peace. *Cæpio* ſo wrought upon the ambaſſadors, that, to their ſhame, and his great diſhonour, they murdered *Viriatus* in his bed at their return. But the moſt difficult part of this war was at *Numantia*, a town of *Gallæcia*, of no great bigneſs, but inhabited by people of extraordinary valour. Before *Viriatus*'s death, they had foiled *Q. Pompeius* the conſul ſeveral times, and likewiſe his ſucceſſor *Marcianus*. Both of theſe had been obliged to make diſhonourable treaties with them; but pretences were afterwards found to break them, Year of *Rome* 609. Affairs of the *Romans* in *Spain*.

them, and *Marcianus* was delivered up to the enemy. After this, *Brutus* defeated many thousands of the *Lusitanians*, and overthrew the *Gallæcians*: but the proconsul *Lepidus*, attacking the *Vaccæi*, a harmless and quiet people of the hithermost *Spain*, was intirely defeated by them.

Scipio lays siege to *Numantia* the inhabitants of which burn their city and themselves.

The *Romans*, disheartened by these misfortunes, chose *Scipio Africanus* consul a second time, looking upon him as the chief hope and bulwark of their country. His first care was to restore discipline, to the want of which the late bad success of the *Romans* had been owing: but when he came to engage, he found the courage of the enemy so extraordinary, that he resolved to avoid fighting, and to lay close siege to *Numantia*,. The besieged were at last so straitened, that they offered to yield upon reasonable terms, or to fight, if they might have battle given them, notwithstanding the great inequality of their numbers. But neither of these being allowed them, they sallied out upon the besiegers with such desperate fury, that the *Romans* must have been defeated, had any other general but *Scipio* commanded them. The *Numantians*, finding it impossible to resist any longer, rather than be taken prisoners, burnt their city and themselves, so that scarce a man remained to grace the victor's triumph. This city, with only four thousand men, had, for fourteen years together, withstood the efforts of forty thousand *Romans*, and often put them to great loss and shame. It held out fifteen months against *Scipio*.

The *Romans* now began daily to degenerate from their ancient modesty, plainness, and severity of life; addicting themselves more and more to pleasure and luxury; for the *Asiatic* expeditions and triumphs having brought in excess and riot, and the ruin of *Carthage* taken away all fear; idleness and security, as well as avarice and ambition, by degrees stole in upon them, and almost a general corruption began to mix with the state. For though after this time many a powerful people were subdued, arts and learning daily increased and flourished, and great glory was obtained abroad; yet it was often stained and sullied with inglorious factions, seditious jealousies, and contentions at home, sometimes to the shedding of one another's blood, of which that of *Tiberius Gracchus* was the first remarkable instance.

T. Gracchus endeavours to make himself popular.

This person, who was the elder *Africanus*'s grandson, and of a stirring and active spirit, had a share in *Mancinus*'s dishonourable treaty in *Spain*, for which being reflected on by the senate, who, not without injustice, had broke it, and being therefore both ashamed and affrighted, he endeavoured to make himself popular, by restraining the unjust oppressions of the nobility, which were now far more notorious than formerly. To this end, procuring himself to be elected tribune, he preferred a law, forbidding any man to possess above five hundred acres of the public lands, and ordering the overplus to be divided among the poor. For it was

customary

cuſtomary for the *Romans* to divide thoſe lands which were taken from their enemies among their own citizens, if arable; if not, the cenſors farmed them out to the other inhabitants of *Italy*, or to the common ſort of *Romans*, upon condition, that if they plowed them, they ſhould pay the tenth part of the corn, and the fifth of other fruits; but if they did not plow them, they paid a certain rent. But corruptions daily increaſing in the ſtate, the poor huſbandmen were, by degrees, thruſt out of their poſſeſſions by the rich, who, by purchaſing and other methods, got all thoſe lands into their own hands; ſo that the public was defrauded of its revenues, and the poor of their livelihood.

A new triumvirate appointed to examine into the diſtribution of lands.

Gracchus inſiſted ſtrongly on the immediate reformation of theſe infamous abuſes, and to that end procured the *Licinian* law to be inforced by an additional clauſe, purporting, that one half ſhould be given to the children, and the reſt divided among ſuch poor as had nothing. And leſt any ſhould go about to enlarge their portions by purchaſe, a yearly triumvirate was appointed to judge what lands were public, and what private. Theſe matters, though at firſt carried on with ſufficient moderation, greatly diſguſted the nobility and richer ſort, who, by virtue of this law, were to part with much of their eſtates; and for that reaſon they frequently inſinuated to the people, *That* Gracchus *had introduced this law with a deſign only to diſturb the government, and to put all things into confuſion.* But *Gracchus*, who had great abilities and eloquence, eaſily wiped off theſe aſperſions, and wrought the people into a rage againſt the nobles. *Octavius*, one of his collegues, oppoſed his proceeding with much heat and violence; but *Gracchus* managed him ſo, that he forced him to quit his office, and then put in his place *Mummius*, one of his own faction. This action of his, being without all precedent, much alienated the minds of many of the multitude; and even his own party thought he uſed too great a freedom with the ſacred office of the tribuneſhip. *Gracchus* perceiving this, firſt made a very plauſible defence; and then, the more to ingratiate himſelf with the people, offered to prefer a law for diſtributing the money which *Attalus*, king of *Pergamus*, had lately left, together with his kingdom, to the people of *Rome*. This cauſed greater diſturbances among the ſenate and nobility than before, and all things were carried on with more violent feuds than ever; ſo that *Gracchus*'s death began to be thought the ſureſt means to quiet all diſturbances.

The ſenate met to conſider what was beſt to be done; and all were of opinion, that *Mutius Scævola*, the conſul, ſhould defend the commonwealth by arms: but he refuſed to do any thing by force. Whereupon *Scipio Naſica*, *Gracchus*'s kinſman, cried out in a great paſſion, "*Since the conſul regards not the ſafety of the commonwealth, let every man that will defend the dignity and authority of the laws, follow me!* Up-

on this, he went directly up to the capitol, being accompanied by moſt of the ſenate, many knights, and ſome plebeians, armed with clubs, ſtaves, and ſuch like weapons, with which, after opening the way to *Gracchus*, who was then haranguing the people, and endeavouring to be choſen tribune for the following year, they killed him and three hundred of his hearers. This was the firſt inſurrection among the *Romans* that ended with effuſion of blood, ſince the abolition of the kingly government. All former ſeditions, tho' many of them were very great and laſting, were conſtantly ended by one of the parties yielding to the other, and ſubmitting all to the good of the public; for then riches and private intereſt were unknown to the *Romans*. About four years after the death of *Gracchus*, three hundred and thirty thouſand, eight hundred and twenty-three free citizens were ceſſed.

The elder *Gracchus* killed.

Year of *Rome* 625.

The civil diſſentions occaſioned by *Gracchus* did not die with him; his law for the diviſion of the lands being ſtill in force, and the people extremely fond of it. He had a younger brother, called *Caius*, who, with *Flaccus* and *Papirius*, compoſed the triumvirate for dividing the grounds; in which they proceeded with great vigour, but met with inſurmountable difficulties. *Caius* afterwards obtained the tribuneſhip, which gave him a fair opportunity to ſhew his enmity to the ſenate. He preferred ſeveral laws; among the reſt, one for diſtributing the public corn to every man monthly. Then procuring his office to be continued to him another year, he began to inſpect ſtrictly into the late corruptions of the ſenate; ſuch as their taking bribes, ſelling of offices, and ſuch like unjuſt proceedings; by which he found means to transfer the power of judging corrupt officers, from the ſenators to the knights; which gave the latter an extraordinary authority, and made a great alteration in the whole government, by the addition of this new order, which, though inſtituted by *Romulus*, and originally a part of the commonwealth, had no particular authority before, but had always been included among the plebeians, being diſtinguiſhed only by their way of ſervice. By this law of *Gracchus*, it was enacted, that the judging of corrupt officers ſhould be peculiar to them. The power of theſe knights became extremely burthenſome to the ſtate, till, by degrees, their authority was diminiſhed. The knights alone were wont to farm the public revenues and cuſtoms from the cenſors, and from thence they were called *Publicans*. Theſe were the principal of the equeſtrian order, the ornaments of the city, and the ſtrength of the ſtate, who made up ſo many companies as there were provinces ſubject to the payment of toll, tribute, cuſtom, or impoſt.

Knights made judges of corrupt officers.

Publicans.

Caius, having been twice tribune, ſtood for it a third time, and had many votes: but his collegues, offend at his violent carriage at this time, procured *Minutius Rufus* to be choſen

choſen into his place; who began to abrogate many of his laws; wherein he was ſeconded by the conſul *Opimius*, who was a profeſſed enemy to *Caius*, and endeavoured to find ſome plauſible pretence to put him to death. Upon this, *Caius*, at the inſtigation of his friends, eſpecially *Fulvius*, reſolved to raiſe forces, and at an aſſembly in the capitol, he and his friends went thither privately armed. One *Antilius*, a ſerjeant, coming down from the capitol, cried out to *Fulvius* and his friends, *Ye factious citizens, make way for honeſt men!* whereupon they immediately ſlew him. This murder cauſed a great diſturbance in the aſſembly. *Caius* was very angry with thoſe of his party for giving his enemies ſo much advantage againſt him, and endeavoured to excuſe himſelf, but could not be heard by reaſon of the tumult. He therefore retired home with his friends and confederates. The conſul kept ſtrict watch all night in the city, and the next day *Antilius*'s corpſe was expoſed to open view juſt before the ſenate-houſe, in order to ſtir up the people to revenge. The ſenate inveſted *Opimus* with an extraordinary power, and all the knights were ordered to be in arms. *Caius* and his friends then betook themſelves to Mount *Aventine*, offering liberty to all ſlaves that ſhould join them. The conſul, on the other hand, proclaimed, that whoever ſhould bring the head either of *Caius* or *Fulvius*, ſhould receive its weight in gold for a reward. *Caius*, finding that it would be impoſſible for him to make any long defence, fled to a grove beyond the *Tiber*, where he made his ſervant kill him. The ſervant immediately after killed himſelf, and fell down dead upon his maſter. One *Septimuleius* carried his head to *Opimius*; and, it is ſaid, that, to make it weigh the heavier, he took out the brains and filled the ſkull with lead. *Fulvius* flying to a friend's houſe, was betrayed and ſlain. Death of the younger *Gracchus*. Year of *Rome* 631.

The *Gracchi* had ſo far changed the conſtitution of the commonwealth, and the public peace was now ſo far broken, particularly by the diſunion of patriots and clients, that the *Roman* ſtate became very unſettled, and more than ever liable to any new revolution; and, though reformation might be their deſign, yet it might well be feared that ruin would be the conſequence of ſuch diſturbances in a ſtate now ſo corrupted by the greatneſs of its power and riches.

Soon after the death of *Caius Gracchus*, a law was made, permitting the ſelling of land, which the elder *Gracchus* had forbidden. By this means, the poor, partly by purchaſe, and partly by conſtraint, were again diſpoſſeſſed. After this, the law for the diviſion of lands was intirely repealed by *Borcus*, and the grounds left to their antient owners, charged with the payment of a certain ſum to the people. But not long after, that payment was likewiſe ſet aſide, ſo that the poor had nothing left.

During theſe domeſtic troubles, the *Romans* were engaged in a war with the *Allobrogi*, a people inhabiting about the Year of *Rome* 634.

The war with the *Allobrogi*.

countries now called *Dauphiny* and *Savoy*, who had invaded the *Hedui*, allies of *Rome*, and had drawn the *Averni* into their confederacy. The *Allobrogi* were firſt overthrown by *Domitius Ænobarbus*; and after him, *Fabius Maximus*, grandſon to *Paulus Æmilius*, and adopted into the *Fabian* family, defeated them, together with the *Averni* and *Ruteni*, and took one of their kings priſoner; for which he obtained the ſurname of *Allobrogicus*. About this time, *Gallia Narbonenſis* was reduced into a *Roman* province. Not long after, the *Scordici*, a people inhabiting *Thrace*, defeated the *Roman* army under the conſul *Cato*; but were afterwards driven back to their own country by the prætor *Didius* and the conſul *Druſus*: and after this they afforded a glorious triumph to *Minutius* and *Metellus*. The number of free citizens at the end of this war amounted to 394,336.

Year of *Rome* 536.

Gallia Narbonenſis reduced to a *Roman* province.

Year of *Rome* 643.

The *Jugurthine* war.

The great war in *Numidia*, called the *Jugurthine* war, began ſoon after. *Jugurtha*, grandſon to *Maſſaniſſa*, murdered his couſin *Hiemſal* to get his kingdom; and attempted to do the ſame to his brother *Adherbal*: but this laſt made his eſcape, and fled to *Rome* for ſuccour. *Jugurtha*, being ſenſible how much avarice and injuſtice had crept into *Rome*, ſent ambaſſadors with large preſents; which had ſuch an effect upon the ſenate, that they decreed him half the kingdom, and ſent ten commiſſioners to divide it between him and *Adherbal*. The commiſſioners thinking they might lawfully imitate their maſters in the ſenate, were alſo bribed to give the richeſt and moſt populous part to *Jugurtha*: but he, not yet ſatisfied, fell ſuddenly upon *Adherbal*, and getting him into his hands murdered him. For this, war was declared againſt *Jugurtha*, and committed to the management of the conſul *Calpurnius Beſtia*, who invaded *Numidia*, and took ſome towns: but the golden weapons of *Jugurtha* ſtopped his career; and a treaty of peace was ſoon ſet on foot. *Scaurus*, who accompanied the conſul as his friend and counſellor, was likewiſe guilty of the ſame crime. Upon this, the people ſent the prætor *Caſſius Longinus* to *Jugurtha*, to perſuade him to come to *Rome* upon the public faith of the ſtate; in hopes of diſcovering, by that means, thoſe who had been guilty of taking bribes.

Jugurtha was eaſily perſuaded to make trial of the clemency of *Rome*, and to throw himſelf upon the mercy of the people. Accordingly he came to *Rome*, in a habit of deep mourning: but the moment he appeared in the aſſembly, the tribune, *Bebius*, who had alſo been bribed to defer the buſineſs and delude the people, bad him hold his peace. At the ſame time, one *Maſſina*, a couſin of *Jugurtha*'s, who had formerly fled from *Africa* to *Rome*, was perſuaded, by the conſul *Albinus*, to beg the kingdom of *Numidia* of the ſenate: but *Jugurtha* having intelligence of the deſign, procured him to be aſſaſſinated, and conveyed the murderer away to *Numidia*. *Jugurtha* was thereupon ordered to depart. When he

he was out of the city, he lifted up his hands and cried, *O* Rome, *that would'ſt thyſelf be ſold, were there but a chapman for thee!* ſo extremely were the inhabitants degenerated. *Albinus* followed him with an army, which, after ſtaying with it ſome time, he left with his brother *Aulus*, who, by virtue of ſome compact, withdrew from *Suthul*, where the chief treaſure of the kingdom lay, when he was juſt upon the point of inveſting it. The centurions likewiſe were ſo corrupted, that, when *Albinus* returned, *Jugurtha* was ſuffered to break into the camp, from whence he beat out the army, and, either by force, or by former agreement, brought *Albinus* to ſubmit upon moſt diſhonourable terms.

The conſul *Metellus*, who found affairs in this wretched condition, and the whole army almoſt ruined for want of diſcipline, brought his ſoldiers into ſuch order, that, in two years he overthrew *Jugurtha* ſeveral times, and forced him to ſubmit and beg for peace. But he ſoon broke it, and hoſtilities were again renewed. *Metellus*'s lieutenant at this time was *C. Marius*, a man of frugality, policy, courage, and experience in war; a contemner of pleaſure, but very ambitious of honour; which made him extremely deſirous to obtain the conſulſhip. To this end, he privately blamed *Metellus* to the people of *Utica*, ſaying, *That he could take* Jugurtha *priſoner in a few days with half the army.* Complaints were hereupon ſent to *Rome* againſt *Metellus*; and *Caius*, getting leave to go thither, obtained the conſulſhip and the management of the war, of which he ſoon ſhewed himſelf very capable, by taking, in a ſhort time, *Capſa*, a very rich and ſtrong city; and after that another, called *Mulucha*; by which *Jugurtha* was ſo reduced, that he was forced to have recourſe to his father-in-law *Bocchus*, king of *Mauritania*, who joined him with his numerous cavalry. *Marius* had inveſted *Cirta* when *Bocchus* approached with, it is ſaid, ſixty thouſand horſe. A battle enſued, in which, after three days obſtinate fight, the two kings were entirely defeated. Another battle, in which *Marius* is ſaid to have killed ninety thouſand of the enemy, made *Bocchus* begin to repent of his enterprize. He ſent to *Rome* to enter into a league; but all he could obtain was pardon for his crime. Not long after, *Marius* ſurpriſed *Jugurtha* in an ambuſcade, took him priſoner, and delivered him up to his quæſtor, *Sylla*, who had brought him a reinforcement from *Italy*; and who learned under him that ſkill in war which he afterwards employed againſt him. *Jugurtha*, and his two ſons, were led in triumph by *Marius*; ſoon after which he was put to death by order of the ſenate.

Marius defeats the *Numidians* and *Mauritanians*, and takes *Jugurtha* priſoner.

While this war was carrying on in *Africa*, the *Cimbri*, a vagabond people of *Cimbrica Cherſoneſus*, now called *Denmark*, joining with the *Teutones*, a nation of *Germany*, made dreadful irruptions into ſeveral parts of the *Roman* dominions; particularly,

War with the *Cimbri*.

particularly *Gaul* and *Spain*; where they overthrew ſeveral conſuls, and in the laſt battle killed eighty thouſand *Romans*; after which they reſolved to paſs the *Alps* into *Italy*. *Rome* began now to be in great conſternation; and *Marius*, who had juſt vanquiſhed *Jugurtha*, was made conſul a ſecond time, as the only man thought able to manage ſo perilous a war, and to preſerve the ſtate. While they continued in *Spain*, *Marius* marched againſt their friends, the *Toloſons*, in *Gaul*; where his lieutenant, *Sylla*, took their king, *Copilus*, priſoner. Being made conſul again the following year, he declined fighting till the enemy's force was weakened by delays. The next year, in his fourth conſulſhip, juſt as the *Teutones* and *Ambrones* were preparing to paſs the *Alps*, he fell upon, and entirely deſtroyed them, taking their king, *Theutobocchus*, priſoner. The *Cimbri* eſcaped him, and fled over the *Alps*, though it was winter and they were covered with ſnow; and, notwithſtanding they were oppoſed by *Catulus*, both at the *Alps*, and at the river *Athеſis*, near *Verona*. The year following, *Marius*, being again conſul, joining with *Catulus*, gave them a moſt dreadful overthrow. Their wives, while the battle laſted, made a wonderful reſiſtance from the chariots; but when they ſaw it loſt, their fury was ſuch that they killed, firſt, all their children, and then themſelves. This battle, in which one hundred and forty thouſand were ſlain, and ſixty thouſand taken priſoners, ended this war, after it had laſted twelve years. About this time flouriſhed the famous *Lucretius*, who, as a poet, is thought not at all inferior to *Virgil*.

Some years paſſed without any great action abroad, or open ſedition at home; though there was great diſſatisfaction among thoſe of the ſenatorial order, on account of the power of judicature given to the knights by *C. Gracchus*'s law. The commonwealth too was bought and ſold; the publicans, who farmed the public revenues, being knights; and therefore both judges and parties. The tribune, *Druſus*, a

Druſus propoſes a reformation,

ſenſible well-meaning man, endeavoured to reſtore the ſenators to their antient privileges and authority, and at the ſame time not to offend the knights. He propoſed, *That the ſenate, which was now reduced to a ſmall number, ſhould be filled up out of the knights; and, that the power of judicature ſhould be committed equally to all that ſhould be then of that body.*

but is oppoſed,

This gave offence to both parties; and *Cæpio*, one of *Druſus*'s colleagues, oppoſed him; and coming into the ſenate, there accuſed ſome of the higheſt rank of illegal endeavours to gain offices. *Druſus*, ſeeing his deſign, again propoſed the *Agrarian* law; and, that the allies and confederates of *Italy* might not take it amiſs, he gave them hopes of the freedom of the city. A great concourſe of ſtrangers were aſſembled; one of whom ſtruck the conſul, *Philippus*, for oppoſing the law for dividing the lands; and violent diſputes enſued. *Dru-*

ſus,

ſus, diſappointed in this particular, ſtill endeavoured to perform his promiſe to the *Italians*; but going home, accompanied by a great multitude of people, he was ſtabbed in the court of his own houſe, and dropped down, having only time to ſay, *That the commonwealth could never find a perſon more true to her intereſt than he.* and murdered.

Theſe troubles did not end with *Druſus*'s death; for ſoon after a very dangerous war broke out on this account with moſt of the *Italians*; (namely, the *Lucanians*, *Apulians*, *Marſi*, *Peligni*, and many others; eſpecially thoſe old enemies of *Rome* the *Samnites*;) called the *Social*, or *Italian*, war. These people, thinking themſelves extremely ill uſed in being denied the freedom of the city, to which their ſervices of every kind entitled them, which had been partly promiſed them in the time of the *Gracchi*, and in endeavouring to obtain which *Druſus* had loſt his life, entered into a cloſe confederacy, and privately ſent meſſages and hoſtages to each other. Theſe tranſactions being diſcovered, and the city of *Aſculum*, in particular, being detected in ſending an hoſtage to another city, the proconſul *Servilius* went to *Aſculum*, to reprimand the inhabitants of that place: but they, inſtead of hearing him, killed him and all the *Romans* that were there. Their deſign being now diſcovered, they broke out into an open rebellion. The war was committed to both the conſuls, together with *Marius* and *Sylla*, and ſeveral others who had proconſular authority; and the forces on each ſide amounted to about an hundred thouſand fighting men. This war was very dangerous and deſtructive: the conſul *Rutilius* ſoon loſt his life in it; and the *Romans* met with ſuch oppoſition, that they were forced to inliſt many who had been ſlaves. The bodies of the conſul, and ſeveral other perſons of note, being carried into the city, ſo diſcouraged the people, that the ſenate made a decree, *That, from thence forward the bodies of the ſlain ſhould be buried where they died*. a prudent regulation, which the enemy alſo followed. By *Rutilius*'s death, the command of the army fell to *Marius* and *Cæpio*; and this laſt being killed ſoon after, *Marius* remained ſole commander in chief. Year of *Rome* 663. The *Social* war.

The following year, *Pompeius Strabo*, father to *Pompey* the Great, and *Porcius Cato*, were made conſuls; and the ſenate gave the freedom of the city to ſuch as had not revolted; which fixed ſuch as were ſtill wavering, and abated the courage of thoſe who had already revolted. They were not, however choſen into any of the thirty-five tribes, but were placed by themſelves, behind all; ſo that in voting they could not hinder the reſt, which afterwards cauſed ſome diſturbance.

The conſul *Cato* did good ſervice this campaign; which ſwelled him with ſuch an opinion of himſelf, that he boaſted himſelf equal to *Marius*; for which the ſon of this laſt killed him in the midſt of a battle againſt the *Marſi*. His collegue

Pompey defeated the *Marsi*, the *Picentes*, and the *Asculani*; and took *Asculum*; the chief officers and principal men of which city he caused first to be scourged and then beheaded. Sylla likewise performed many great actions, defeating the *Samnites* and storming two of their camps: which success so elevated him, that he immediately stood for the consulship, and obtained it. He had also the honour of finishing this dangerous war, near three years after it began: a war so destructive, that it consumed above three hundred thousand of the youth of *Italy**. The conquered *Italians* had the unexpected freedom of the city given them; and all things were happily quieted.

Year of *Rome* 666. The war with *Mithridates.*

But peace and quiet was too great a happiness for *Rome* at this time; for the *Social* war was scarce ended when two others broke out; one the cause of the other. The first was with *Mithridates*, king of *Pontus*; a prince famous for his knowledge, mighty in power and riches, and ambitious beyond all bounds. He had gained the enmity of the *Romans*, by several actions; particularly by making *Tigranes*, king of *Armenia*, declare against the *Roman* state; and by over-running his neighbours, the *Bithynians*, *Phrygians*, *Mysians*, *Lycians*, *Pamphilians*, and other allies of *Rome*; and, which was still more provoking, having taken *Q. Oppius* and *Aquilius*, he killed this last by pouring melted gold down his throat, continually upbraiding the *Romans* with avarice and corruption. Upon these accounts, the *Romans* proclaimed war against him; and *Sylla*, and *Pompeius Rufus*, being consuls, it fell to the share of the former to undertake it. But *Sylla* having not quite finished the *Social* war, *Marius*, excited by the desire either of profit or of honour, persuaded *Sulpicius*, tribune of the people, to prefer a law for transfering the management of this war from *Sylla* to him. He made what parties he could, and drew the people of *Italy* to his side, by promising them equal privileges with those of the thirty-five tribes. Matters were carried on with great violence; and *Pompey*'s son, who was likewise son-in-law to *Sylla*, was killed in these disturbances.

Civil war between *Marius* and *Sylla.*

Sylla, hearing this, hastened to the city, after securing his army, which promised to stand by him at all events. His collegue *Pompey* joined with him; and, though *Marius* and the tribune *Sulpicius* made all possible opposition, they entered the city, and *Marius* and his party were forced to fly. This was the beginning of the other war, which was the first civil war of any note among the *Romans*. *Sylla* did no injury to the citizens in general, but reversed all that *Sulpicius* had done; regulated the senate, and procured *Marius*, *Sulpicius*, and ten other leading men, to be declared enemies to their

* Paterc.

country,

country, with leave to any one to kill them, and ſet their goods up to public ſale. After this, *Sylla* proceeded on his expedition againſt *Mithridates*, who had ſubdued great part of *Greece*. *Sulpicius* was ſoon taken and put to death; but *Marius* hid himſelf in the fens of *Minturnum*, where a *Gaul* that was ſent to kill him was ſo awed by his majeſtic air, that he could not perform his order. *Marius* eſcaped from thence to *Africa*, where he was joined by *Cythegus* and others, who had fled into *Numidia*, to invade their own country. To ſecure *Italy*, *Pompeius Rufus*, the conſul, was appointed to command the army of *Pompeius Strabo*, who had done great ſervices in the *Social* war; and was ſo beloved by his troops, that, rather than loſe their old commander, they killed the new conſul. Thus were the *Romans* involved in dangers and diſturbances on all ſides.

Cornelius Cinna and *C. Octavius* were conſuls for the following year. *Cinna*, corrupted, as ſome think, immediately declared for the new citizens, and recalled *Marius*, with the reſt of the exiles. But his collegue *Octavius* oppoſed theſe meaſures ſo ſtrongly, that *Cinna* was driven from the city, and *Merula* put in his place, *Cinna*, in this fugitive condition, went about to the people of *Italy*, from whom he obtained great ſums of money, by feeding them with freſh hopes of their enjoying equal privileges with the *Romans*; and pretending, that all his ſufferings were for their ſakes. *Marius* came over to him ſhortly after, and they togeteer raiſed a conſiderable army; with part of which *Cinna* marched directly to *Rome*, and ſet down before it; while *Marius*, with the reſt, attacked *Oſtia*, and took it. Soon after, *Cinna* broke up the ſiege of *Rome*, and inveſted *Ariminum*, which he ſtormed. *Marius*, after the taking of *Oſtia*, advanced with his whole army to the hill *Janiculum*, joining to *Rome*; which put the inhabitants into a great conſternation, eſpecially when he was joined by *Cinna*. *Sylla* being at too great a diſtance to be recalled, the conſuls ſent to *Metellus*, who was then at the head of an army in *Samnium*: but he, differing from them about ſome conditions, ſhortly after joined *Marius*; and the city was ſo near being betrayed to them by *Appius Claudius*, a tribune of the army, who was intruſted with the command of the *Janiculum*, that both *Marius* and *Cinna* broke into it: but they were repulſed by *Octavius* and *Pompeius Strabo*.

Cinna and *Marius* lay ſiege to *Rome*.

Marius, after this, took ſeveral towns about *Rome*; and *Cinna*, by promiſes of liberty, drew great numbers of ſlaves out of the city. The ſenate thereupon ſent deputies to *Cinna* and *Marius*, deſiring them to come into the city peaceably, and ſpare their own countrymen. *Cinna* refuſed to admit of any addreſs made to him as a private man; ſo that they were forced to treat with him as conſul: and when they deſired him to ſwear that he would not ſhed any blood, he abſolutely refuſed to take ſuch an oath; but promiſed

The ſenate ſends deputies to them.

miſed, that he would not knowingly and willingly be the cauſe of any man's death. *Marius* ſtood by him, and ſaid nothing; but his looks ſpoke ſufficiently his bloody reſolution. However, the better to diſſemble his rage, he at laſt broke ſilence, and told the deputies, that he was then in exile, and baniſhed his country by courſe of law; that if his preſence was neceſſary, they muſt repeal the former act of his baniſhment by a new decree; that he might be received as a religious obſerver of the laws, and might enter the city free from fear or oppreſſion. Accordingly, the laws for baniſhing *Marius* and his aſſociates were repealed.

Baniſhment of *Marius* repealed.

Upon their entrance into the city, a furious ſlaughter began. The conſul *Octavius*, though he had the oath of *Cinna* and *Marius*, was killed, and his head ſet upon the *roſtra*, together with ſeveral others, and particularly that of *M. Antonius*, who was ſo great an orator, that his eloquence alone defended him a conſiderable time againſt the fury of the ſoldiers. A dreadful maſſacre reigned throughout all *Rome*, and neither age nor dignity was ſpared. All *Sylla*'s friends were ſlaughtered without mercy, his houſe demoliſhed, his goods ſet to ſale, and he himſelf declared an enemy to *Rome*. *Merula* and *Catullus* killed themſelves. *Cinna* and *Marius* proſcribe *Sylla*.

Cinna and *Marius* proſcribe *Sylla*.

Marius, now ſatiated with blood, made themſelves conſuls for the following year; but *Marius* died about a month after, in the ſeventieth year of his age, and within leſs than two years after the breaking out of the civil war. He held the conſulſhip ſeven times, which no one had ever done before.

Death of *Marius*.

During theſe unhappy troubles at home, *Sylla* performed many noble exploits againſt *Mithridates*, who, not long before his arrival, had, in one day, commanded eighty thouſand, ſome ſay an hundred and fifty thouſand, *Romans* and *Italians* in *Aſia* to be murdered in cold blood. *Sylla* firſt overthrew his general *Archelaus* near *Athens*, ſo effectually, that out of one hundred and twenty thouſand men, ſcarce ten thouſand were left. He afterwards gave him another great defeat, recovered *Greece*, *Macedonia*, *Ionia*, *Aſia*, and other countries, which *Mithridates* had poſſeſſed himſelf of, and likewiſe took his fleet from him. *Mithridates* then propoſed a treaty, which *Sylla* was not averſe to, being in want of money, and very deſirous to return to *Italy*, to revenge himſelf of thoſe who had declared him an enemy to *Rome*. The principal articles of the peace were, That *Mithridates* ſhoul pay the charges of the war, and that for the future he ſhould be content with his father's kingdom. This was ratified by theſenate within leſs than three years after the beginning of the war. *Sylla* fined *Aſia* ſeverely for its revolt, and after ſettling things in the beſt manner he could, he returned to *Italy*. He took *Athens* in his way, from whence he carried the famous library of *Apellicon* the *Teian*, in which were moſt of the books of *Ariſtotle* and *Theophraſtus*.

Sylla's exploits againſt *Mithridates*, with whom he concludes a peace.

Soon

Soon after, he wrote to the ſenate at *Rome*, recounting his great ſervices to the ſtate, and how ungratefully he had been uſed by *Marius*'s party; and telling them plainly, that he was coming to revenge both himſelf and the public by puniſhing the authors of thoſe injuries; but that he would ſpare the reſt, whether they were old or new citizens.

The ſenate, dreading his return, as well knowing that it would be fatal to many, and even to ſome who had unwillingly joined with *Marius*, ſent to treat with him, offering all their endeavours for his ſatisfaction, if he would quickly make known his demand: and that there might be the leſs blood ſhed, they ordered *Cinna* to diſcontinue his levies. But he, foreſeeing that nothing but arms could ſupport him, returned a plauſible anſwer, and proceeded to raiſe ſoldiers; hoping to make himſelf and his collegue *Carbo* conſuls for the following year, without returning to *Rome*. He ſent over part of his troops into *Dalmatia*, there to meet *Sylla*; but thoſe behind were driven back to *Italy* by a ſtorm, and afterwards abſolutely refuſed to fight againſt their own countrymen; and the reſt, who had not yet put to ſea, refuſed to embark. *Cinna* was going to ſpeak to them, when one of his officers, who made way before him, ſtruck a ſoldier; the ſoldier returned the blow; and being ſeized for ſo doing, a tumult aroſe, in which *Cinna* himſelf was killed. *Carbo* continued ſole conſul the remaining part of the year. Year of *Rome* 670.

Sylla, being informed of *Cinna*'s death, and the diſturbances of the commonwealth, croſſed the ſea with ſixteen hundred ſhips, and ſixty thouſand men, and landed at *Brunduſium*, where he was joined by *Metellus Pius*, who had retired from *Rome* for fear of *Marius* and *Cinna*, and likewiſe by *Pompey*, afterwards ſurnamed *the Great*, who from this time became *Sylla*'s great favourite. *Cethegus* too, who had joined with *Cinna*, now begged pardon, and was received into favour. *Norbanus* and *Scipio*, the preſent conſuls, together with *Carbo*, prepared for reſiſtance. *Norbanus* was defeated at *Canuſium*, from whence he fled to *Capua*; and his collegue *Scipio*, ſhortly after, by the treachery of his army, fell with his ſon into the hands of *Sylla*, who generouſly diſmiſſed them both. *Sylla* then ſent to *Norbanus* to treat of peace, but received no anſwer. *Sylla* lands in *Italy*.

Italy now began to feel all the miſeries of a civil war; *Sylla* making great devaſtations on one ſide, and *Carbo* on the other. This laſt getting into *Rome*, procured *Metellus* and the reſt who joined with *Sylla*, to be declared enemies to the ſtate. The whole country was ranſacked to raiſe forces, and in this manner the reſt of the ſummer was ſpent, in which the capitol was burnt down, by what means was never known. The following year, *Carbo* a third time, and young *Marius*, ſon of the former, were made conſuls. *Carbo*'s lieutenant *Carinus* was defeated by *Metellus*, and *Marius* by Melancholy ſituation of that country. The capitol burnt.

by *Sylla*. *Marius* was driven into *Præneſte*, where, being cloſely beſieged, and almoſt deſpairing of relief, he in a great rage wrote to *Brutus*, then prætor at *Rome*, to uſe ſome pretence to aſſemble the ſenate, and then to kill the chief of thoſe who were his enemies. This order was executed with great cruelty; ſo that whatever ſide conquered, *Rome* was the ſufferer. *Metellus* overthrew *Carbo* once more, and *Pompey* defeated *Marcius*, another of that party; whilſt *Sylla* marched directly to *Rome*, and entered it with eaſe, moſt of the oppoſite faction being fled into the country.

Sylla enters *Rome*.

The inhabitants of *Rome* were extremely terrified at *Sylla*'s entrance; but he only put the goods of thoſe that fled to ſale, bidding the people not be dejected, for that he was obliged to act as he did. Then leaving a ſufficient garriſon in the city, he marched to *Cluſium*, where he and his officers defeated *Carbo*'s troops ſeveral times. This laſt, being now upon the defenſive, ſent eight legions to *Præneſte*, to relieve his collegue *Marius*; but they were met by *Pompey*, who killed many of them, and diſperſed the reſt. Soon after, *Carbo*, being joined by *Norbanus*, engaged with *Metellus*, and had ten thouſand of his men ſlain, and ſix thouſand ſurrendered: upon which, great numbers went over to *Sylla*'s party, which preſently became maſters of all *Gaul* on that ſide the *Alps*. *Norbanus* went to *Rhodes*, where, fearing to be delivered up, he killed himſelf, and *Carbo* fled to *Africa*, tho' he had thirty thouſand men at *Cluſium*, beſides other forces, all which were ſoon after broken and diſperſed by *Pompey*. *Carinus* and *Marcius*, with other commanders, by the aſſiſtance of the *Samnites*, endeavoured to force the trenches at *Præneſte*, and relieve *Marius*; but finding that impracticable, they advanced to *Rome*, where meeting with *Sylla*, a moſt bloody battle was fought at the very gates of the city, in which many thouſands were killed on both ſides. But *Sylla* at laſt gained the victory, and *Carinus* and *Marcius* were taken, and their heads ſent to *Præneſte*, which thereupon ſurrendered to *Lucullus*. *Marius* killed himſelf, and his head was ſent to *Rome*, and ſet up in the *forum*. All his faction in *Præneſte*, with the natives and *Samnites*, were put to death without mercy. *Norba* was taken a little after, and all its inhabitants deſtroyed themſelves, after ſetting fire to the town.

He becomes maſter of all *Italy*.

Sylla, being now maſter of all *Italy*, ſent *Pompey* into *Africa* againſt *Carbo*, with a charge to paſs from thence into *Sicily* againſt others of that party. *Pompey* ſoon drove *Carbo* into *Sicily*, and from thence into *Corcyra*, where he took him, and ordered his head to be cut off, and ſent to *Sylla*.

His exceſſive cruelty.

Rome now felt ſeverely the dreadful effects of civil conteſts: for *Sylla*, calling the people together, told them, that he would put them into a better condition, if they were obedient to his commands: but that as for his enemies, he

was

was reſolved to proſecute them with all ſorts of miſeries and calamities, which in fact he did moſt cruelly, ſparing neither age nor ſex, but allowing his ſoldiers to kill all they met, till *Furfidius* ſtopped his rage a little by telling him that he ought to leave ſome for *Sylla* to reign over. He then publiſhed tables of *proſcription* for particular perſons, the firſt ever known in *Rome*, wherein where proſcribed eighty ſenators and ſixteen hundred knights, to which he afterwards added more, promiſing great rewards to the diſcoverers, and threatening death to the concealers of them. Of theſe outlawed perſons, ſome were murdered in their houſes, others in the ſtreets, and others at his feet, begging their lives; and thoſe that fled, their effects were ſeized on. *Marius*, brother to *Sylla*'s great enemy, had firſt his eyes pulled out, and then his hands and legs cut off at ſeveral times, that he might die with the greater torment. *C. Julius Cæſar*, a young man of wonderfully promiſing abilities, who had married *Cinna*'s daughter, very hardly eſcaped the common miſery of theſe times. *Sylla* would often prophetically ſay of him, *That in* Cæſar *were many* Marius's.

Rome was not the only ſufferer in theſe dreadful calamities; for this proſcription was carried throughout all the cities of *Italy*, where the mercileſs effuſion of blood was ſuch, that neither the temples of the gods, nor all the ſanctuaries could afford protection to any man.

Both the conſuls being now deſtroyed, *Sylla* withdrew himſelf from the city, and ordered the ſenate to appoint an *inter-rex*, which they moſt willingly did, naming *Valerius Flaccus*. *Sylla* wrote to him to aſk the people, that, as affairs were yet much unſettled, a dictator might be created; and that, not for any limited time, but till all public grievances ſhould be redreſſed. At the ſame time he took care to mention himſelf, as the moſt proper perſon. The people were conſtrained to yield to whatever he pleaſed, all power being then in his hands. Accordingly, this ſupreme office, which had been intermitted for one hundred and twenty years, was conferred on him, without any limitation of time.

He is created dictator, without any limitation of time.

The government of *Rome* was now, in fact, changed to a monarchy, *Sylla*'s power being unlimited as to time; and though, to keep up a ſhew of a commonwealth, he permitted conſuls to be made, yet he plainly reigned alone, having twenty-four lictors, with their faſces and axes, and a great guard conſtantly to attend his perſon, like the kings in former times, and repealing old laws, and enacting new, at his pleaſure. He regulated the conſulſhip, ordering that none ſhould be capable of it, without firſt paſſing through other offices. He removed that plague to the ſenate, the tribuneſhip, by making thoſe who bore it incapable of any other truſt. He added three hundred of the knights to the ſenate, and likewiſe ten thouſand of the ſlaves of the proſcribed

Year of *Rome* 672.

scribed to the people, making them free, and calling them *Cornelii*, after his own name; and he assigned great quantities of land to twenty-three legions, the better to secure and bind them to his interest. This was the first year of *Sylla*'s reign, in which the war broke out again with *Mithridates*, about three years after the first, occasioned by *Murena*, whom *Sylla* had left behind him in *Asia*, who, ambitious of a triumph, sought an opportunity to make a breach with *Mithridates*, contrary to the senate's designs. But instead of gaining a triumph, *Mithridates* defeated him, and soon after obtained a peace. This second war with that prince lasted about two years.

Second war with *Mithridates*.

Sylla made consuls again in the second year of his dictatorship, but joined himself with *Cæcilius Metellus*, a custom which the emperors afterwards imitated. The year after, when the people designed him consul again, he declined it, and chose two others; and then, to the great surprize and wonder of all men, he laid down his dictatorship; and, what was more astonishing, though he had done so many cruel and wicked deeds, he, like a man perfectly just and innocent, freely offered to give an account of all his actions. Yet we find none accused him but one young man, whose scurrilous language to him made him say, That such coarse usage would for the future keep any man from laying down an office of such supreme dignity; a thing which *Julius Cæsar* seemed afterwards to have remembered, *Sylla* retired soon after into the country, to *Puteoli*, where he died in a short time of the lousy disease. Such was the end of *Cornelius Sylla*, whose very death was troublesome to his country, the two consuls and their factions falling out about his funeral. *Catullus* prevailing against his collegue *Lepidus*, his body was carried through the city in great state, and was the first in *Rome* that was burnt, to prevent its being treated like *Marius*'s, whose bones *Sylla* himself had ordered to be dug up, and thrown away.

Sylla resigns the dictatorship.

Death of *Sylla*.

His body was the first that was burnt in *Rome*.

A dangerous and difficult war was still depending in *Spain* against *Q. Sertorius*, an excellent commander of *Cinna*'s faction, who had driven all *Sylla*'s party out of *Spain*, and had chosen three hundred of his friends, whom he called a senate, in opposition to that of *Rome*. *Sertorius* having joined with the *Celtiberians*, had before been successful against *Metellus*; and now, being considerably reinforced by *Perpenna*, he designed no less than the invasion of *Italy*. The senate sent against him *Pompey*, who, for his great exploits in *Africa* and *Sicily*, had already triumphed, though scarce twenty-six years of age, and neither consul nor prætor. *Pompey*, in imitation of *Hannibal*, passed the *Alps*, though a contrary way, but with no success against *Sertorius*, either then or in the next spring; and though *Perpenna* and *Herculeus* were several times worsted by *Metellus*, yet *Sertorius*, by his policy, reduced *Pompey* to such extremities, that he

War in *Spain* against *Q. Sertorius*.

was

was obliged to send to *Rome* for supplies, even with which he did nothing of consequence this year.

The following year, *Pompey* and *Metellus*, being much strengthened, made incursions into several parts, and with more success than formerly; yet no considerable battle was fought. And indeed there needed none, *Sertorius* dwindling away insensibly, by disobliging his chief soldiers in preferring the *Celtiberians* for his guard; but more especially by his degenerating into a lazy and debauched, as well as cruel temper, putting many to death with little reason or justice. *Perpenna*, fearing it might fall to his lot to be destroyed among the rest, resolved to prevent it, and to that end, inviting him to a feast, he first made him and his companions very drunk, and then murdered him. *Perpenna*, with much difficulty, obtained his command; but, not long after, was defeated and taken prisoner by *Pompey*, to whom he offered to disclose in private some matters of the highest consequence, if he would spare his life: but *Pompey* wisely ordered him to be executed immediately, and all his papers to be burnt, lest his accusations should bring the state into farther troubles. Thus ended all the civil wars, fifteen years after they first began, and nine years after they had ended in *Italy*, in the consulship of *Terentius Varro* and *Cassius Varus*, the former of whom was one of the most learned men that ever *Rome* produced. Learning was now, in many respects, at the highest pitch in the state.

Sertorius murdered by *Perpenna*, who is defeated and put to death by *Pompey*.

End of the civil wars. Year of *Rome* 680.

The year before the end of these domestic broils, a third war broke out with *Mithridates*, who had now joined with *Tigranes*, king of *Armenia*, and raised an army of one hundred and forty thousand foot, and sixteen thousand horse, with which he soon made himself master of all *Bithynia*, which *Nicomedes*, the late king of that country, had given by his will to the *Romans*. *Licinius Lucullus*, and *Aurelius Cotta* being consuls, the former was sent against *Mithridates*, whom he found before *Cyzicus*, a city of *Propontis*. *Lucullus* placed his men with so much skill, that he besieged the besieger, and reduced *Mithridates* to such extremities, that, through famine, he was forced first to send away his cavalry and sick men into *Bithynia*, of which fifteen thousand were intercepted, and then to retire himself with the rest that could escape the great slaughter which the *Romans* made in the flight. During this time, *Eumachus*, one of *Mithridates*'s commanders, made inroads into *Phrygia*, subdued *Pisidia* and *Isauria*, and endeavoured to do the like to *Cilicia*, till he was repulsed by *Deiotarus*, one of the governors of *Galatia*. *Lucullus* was successful, not only by land, but also at sea, where he gained many victories, took several of *Mithridates*'s commanders, and pursued him himself so close, that he was glad to get away in a pirate's vessel, which, after many difficulties, at length landed him in his own kingdom, whither

Third war with *Mithridates*.

Lucullus

Lucullus followed him, and in his way took all *Bithynia* and *Paphlagonia*.

The next year, *Mithridates*, with the aſſiſtance of *Tigranes* and others, got together forty thouſand foot and four thouſand horſe, with which he once or twice gained ſome advantage over the *Romans*. But *Lucullus* found means to cut off moſt of his cavalry, which with the loſs of a battle ſoon after, ſo terrified him, that he fled into *Armenia* to *Tigranes*, who entertained him like a king, but refuſed to admit him to his preſence. All *Pontus*, except a few places, ſubmitted to *Lucullus* in a ſhort time; and *Machares*, king of *Boſphorus*, ſent him a crown of gold, by which he purchaſed the title of his friend and ally. This was the fourth year of *Lucullus*'s expedition.

Lucullus forces *Mithridates* to fly into *Armenia*.

War in *Italy* with *Spartacus* the gladiator.

In this year alſo was finiſhed the war in *Italy* againſt *Spartacus* the gladiator, who, beginning with ſeventy-four of his companions, and afterwards increaſing his number till they amounted to about ſeventy thouſand men, all vagabonds and pretenders to liberty, commenced a dangerous war in *Italy*, in which he overthrew ſeveral of the *Roman* commanders, and two of their conſuls. But he and his followers were at laſt conquered and diſperſed by *Licinius Craſſus*, then proconſul in *Apulia*, who thereby put an end to this war, in the third year after it began. *Rome* now reckoned four hundred and fifty thouſand free citizens, the city ſtill increaſing in bulk and people, and the inhabitants in learning and politeneſs, as well as corruption and factions.

Year of *Rome* 684.

Lucullus purſues *Mithridates* into *Armenia*.

Lucullus followed *Mithridates* into *Armenia*, and ſent to *Tigranes*, king of that country, to demand him. *Tigranes* was a very powerful monarch, having lately conquered ſeveral nations and kings, which made him ſo intolerably proud, that when he rode abroad, he would have four of his ſubdued kings run by his ſide, like lacqueys; and when he ſat on his throne, to ſtand before him with folded hands, in token of ſubjection. He refuſed to deliver up *Mithridates*, and likewiſe to acknowledge *Lucullus* as a general, becauſe he had not given him the title of *king of kings*. Upon this, *Lucullus* ſuddenly paſſed the river *Euphrates* with two legions, and about three thouſand horſe, to the great ſurprize of *Tigranes*, who firſt hanged the meſſenger of the news as a diſturber of the peace, and ſoon after ſent *Mithrobarzanes* with two thouſand horſe to incommode his paſſage, leaving *Mancæus* to cover the city *Tigranocerta*, which he had lately built, whilſt he himſelf ſet about raiſing forces. While he was drawing together an army of two hundred and fifty thouſand foot and fifty thouſand horſe, *Mithrobarzanes* was repulſed, and *Mancæus* driven from the cover of the city, which was immediately inveſted. *Mithridates* adviſed *Tigranes* not to hazard all in a battle, but rather to try to ſtarve the *Romans*. But *Tigranes* rejected this counſel, and contemning the

smallneſs of their number ſaid, *That if they were all ambaſſadors, they were a great many; but if ſoldiers, very few*; thinking to over-run them with great eaſe. But *Lucullus* poſting himſelf upon a hill, ſent his cavalry to provoke and draw out the enemy, and then driving their beaſts of burden in among them, ſo broke their ranks, that their horſe and foot mingling together, great confuſion enſued, and a dreadful ſlaughter, which laſted all the day. *Tigranocerta* ſurrendered immediately after.

Where he defeats *Tigranes*, king of that country, and takes *Tigranocerta*

Tigranes raiſed another great army, and committed the conduct of it to *Mithridates*. They both endeavoured to hem in *Lucullus*, but were prevented by his great vigilance; and both ſides continued with little action, till want of proviſions forced them to remove, *Tigranes* farther up into his kingdom, and *Mithridates* into his, with *Lucullus* not far behind him. *Fabius*, whom *Lucullus* had left in *Pontus*, was defeated by *Mithridates*, as was alſo, ſoon after, *Triarius*, who loſt ſeven thouſand of his men. *Mithridates* then marched into the *Leſſer Armenia*, whither *Lucullus* would have followed him, and probably have put an end to the war, but that he was ſuperſeded in his command by *Acilius Glabrio*, one of the conſuls for this year, through whoſe indolence and inactivity, *Mithridates* recovered almoſt all his kingdom, and over-ran *Cappadocia*. This happened in the ſeventh year after *Lucullus* had undertaken the war.

Mithridates recovers moſt of his kingdom.

About this time, *Pompey*, who began to come into great eſteem among the *Romans*, had a new opportunity of ſhewing his military ſkill, in a war againſt a number of pirates, who, after having been encouraged and employed by *Mithridates*, were increaſed exceedingly, and had made *Cilicia* their chief place of rendezvous, from whence they infeſted the neighbouring ſeas, and ravaged whole provinces on the land. They were grown ſo powerful, that they had defeated ſeveral *Roman* prætors; and ſo audacious, that they landed even in *Italy*, and carried off ſeveral women of quality, and numbers of troops with their enſigns. The *Romans* were exceſſively provoked by theſe inſults; and the tribune *Gabinius* preferred a law, that an admiral ſhould be created, with full power againſt the pirates for three years, and with great forces and many lieutenants. The ſenate, though ſomewhat jealous of *Pompey*'s power, for he was promoted to this command, gave him leave to chuſe fifteen lieutenants out of their body, to arm two hundred ſhips, and to raiſe what men he could. But the people granted him five hundred ſhips, one hundred and twenty thouſand foot, and five thouſand horſe, ſix thouſand *Attic* talents, and the power of appointing twenty-five vice-gerents out of the ſenate, and two quæſtors; ſo difficult did it ſeem to deſtroy ſuch numerous fleets as the pirates had, in a ſea that had ſo many places of retreat and refuge. With theſe forces *Pompey*, in forty days, cleared all the ſeas about *Africa*, *Sardinia*,

Year of *Rome* 654.

Pompey charged with the war againſt the pirates.

Is made admiral of the *Romans*.

Corſica, and *Sicily*; and moſt of the pirates that eſcaped, flocked, as uſual, to *Cilicia*, where he followed them with ſixty galleys, and made them ſubmit to his mercy. In forty days more, he reduced that province to the *Roman* obedience. Above twenty thouſand of theſe pirates yet remained, when, being unwilling to kill them, and not thinking it ſafe to let them return to their old habitations, he removed to places farther diſtant from the ſea, where he gave them lands and houſes. Thus, after taking near four hundred ſhips, and one hundred and twenty forts, and killing ten thouſand men, he finiſhed this war in three or four months, uſing the conquered with more clemency than *Q. Metellus* did thoſe which he ſubdued in *Crete*, for which he obtained a triumph, and the ſurname of *Creticus*.

And clears all the ſeas

This expedition, which added much to *Pompey*'s reputation, was ſcarce at an end, when the tribune *Manlius* preferred a law, That all the armies which the *Romans* had in any place, together with the government of all *Aſia*, and the management of the war againſt *Mithridates* and *Tigranes*, ſhould be committed to him alone. This he did to curry favour with ſo great a man as *Pompey*, whom he had diſpleaſed not long before, by a law of his, which gave freed ſlaves equal privileges with their maſters who freed them. The nobility were extremely diſſatisfied at this new law; not only for the manifeſt injury done to *Lucullus* and *Glabrio*, by removing them from their places, but alſo out of a high jealouſy of *Pompey*'s growing greatneſs, as being in a manner abſolute monarch of the *Roman* empire, by having theſe provinces added to his former, with the ſame power of peace and war; and, which was more than all the reſt, a juriſdiction over all armies whatſoever: things which had never before been conferred upon any one ſingle perſon. But the commons were very hot for this law, being much incited thereto by that great orator *Cicero*, then prætor, who, in a public aſſembly, made a noble oration in praiſe of *Pompey*, ſhewing, not only how very convenient it was for the good of the commonwealth to have a general with ſo large a power; but likewiſe, how abſolutely neceſſary it was to chuſe him above all other men in the world, as being incomparably eminent for thoſe four great qualifications requiſite in a ſoldier, courage, conduct, authority, and ſucceſs, which had all been abundantly apparent in the numerous and wonderful exploits he had already performed. This ſpeech had ſuch an effect, that when the law came to the ſcrutiny, it paſſed with little oppoſition; and *C. Julius Cæſar*, lately quæſtor, is ſaid likewiſe to have favoured it, chiefly with deſign that the people might afterwards be the more inclined to grant him the like extraordinary power.

He is made commander in chief of all the *Roman* forces.

Year of *Rome* 688. *Pompey*, having prepared all things neceſſary for his expedition, ſent to *Mithridates*, offering him reaſonable terms, which the other refuſed, in expectation of being aſſiſted by *Phraates*, king of *Parthia*; but hearing that a league was made

made between him and the *Romans*, he ſhortly after ſent to deſire a peace. *Pompey* commanded him to lay down his arms, and deliver up all deſerters; which occaſioned ſo violent a mutiny in *Mithridates*'s army, that, to pacify his ſoldiers, he was forced to ſwear, he would never be reconciled to the *Romans*. *Pompey*, marching into *Galatia*, met *Lucullus* there; and a violent conteſt aroſe between them. The latter affirmed the war to be already finiſhed, and that the commiſſioners from *Rome* were to decide it: and when *Pompey* would not hearken to this, he upbraided him with an unjuſt ambition; *Pompey* retorting the charge of immoderate deſire of gain upon *Lucullus*. *Lucullus* ſtill gave out commands in his own name; but *Pompey*, by his edict, forbad them, and at laſt drew away the greateſt part of his army. *Lucullus*, at his return, was received with great honour by the ſenate, and carried with him, among his great booty, many valuable books, with which he furniſhed a public library. He greatly advanced the luxury of the *Romans*, with reſpect to buildings, furniture of houſes, and ſumptuous entertainments, and was the firſt that brought the cherry-tree out of *Pontus* into *Italy*.

Pompey marches againſt *Mithridates*.

Mithridates had now aſſembled a very conſiderable army; and *Pompey* finding how he had waſted all the country to hinder the ſubſiſtence of his troops, marched into the *Leſſer Armenia*, ſubject to *Mithridates*, who, fearing he might become maſter of that country, followed him thither. Here *Mithridates* was in hopes of ſtarving him; but, to his great ſurprize, he found himſelf on a ſudden ſurrounded by *Pompey*, with an intrenchment of above eighteen miles in circuit. Upon this, and likewiſe hearing that *Marcius* had joined *Pompey*, he betook himſelf to flight, after killing all ſuch as were ſick and uſeleſs about him. But *Pompey* purſued him ſo cloſe, that before he could paſs the river *Euphrates* he forced him to an engagement in the night. The moon being very low, and on the backs of the *Romans*, ſo lengthened their ſhadows, that the enemies thinking them nearer than they really were, ſhot moſt of their arrows without doing execution. *Mithridates* loſt many thouſands of his men; but he himſelf broke through, with eight hundred horſe, of which only three hundred ſtaid with him. Wandering ſorrowfully through the woods, with this poor remnant of his former forces, he accidently met with ſome mercenaries, and about three thouſand foot, by whoſe aſſiſtance he was conveyed into a caſtle, where he had laid up much treaſure. From thence he ſent to *Tigranes*, who now refuſed to receive him, alledging that his ſon had rebelled againſt him upon his account. He then fled to *Colchis*, which he had formerly conquered, and *Pompey* followed him, thinking he would not ſtir from thence; but he immediately paſſed into *Scythia*, where, partly by force, and partly by perſuaſion, he obliged the princes of that country to eſpouſe his cauſe, beſtowing

He defeats *Mithridates*, and forces him to fly,

Firſt to *Colchis*, and then to *Scythia*.

his daughters in marriage upon ſome of them, and ſtill forming vaſt deſigns, even of paſſing through *Thrace*, *Macedonia*, *Pannonia*, and ſo over the *Alps* into *Italy* itſelf.

Pompey marches againſt *Tigranes*,

Pompey ſoon left *Colchis*, and getting clear of the ambuſcades of the *Albanians* and *Iberians*, directed his march to *Armenia*, againſt *Tigranes*, who now reſolved not to fight, by reaſon of the rebellion of his three ſons whom he had by *Mithridates*'s daughter, two of which he had executed, and the third, after an overthrow, had fled to *Pompey*. *Tigranes*'s ambaſſadors coming to deſire a peace, this ſon prevailed ſo far that they could not be heard. Shortly after, *Pompey* inveſted the city of *Artaxata*, which *Tigranes* immediately ſurrendered, and came himſelf into *Pompey*'s camp, making him mediator between him and his ſon, who would not ſo much as riſe up to his father, or ſhew him the leaſt reſpect. *Pompey*, on the contrary, received him with extraordinary civility, and allowed him the greateſt part of his former dominions, and his ſon the reſt; but he took away all his conqueſts, and fined him ſix thouſand talents of ſilver for the expence of the war. *Tigranes*, in conſequence of this treaty, gave up, among other conquered territories, all *Syria* and *Phœnecia*, and *Euphrates* to the ſea: but his ſon was ſtill very refractory, refuſing obedience and threatening the death of his father; for which he was ſhut up in priſon by *Pompey*, and afterwards put to death. *Tigranes*, being now reconciled to the *Romans*, paid more than his fine, voluntarily making preſents to every officer and ſoldier; for which he

who becomes an ally.

was eſteemed a friend and ally of the *Romans*. *Pompey* reſtored *Cappadocia* to *Ariobarzanes*, giving him alſo *Gordiæna* and *Sophæna*, with *Cabala*, a city of *Cilicia*, and other places: after which, with ſome oppoſition, he forced the *Albanians* and *Iberians* to beg peace.

Year of *Rome* 689.

Pompey marches againſt the *Medes* and *Syrians*.

All theſe ſucceſſes not yet ſatisfying *Pompey*, he paſſed Mount *Taurus*, and marched againſt *Darius*, king of the *Medes*, and *Antiochus*, king of *Syria*, who had moleſted the *Roman* allies, or aſſiſted their enemies. *Phraates*, king of *Parthia*, who had been called into *Gordiæna* by *Tigranes*'s ſon, terrified at the great exploits of the *Roman* commander, ſent to beg peace of him; which he did not grant, but ordered *Afranius* into *Gordiæna*, to drive out *Phraates*'s forces, and reſtore that country to *Tigranes*. *Phraates* thereupon invaded *Armenia*, and *Tigranes* ſent to *Pompey* for ſuccour, who, being unwilling to commence war with the *Parthians* without poſitive orders from *Rome*, ſent three commiſſioners to make an accommodation. *Antiochus*, to whom *Lucullus* had granted *Syria*, firſt thought of ſiding with *Phraates*; but,

Antiochus ſubmits.

upon mature deliberation, reſolved to yield himſelf to *Pompey*'s generoſity. But this laſt, having now poſſeſſed himſelf of all his country without reſiſtance, refuſed to grant him what he expected, and what he knew he was unable to keep from the incurſions of the *Jews* and *Arabians* on both ſides

of

of him: and the better to excuſe himſelf, he told him, *That ſince the* Romans *had been at ſuch expence and pains to conquer* Tigranes, *it would be unreaſonable that the reward ſhould fall to another.* He therefore only gave him that part of *Syria* called *Comagena*, and ſhortly after reduced all the reſt of that country into a *Roman* province.

In the mean time *Mithridates* ſent to *Pompey* to deſire peace; but being ordered to come to him, he refuſed it, and proceeded in his preparations for war. Though many of his places ſoon revolted from him, and ſeveral of his friends, with one of his ſons, were put to death upon that account, he ſtill deſigned to paſs into *Europe*, in order to join with the *Gauls* and invade *Italy*: but the unwillingneſs of his ſoldiers to undertake this expedition, and the rebellious deſigns of his ſon *Pharnaces*, cauſed the revolt of his army and his ruin, his ſon being ſhortly after ſaluted king. *Mithridates*, who was now confined, ſent to his ſon for leave to depart, but that was denied him. He then went into the apartment where his wives, daughters, and concubines were, gave all of them poiſon; and, fearing to be delivered up to the *Romans*, took ſome himſelf: but having much uſed his body to antidotes, particularly to that ſort which ſtill goes by his name, the poiſon would not operate; whereupon he ſtabbed himſelf; but that not diſpatching him ſo ſoon as he wiſhed, he made one *Bitæus*, a *Gaul*, kill him. Thus fell *Mithridates*; a man who ſometimes in fortune, and at all times in courage, was of the higheſt rank; in direction, a ſkilful commander; in execution, a great ſoldier; and in hatred to the *Romans*, a ſecond *Hannibal*: and thus ended the *Mithridatic* war, twenty-five years after it firſt began, and eleven ſince it laſt broke out; a war which, in the beginning, was dangerous to the *Roman* ſtate, as creating other miſchiefs; but, in the end, proved very glorious and advantageous to it, by the addition not only of all *Mithridates*'s dominions, but likewiſe of many other rich countries in *Aſia*.

Mithridates deſires peace but is refuſed.

His death.

When *Pompey* received the news of *Mithridates*'s death, he was near *Jericho*, marching towards *Jeruſalem* againſt *Ariſtobulus*, king of *Judæa*, who had depoſed his elder brother *Hyrcanus*, and uſurped his kingdom. *Hyrcanus* complained of this to *Pompey* at *Damaſcus*, and *Ariſtobulus* came likewiſe thither to vindicate himſelf. *Pompey* treated them both very civily, and told them, that he would go into their country and ſettle matters between them, after he had diſpatched ſome other neceſſary affairs. Accordingly, having ſettled the affairs of *Syria*, and reduced *Pontus* into a *Roman* province, he returned to *Judæa*, greatly incenſed againſt *Ariſtobulus*, whom he ordered to appear before him, and to deliver up all his fortified places. *Ariſtobulus* did ſo, with great regret, and then withdrew himſelf to *Jeruſalem*, to

Pompey dethrones *Ariſtobulus*, and ſtores *Hyrcanus*.

prepare for a war. *Pompey*, ſuſpecting his deſigns, marched after him. He entered the city without oppoſition; but *Ariſtobulus*'s ſoldiers fortified the temple, and held it out againſt *Pompey*: upon which *Ariſtobulus* was taken into cuſtody. The temple being very ſtrong by its ſituation, made a vigorous defence, but was taken after three months ſiege, and twelve thouſand of the *Jews* cut in pieces; the prieſts not omitting to offer ſacrifices all that time. *Pompey* entered the *Holy of Holies* with many of his followers, and looked at thoſe things which it was not lawful for any but the prieſts to behold: but he ſhewed ſo much veneration for the place, that he forbore touching any thing that was there. He reſtored *Hyrcanus* to his prieſthood and government, but with a command not to wear a diadem; and took *Ariſtobulus* with him, making all *Judæa* tributary to *Rome*. This happened in the third year of his expedition, and ſixty-one years before the birth of *Chriſt*.

He takes the temple of *Jeruſalem*, and reduces *Judæa*.

Catiline's conſpiracy.

While *Pompey* was thus ſucceſsful abroad, *Rome* was very near being ruined by one of the moſt dangerous conſpiracies that had ever been known in the city. It was begun and carried on by *Sergius Catiline*, a patrician by deſcent, but of a very profligate life; a perſon daring in his attempts, crafty in his deſigns, greedy of other mens properties, and prodigal of his own; one, who had been accuſed of debauching a veſtal, and ſuſpected of murdering his ſon for the love of another woman. This perſon, having contracted vaſt debts by the diſſoluteneſs of his life, grew deſperate, and ſought for nothing but power aad authority, and, if it were poſſible, the ſovereignty over all: but his deſigns being ſuſpected, he twice received a repulſe in ſtanding for the conſulſhip. This laſt time it was carried from him by *Cicero*, whom he ſcurrilouſly abuſed as an upſtart and foreigner, as being but of the equeſtrian order, and born in *Apulia*; and offered to kill him in the *comitia*. The miſſing of his deſign drove him into the utmoſt rage and fury, and brought him into that plot in which he had formerly been engaged with *Piſo*, for the deſtruction of his country. *Aurelius Cotta* and *Manlius Torquatus*, who had alſo miſſed the conſulſhip for want of bribing high enough, joined with him, and again plotted the ruin of the conſuls and ſenate, the burning of the city, and deſtruction of the ſtate; as did likewiſe *Lentulus*, *Cethegus*, and many other perſons of debauched and infamous lives. *Cethegus* and *Lentulus* were both prætors; and the latter, who had formerly been conſul, was moved to this deſign by a vain confidence in the *Sybilline* oracle, which he ſaid portended, that the ſovereign power ſhould be in the hands of the *Cornelii*; namely, *Sylla*, *Cinna*, and himſelf.

This conſpiracy was carried on with the greateſt ſecrecy, and the number of the conſpirators increaſed daily. Among them were ſeveral women, who, by proſtituting themſelves, had

had been maintained after a prodigious rate; but decay of beauty limiting their gains, their luxury, which continued the ſame as before, run them greatly in debt. This horrid deſign was diſcovered by the means of *Q. Curius*, one of the plotters, a degraded ſenator, who told it to *Fulvia*, a courteſan of his acquaintance, and ſhe diſcloſed it to *Cicero*, who was now conſul. *Cicero*, by examining of theſe two, found out the whole matter, how often and where they met, and what their deſigns were; and particularly, that his own deſtruction was to be brought about by *Vaſgunteius*, a ſenator, and *Cornelius*, a knight, under pretence of a friendly viſit. Upon this, he immediately ſet guards in ſeveral parts of the city, and aſſembled the ſenate in the temple of *Concord*, to conſult what was beſt to be done. *Catiline* attended, but none of the ſenators would ſit near him. *Cicero*, incenſed at his boldneſs, ſtood up, and, after making a ſevere ſpeech againſt him, openly manifeſting all his crimes, which were both numerous and notorious, he commanded him to leave the city. *Catiline* then roſe up, well prepared with artifice and diſſimulation, and, with a dejected look and ſuppliant tone, beſought the fathers not over-raſhly to credit vain reports concerning him; nor to believe that a perſon of his rank, whoſe own, and whoſe anceſtors ſervices had been ſo remarkably beneficial, ſtood in need of a ruined commonwealth. He concluded with many ſcurrilous reflections upon *Cicero*, which not being hearkened to, he left the houſe in a great rage, menacing ruin and deſtruction to all his enemies. He departed from *Rome* that ſame night, with three hundred armed men, and lictors with faſces and axes before him, like a magiſtrate; and retired into *Hetruria*, gathering by the way what ſoldiers he could, with a deſign to return to the city, which he had directed *Lentulus* and *Cethegus* to lay in aſhes at an appointed time. Endeavours had alſo been uſed to prevail on the ambaſſadors of the *Allobroges* then at *Rome* to ſtir up the *Gauls* againſt the commonwealth: but they declareing it to *Fabius Sanga*, their patron, and *Cicero* being informed of it, that deſign was prevented.

defeated by the vigilance of *Cicero*.

The day after *Catiline*'s departure, *Cicero* ſummoned the people, and made a ſecond oration to them, wherein he congratulated the commonwealth on its being freed from ſo infamous a perſon. The ſenate decreed *Catiline* an enemy to the ſtate, and likewiſe *Manlius*, who had joined him in *Hetruria*. *Lentulus* alſo, who had tampered with the ambaſſadors, was deprived of his office of prætor. *Cicero*, ſhortly after, ſummoned the people again, and made another ſpeech to them, in which he reported the particulars of the diſcovery, with the arraignment and conviction of many of the conſpirators. *Lentulus*, *Cethegus*, *Statilius*, *Caſſius*, and ſeveral others, being now ſecured, *Cicero* convened the ſenate, and propoſed to the fathers to conſider what was to be done with the priſoners. While the ſenate was ſitting, the ſlaves

and dependents of *Lentulus* and *Cethegus* had gathered together a great number of artificers and rabble, and endeavoured to break into the prætor's houſe, and reſcue the priſoners. Upon notice of this, *Cicero* left the ſenate-houſe, and, after appointing a watch and ſufficient guards, returned, to take the opinions of the ſenators.

Warm debates aroſe on this occaſion. Many were for putting them to death: but *Julius Cæſar*, ſeconding thoſe who were againſt that motion, urged the *Porcian* law, which puniſhed capital offenders only with exile; adding, *That though their crimes were undoubtedly ſuch as no tortures could equal, yet an innovation, even in the puniſhment of the worſt of men, might be a dangerous precedent.* To this *Porcius Cato* replied, with ſome warmth, *That he had never pardoned in himſelf the leaſt corruption of his own thoughts, and therefore could not eaſily forgive the miſdemeanours of a turbulent paſſion and ambition in others. That, among the antient* Romans, Manlius Torquatus *had cauſed his own ſon to be put to death, only for fighting the enemy contrary to command: and if,* ſaid he, *that valiant youth was ſo ſeverely chaſtiſed for his over-haſty courage, ſhall the preſent generation heſitate what to decree againſt the moſt bloody of parricides, and the greateſt monſters of mankind?*

Cicero then ſtood up, and made his fourth ſpeech upon this occaſion; in which, with an artful ſort of mildneſs and ambiguity, he inclined to *Cato*'s ſide: telling the ſenate, *That his earneſtneſs did not proceed from any malice or anger, but from a ſingular tenderneſs and compaſſion. That they ought to conſider, that it was not* T. Gracchus, *who required a ſecond tribuneſhip; nor* C. Gracchus, *who claimed the public lands; nor yet* Saturnius, *who ſlew* Memmius, *that was to be puniſhed; but incendiaries of the city, murderers of the people, and aſſiſtants of* Catiline *himſelf: and, likewiſe, that this miſchief was already diffuſed over all* Italy, *and beyond the* Alps, *and therefore impoſſible to be cruſhed by forbearance and delays. Cicero's* ſpeech induced the ſenate to put them all to death, which the conſul ſaw executed before the aſſembly broke up. But *Cæſar's* mildneſs and peculiar management in this affair, made ſeveral ſuſpect that he himſelf had ſome hand in the conſpiracy. *Catiline* was ſhortly after overtaken by *C. Antonius, Cicero's* collegue, near the *Alps*, as he was paſſing into *Gaul* to complete his levies, and, after an obſtinate fight, defeated and killed. Thus was this moſt dangerous conſpiracy quaſhed, chiefly by the vigilance and diligence of *Cicero*.

who receives the public thanks of his country.

Public thanks were given him for his great care and pains, and, at the inſtance of *Cato*, he was honoured with the glorious appellation of *Father of his country*; a title which no one had ever enjoyed before, and which the people proclaimed with loud acclamations, ſaying, *That though they were indebted to ſeveral commanders of that age, for riches, ſpoil, and power; yet it was to* Cicero *alone that they owed the ſafety and ſecurity of all theſe bleſſings.*

Tho'

Though *Rome* was in a much more quiet poſture after theſe diſturbances were over, yet neither *Catiline*'s defeat nor death could ſettle the city in a firm and laſting peace, but ſtill ſhe lay expoſed to the ſiniſter deſigns which ſome ambitious ſenators were always forming againſt her liberty: nor could their inclinations of that kind meet with greater temptations, ſince the gaining of this only city muſt carry with it ſo great a part of the world. And now it was that *Cæſar* began to make a greater appearance in the ſtate than ever, being this year made a prætor. He had before gone through the two offices of *quæſtor* and *ædile*; in the latter of which, by his magnificence in his ſhews and buildings, he had acquitted himſelf with much reputation, having alſo the advantage of being deſcended from one of the moſt illuſtrious families in *Rome*. He afterwards ſtood for the high-prieſthood, and, by his great liberality, carried it from two of the moſt powerful men in *Rome*, and his ſeniors; and ſcarce any man in the city was more remarkable, either for the freeneſs of his preſents, or the largeneſs of his bribes. He was now alſo arrived at a very high degree of learning, as well as an admirable ſkill in eloquence, having already diſputed the prize with the moſt famous orators. In ſhort, few things ſeemed beyond the reach of his great genius. Little was performed by him during the time of his prætorſhip, beſides compoſing ſome diſturbances occaſioned by one *Clodius*, a young man of a noble family, but of a ſcandalous life, who, being in love with *Cæſar*'s wife, *Pompeia*, had, in a woman's habit, entered his houſe in the time of a particular feſtival, when only women were permitted to be preſent. *Clodius* brought himſelf into much trouble for prophaning thoſe ſacred inſtitutions, and *Cæſar* put away his wife privately upon this account, ſaying, when he was aſked his reaſon for ſo doing, *That he did not believe her guilty*; *but that* Cæſar's *wife ought to preſerve herſelf from the ſuſpicion as well as the guilt of the crime.*

Year of *Rome* 692.

Cæſar made prætor, high-prieſt,

The violent heats and factions which now rent the ſtate upon every occaſion, ſhewed that it was now ready for a change, and liable to become a prey to men of the greateſt power and ambition. *Cæſar*, who ſaw this, thought of nothing ſo much as the greatneſs of *Pompey*, and of ſurpaſſing, or at leaſt equalling, him in the glory of his exploits. To this end, after the expiration of his prætorſhip, he procured the government of *Spain*: but having contracted great debts and go- and go-vernor of *Spain*. by his manner of living, and being retarded in his journey thither by the perſecution of his creditors, he was forced to apply to *Craſſus*, a man of vaſt riches, great wit and eloquence, and no contemptible valour; who being wrought upon by the importunities of his wife *Tertulla*, who loved *Cæſar* as much as *Clodius* did *Pompeia*, became ſecurity for eight hundred and thirty talents. It was in this government that *Cæſar*, viewing the ſtatue of *Alexander* at *Gades*, wept

wept to think that he had done nothing great and memorable at an age when that prince had conquered the world. Animated with this reflection, he pierced farther into the country than the *Romans* had ever done before, ſubdued ſeveral nations till then untouched, and amaſſed ſo vaſt a treaſure to himſelf, in the name of the commonwealth, as enabled him afterwards to imitate that *Alexander* whom he ſo much admired.

Pompey returns to *Rome*, and has a ſplendid triumph.

Shortly after *Cæſar's* departure from *Spain*, *Pompey* returned to *Rome*, covered with glory for his mighty exploits. Upon his arrival in *Italy*, he had ſent back his troops, to prevent all ſuſpicions from his appearing at the head of an army. A triumph was granted him with general applauſe, and with ſo much the more ſplendor and magnificence, as this was for the conqueſt of another third part of the world, after he had already received the ſame honour for the two other parts. It laſted two days; and even that time was ſcarce ſufficient. In this ſuperb proceſſion were expoſed the names of fifteen conquered kingdoms, eight hundred cities taken, twenty-nine repeopled, and one thouſand caſtles ſubdued. Among the priſoners led in triumph, appeared the ſon of *Tigranes*, king of *Armenia*, with his wife and daughter; as alſo *Zoſima*, the wife of *Tigranes* himſelf, and *Ariſtobulus*, king of *Judæa*; the ſiſter of *Mithridates*, with her five ſons, and ſome ladies of *Scythia*. To theſe were joined the hoſtages of the *Albanians* and *Iberians*, with thoſe of the king of *Commagena*, and a vaſt number of trophies anſwering to each particular battle wherein he was conqueror. The gold, ſilver, and jewels, that made up part of this public pomp, amounted to the value of twenty thouſand talents; or, three millions, ſeven hundred, and forty thouſand pounds of our money. He made it appear, by an account fairly ſtated, that he had improved the whole revenue of the commonwealth twelve thouſand talents, being one third part, by this expedition; beſides the large ſums he had diſtributed among his men, of which the meaneſt ſoldier's ſhare was near forty pounds.

Amidſt all theſe honours, *Pompey* was much feared and hated by many, as appeared by the great oppoſition he met with ſhortly after, on his demanding a confirmation of all that he had done in *Aſia*, and certain lands for the reward of his troops. His credit had indeed influenced the election of both the conſuls, *Metellius Creticus* and *Africanus*; but he ſoon found himſelf miſtaken in that choice: for *Africanus*, minding nothing but pleaſure, never acquired much authority in the ſenate; and *Metellus* cancelled all former obligations on account of *Pompey's* putting away his wife *Mutia*, who was *Metellus's* ſiſter, upon ſuſpicion of her being too intimate with *Cæſar*. *Cato* too ſet all his power againſt the intereſts of *Pompey*, and *Lucullus* did the the ſame, deſiring

Cato and *Lucullus*

firing, and obtaining of the ſenate, that thoſe decrees which oppoſe *Pompey* had formerly repealed might be in force; and, that thoſe made with reſpect to the conquered countries might be annulled; and, at the ſame time, he ſtopped his intended law for rewarding his ſoldiers. Upon this, *Pompey* applied to the tribunes, (whoſe office he and *Cæſar* had reſtored after *Sylla* had ſuppreſſed it); one of which, by name *Flavius*, propoſed the law for the reward of the ſoldiers. The conſul *Metellus* oppoſed it very ſharply, till the conteſt ariſing even to blows and bloodſhed, the tribune ſent *Metellus* to priſon; and when the whole ſenate offered to make themſelves priſoners with him, *Flavius* placed his tribunal at the priſon door, and forbad them entrance: upon which the fathers cauſed the wall to be immediately broken down in another place; and the conſtancy of the ſenate began to ſhake the reſolution of the people, always apt to judge of things by their outward appearance. This *Pompey* quickly perceived, and deſired the tribunes to accommodate the matter, pretending a commiſſion from *Metellus* for ſo doing. He now, too late, repented his inconſiderate leaving his army, and expoſing himſelf to the hatred of his enemies. him.

At the ſame time *Cæſar* returned from *Spain*, the election of new conſuls being at hand. He had been fully informed of all theſe diſturbances, and of the reaſons of *Pompey*'s diſſatisfaction; and now reſolved, either to improve his own authority with the ſenate, or find a good opportunity of quiting their intereſt. His ſervices in *Spain* had well deſerved a triumph, which he accordingly aſked of the ſenate, declaring his deſign of ſtanding for the conſulſhip. Now both theſe ſteps were inconſiſtent at the ſame time; for the law forbad entrance into the city to any one who deſired a triumph; and required, that whoſoever ſued for the conſulſhip, ſhould do it in perſon. *Cæſar* wrote to the ſenate, deſiring that theſe formalities might be diſpenſed with; but *Cato* ſtood up for a ſtrict obſervance of the laws; and his opinion prevailed: upon which *Cæſar* declined his triumph; purſued the conſulſhip with great eagerneſs; and, well knowing the great importance of *Pompey*'s credit, and his quarrel with the ſenate, he thought this a fit conjuncture to engage himſelf in his intereſts. *Pompey* was no leſs pleaſed to gain a man of his extraordinary merit, eſpecially when *Cæſar* promiſed him to confirm all his acts, if he could procure him to be elected: whereupon a cloſe agreement was made between them. After this, *Cæſar* made it his buſineſs to bring his friend *Craſſus* into the league, in which he eaſily ſucceeded, and a former breach between him and *Pompey* was made up. Theſe three made a firm combination, or conſpiracy, that nothing ſhould be done in the commonwealth againſt any of their intereſts or approbation, which they moſt ſolemnly confirmed with mutual oaths and promiſes. This was the firſt great triumvirate, which proved the overthrow of the conſular and popular ſtate;

Cæſar returns from *Spain*,

declines a triumph, and ſtands for the conſulſhip

ſtate; being a confederacy of three of the greateſt men in *Rome*, either for valour, authority, or riches. *Pompey* was then about forty-ſeven years of age, and *Cæſar* forty.

Year of *Rome* 694. End of the liberty of *Rome*.

Thus *Rome*, after ſhe had flouriſhed many years in wonderful grandeur, loſt her liberty, occaſioned wholly by the numerous abuſes, and notorious corruptions in her government and inhabitants, which ſhortly after plunged her into greater miſeries than ever ſhe had felt before. This fatal union happened four hundred and forty-nine years after the beginning of the conſular ſtate, and in the ſix hundred and ninety-fourth year of the city: at which time the *Roman* dominions contained all *Italy*; all *Ciſalpine Gaul*, and part of the other; all *Spain* and *Africa*; all *Greece* and *Illyricum*; all the kingdoms in *Aſia Minor*, with *Armenia*, *Meſopotamia*, *Media*, *Syria*, and *Judæa*; beſides many iſlands.

Flouriſhing as *Rome* now was, with reſpect to the extent and fruitfulneſs of its dominions, the power of its arms, the fame and valour of its commanders, the greatneſs of its revenues, the compaſs and magnificence of its city, and the numbers and riches, as well as learning and politeneſs of its inhabitants; it ſtill wanted conſiderably of that grandeur abroad, and much more of that quiet and ſereneneſs at home, which it afterwards enjoyed in the reign of *Auguſtus*. For now, eſpecially ſince the joining of three ſuch potent men as

The firſt triumvirate.

Cæſar, *Pompey*, and *Craſſus*, the ſtate was full of factions and diviſions, briberies and corruptions, feuds and jealouſies, which made many juſtly fear the approaching downfall of their antient rights and liberties.

Cæſar elected conſul,

The firſt effect of this triumvirate was the promoting of *Cæſar* to the conſulſhip, *Pompey* and *Craſſus* employing all their intereſt therein. He had two competitors, *Lucerius* and *Bibulus*. The former, covetous though rich, was taken off by large promiſes, and bribed to procure what votes he could for *Cæſar*; but the latter, ſupported in his election by the efforts and voluntary contributions of the ſenators, who were reſolved to have him for one of the conſuls, was elected with *Cæſar*. Even *Cato*, rigid as he was, thought that the law which forbad all manner of bribery on theſe occaſions, ought, in ſuch a caſe, to be diſpenſed with, when the intereſt of his country ſo much required it.

Year of *Rome* 695. courts the favour of the people, propoſes a diſtribution of lands;

Cæſar, after confirming all *Pompey*'s acts, according to agreement, from that time applied himſelf wholly to gain the favour of the people; and, the better to effect it, he preferred a law for dividing certain lands in *Campania* among ſuch of the poor citizens as had three children, or more. This propoſal was highly pleaſing to the commons, and *Cæſar* had taken the moſt proper methods to make it paſs; for the law was drawn up in terms ſo very juſt and reaſonable, that no man could find fault with it. He declared to the ſenators, that he would do nothing without their authority, nor propoſe any of his friends for commiſſioners, or

any

any man who might be liable to ſuſpicion; but that they ſhould all be perſons of known reputation and abilities. This plauſible and cautious way of proceeding, left ſcarce any room for contradiction: but ſtill the ſenate, to hinder the law, and yet not ſeem to oppoſe it, adjourned the affair from day to day; till, at laſt, *Cato* declared plainly, that ſuch changes in the ſtate were not to be permitted; and all the ſenators joined him. Upon this, *Cæſar* had immediate recourſe to the people, complaining of the injuſtice and ſtubbornneſs of the ſenate, and publicly aſking *Pompey* and *Craſſus* their opinions of this law. They both approved of it; and *Pompey* farther declared, that if ſuch as oppoſed it ſhould come with their ſwords in their hands, he would meet their ſwords, and bring a buckler with him beſides: whereupon a day was fixed for the publication of this law.

Which the ſenate oppoſe.

The time appointed being come, the people aſſembled in great numbers, and, in ſpite of all oppoſition, drove away *Cato* and *Bibulus* with ſtones and clubs; broke the conſul's axes; paſſed the law; and inſiſted, that all the ſenators ſhould ſwear to the obſervation of it. *Cato*, *Metellus*, and *Favonius*, were the only perſons who reſiſted; but they too, after much oppoſition, took the oath to ſave their fines and lives; for *Cæſar* had cauſed the people to make it capital for any one to refuſe. From this time *Cæſar* made little uſe of the ſenate; and his collegue, *Bibulus*, never dared to appear in public during the remainder of the year. Somebody upon this occaſion, to deride both *Bibulus* and the ſenate for their inactivity, at the head of thoſe acts where the names of the conſuls uſed to be inſcribed, inſtead of *Cæſar* and *Bibulus*, wrote *Caius Cæſar* and *Julius Cæſar*, to ſhew that *Cæſar* governed alone.

But the law is paſſed.

Cæſar, thus freed from his collegue, turned his attention towards the knights, who courted him, in order to obtain an abatement of the rent at which they farmed the public revenues. The ſenate refuſed to remit any thing; but *Cæſar* prevailed on the people to abate one third. By this, and other ways of pleaſing the lower orders of the ſtate, he obtained the province of *Gaul* for five years, with four legions; a thing he much deſired, as a means of performing great exploits. The reſt of the year he ſpent in endeavouring to eſtabliſh his intereſt for the time to come; and knowing of what conſequence *Pompey* was, to bind him the more ſtrongly, he gave him in marriage his daughter *Julia*, a very virtuous and beautiful lady. He likewiſe took care, that the next year's conſuls ſhould be his friends *Gabinius* and *Piſo*, to the latter of which he had lately given his daughter *Calpurnia*; and he procured the tribuneſhip for *Clodius*, notwithſtanding his former affront, becauſe he knew him to be an enemy to *Cicero*, whoſe oration againſt *Cæſar*, in pleading for *C. Antonius*, had gained him the hatred of the triumvirate:

Cæſar gains the affection of the knights.

Secures his future intereſt in *Rome*,

triumvirate. Having thus ſettled affairs, and finiſhed his conſulſhip, he departed for *Gaul* with ſome precipitation, being threatened to be called to an account for his conduct in his conſulſhip; and though ſome of the tribunes prevented his public cenſure, they could not ſave his quæſtor from condemnation.

and ſets out for *Gaul*.

Pompey and *Craſſus* were not idle in *Cæſar*'s abſence. The former had filled the city with ſoldiers, and both the conſuls being of their party, the authority of the ſenate was greatly weakened. *Clodius*, ſo ambitious of the tribuneſhip, that he had got himſelf adopted by a plebeian to qualify him for that poſt, was the moſt active of all. *Cicero* immediately ſaw that his ruin was intended. His chief hope was in *Pompey*, who had always been his friend: but *Pompey* had now ſacrificed every thing to the intereſts of the triumvirate, and had lately been extremely offended with *Cicero* for ſome ill-timed jokes. However, he aſſured him of his protection. *Cæſar* had offered to make him his lieutenant in his *Gallic* expedition, which he had a great mind to accept of; but *Pompey* adviſed him not to leave *Rome*, and *Clodius* artfully deluded him with falſe hopes of reconciliation, in order to make him ſtay, that he might be borne down before he was aware of his danger. In ſhort, every thing ſeemed to conſpire againſt him; and that piercing judgment and quick apprehenſion, which he uſed ſo much to value himſelf upon, quite forſook him now.

Cicero's diſgrace.

Clodius, by his diſtributions of corn among the poor, grew daily more and more in favour with the people, and procured a law to be paſſed, by which fire and water were interdicted to whoſoever had put to death any *Roman* citizen unheard. *Cicero*, who, with every one elſe, plainly ſaw that this was aimed at him, loſing all his former conſtancy, went up and down the city, ſoliciting his cauſe, in mourning robes, a long beard, and diſhevelled hair, attended by twenty thouſand knights, ſupplicating in his behalf, beſides many young noblemen, his pupils in the ſtudy of eloquence, among whom were the ſons of *Craſſus*. The ſenators were going to order a general mourning upon this occaſion; but the conſuls ſtopped that debate, and *Clodius* ſummoned them all to appear before the people, where *Gabinius* immediately condemned what *Cicero* had done in the affair of *Catiline*'s conſpiracy. *Cicero*'s laſt retreat was *Pompey*, who was indeed able enough to have ſaved him, but who, far from being diſpoſed to do him any ſervice, when *Cicero* waited on him with a petition, ſlipped out at a back door, to avoid ſeeing him. He now found himſelf reduced to the hard neceſſity, either of ſubmitting to his fate, or taking up arms for his defence, which laſt he might probably have done with ſome ſucceſs; but not being able to bear the thought of ſhedding the blood of his countrymen, by the advice of *Cato* and the reſt of his friends, he reſolved to retire,

tire, and accordingly left *Rome* in the night, and went to *Sicily*. After his retreat, *Clodius* caused him to be banished, by the votes of the people, four hundred miles from *Italy*, destroyed his possessions in the country, set his goods to sale, and pulled down his house, in the place of which he built a temple to Liberty. *Cato* was sent away soon after, by *Clodius*'s means, under pretence of doing him honour, to *Ptolomy* king of *Cyprus*. *Lucullus* had retired from the city, and *Crassus* minded nothing but his own affairs; so that the chief part of the government of the city lay between *Pompey* and *Clodius*.

He is banished.

While these things were doing at *Rome*, *Cæsar* was very busy in his expedition, by which he proposed vast advantages to himself, having not only *Cisalpine Gaul* allotted him, but also the other, which comprehended all that is now called *France*, together with a great part of the low countries, and some of *Germany*. His first enterprize was against the *Helvetians*, who had totally abandoned their country, burnt down their towns and houses, destroyed their provisions, and were marching into *Gaul*, through his province, to the number of upwards of three hundred thousand. Upon intelligence of this, *Cæsar* hastened to *Geneva*, and broke down the bridge there; upon which they sent to him, desiring leave to pass. He delayed answering them till he could collect all his troops, and, in the mean time, threw up a large intrenchment, from the lake of *Geneva* to Mount *Jura*, being twelve miles, which forced them to turn aside, and enter *Gaul* by the way of *Sequania*. *Cæsar* followed them with great diligence, and defeated a considerable party of them; upon which they sent a second time to desire a treaty. Nothing was concluded, and shortly after, four thousand of *Cæsar*'s cavalry met with a repulse, for which the enemy soon paid dear in a general battle, to which he artfully drew them, wherein they lost near two hundred thousand men, and their wives and children were cut to pieces, desperately fighting among the carriages. *Cæsar* crowned his victory with a glorious action, by collecting all who had escaped, and sending them in safety to their own countries.

Year of *Rome* 696.

Cæsar's exploits in *Gaul*.

He defeats the *Helvetians*.

Resolving to improve his time while the season permitted, he immediately turned his arms against *Ariovistus*, king of the *Germans*, who had seized the best part of *Sequania*, and used the inhabitants with intolerable severities and oppressions. The *Sequanians*, being allies of *Rome*, implored the assistance of *Cæsar*, who thereupon sent to *Ariovistus* without success, and afterwards came to a personal interview with him, in which *Ariovistus*'s haughty language, and the treachery of some of his troops, brought both armies to a battle shortly after. *Cæsar* gained the day, killed eighty thousand of the enemies, and pursued them to the very borders of the *Rhine*, over which *Ariovistus* crossed in a little boat with, a small

And *Ariovistus*, king of the *Germans*.

a ſmall retinue; two of his wives, and as many of his daughters being taken priſoners.

In the beginning of the next ſpring, a great confederacy was formed againſt the *Romans* by the *Belgæ*, who poſſeſſed a third part of *Gaul*, and were reckoned the moſt powerful people in the whole country. *Cæſar* hearing that they had raiſed above two hundred and eighty thouſand men, marched againſt them with all ſpeed, and bravely attacking them, while they were plundering his allies the *Gauls*, he defeated and put to flight ſo many of them, that, *Plutarch* ſays, marſhes and deep rivers became paſſable to the *Romans* by the prodigious number of the dead bodies. Several nations bordering upon the ocean, yielded without fighting: upon which, *Cæſar* led his army againſt the *Nervians*, the moſt ſavage and warlike people in thoſe parts. Theſe, leaving their children and effects in one of the thick foreſts, with which their country was covered, fell upon *Cæſar* with ſixty thouſand men, before he thought of engaging, or had time to encamp, with ſuch uncommon fury, that they broke the *Roman* cavalry, and ſurrounded the ſeventh and twelfth legions, which muſt all have been cut off, as their officers were, if *Cæſar* himſelf had not haſtily catched up a buckler, and ruſhed through his men into the midſt of the enemies, and his tenth legion run in to his aſſiſtance, and broke their ranks. Still they would not give way, but obſtinately ſtood their ground till they were all cut in pieces, and not a thouſand of them left. This was *Cæſar*'s ſecond year's expedition; and now the renown of his victories made him ſo formidable, even in *Germany*, that ſeveral nations beyond the *Rhine* ſent of their own accord, and ſubmitted to him.

The *Belgæ* defeated.

The *Nervians* defeated.

When the news of *Cæſar*'s laſt exploits reached *Rome*, the ſenate decreed a ſolemn feſtival for fifteen days, which was a greater honour than any had ever received before. *Clodius* having removed his enemies, began to prove an intolerable plague to many of the nobility, and even to *Pompey* himſelf, who now found that it would be much for his intereſt to have *Cicero* recalled. To this end he applied to *Milo*, one of the tribunes, a man of great courage and reſolution; and uſing his intereſt with many others, the matter was at laſt propoſed to the ſenate, where it was generally agreed to. But *Clodius* oppoſed it with the utmoſt violence: and when it was propoſed to the body of the people, and promoted as much as poſſible by *Milo* and his collegue; *Sextus Clodius*, aſſiſted by a party of gladiators, fell ſuddenly upon the multitude, killed ſeveral of the people, wounded the tribunes, and diſperſed the aſſembly. A day or two after, *Milo* ſeized *Clodius*, and carried him before the prætor: whereupon a great conteſt aroſe; but *Clodius*'s party was driven away by *Pompey*'s gladiators, and *Pompey* immediately poſſeſſing himſelf of the *forum*, aſſembled the people, who, with univerſal conſent,

Clodius occaſions great diſturbances at *Rome*.

conſent and applauſe voted *Cicero*'s return. The ſenate likewiſe decreed honours to ſuch cities as had entertained him, and ordered his houſe to be rebuilt, and all his poſſeſſions to be reinſtated at the public expence. *Cicero* was ſixteen months in baniſhment. *Cicero* recalled from baniſhment.

The next year, *Cæſar*, intending to viſit *Italy* himſelf, ſent *Servius Galba*, one of his lieutenants, with the twelfth legion and part of the cavalry, againſt the *Antuates*, *Veragri*, and *Seduni*, nations which inhabited from the river *Rhone* to the *Alps*, in order to clear a paſſage, and ſecure a trade in thoſe parts. *Galba* ſoon defeated a very great party, which had been ſo bold as to attack him in his camp. *Cæſar*, returning ſhortly after, found that the *Veneti*, and ſeveral other nations of *Celtic Gaul*, had revolted: whereupon he turned part of his force againſt them, but met with great difficulties in this enterprize, by reaſon of their naval ſtrength, by means of which they ſhifted continually from place to place; but at laſt, having procured a fleet, he attacked the *Veneti* at ſea, and overthrew them. In the mean time, *Craſſus*, one of his lieutenants, ſubdued the *Sontiates*, with the greateſt part of *Aquitain*; as *Sabinus*, another of them, did the *Unelli*, and all the maritime parts. Towards the latter end of the campaign, *Cæſar* marched againſt the *Morini*, a people near *Calais*, and the *Menapii*, two nations who were ſtill up in arms. The ſeaſon was too far advanced for him to do any thing more this year. Continuation of *Cæſar*'s exploits in *Gaul*.

As *Cæſar*'s conqueſts eſtabliſhed his reputation in *Rome*, ſo his humanity, and other excellent qualities gained him the hearts of all his ſoldiers. He had now got great ſtore of wealth, with which he not only diſcharged his debts, but likewiſe made many great friends by his magnificent preſents, eſpecially to the ladies, and alſo corrupted the ædiles, prætors, and conſuls themſelves. In this winter he paſſed into *Italy*, and took up his head quarters at *Lucca*, where there was ſo great a concourſe of people to pay him their reſpects, that two hundred ſenators were preſent together, and ſo many prætors and proconſuls, that one hundred and twenty bundles of rods were ſeen there at a time. Here the triumvirate concerted new meaſures, and *Cæſar*, fearing he might be recalled from *Gaul*, engaged *Pompey* and *Craſſus* to endeavour at the conſulſhip the following year, and to continue him in his employment five years longer. This deſign was ſo diſpleaſing to the ſenate, and ſuch violent diſputes aroſe concerning it, that they went into mourning, as in public calamities, ſaying, that the proceedings of the triumvirate were dangerous to the peace and liberty of *Rome*. *Cato* ſet up *Domitius* againſt them, as a candidate for the conſulſhip; but *Pompey*, reſolving to carry his point, ſent ſome armed men againſt *Domitius*, as he was going to the election, who killed one of his ſlaves, diſperſed his company, wounded *Cato* in the arm, and *Domitius* himſelf eſcaped The ſenate jealous of the proceedings of the triumvirate.

with difficulty. By ſuch force and violence *Pompey* and *Craſſus* obtained the conſulſhip. Shortly after, the people were going to give *Cato* the prætorſhip; but *Pompey* pretending ſtrange prodigies in heaven, diſmiſſed the aſſembly, and then, corrupting the tribes with money, made them chuſe *Antius* and *Vatinius* prætors. After this, by the aſſiſtance of the tribune *Trebonius*, the conſuls procured laws, which continued *Cæſar* in his government of *Gaul* five years longer, and aſſigned *Syria* and the *Parthian* war to *Craſſus*, and *Africa* and *Spain* to *Pompey*, with four legions, of which he lent *Cæſar* two for the *Gallic* wars.

Cæſar continued in the government of *Gaul.*

Year of *Rome* 699. The fourth year of *Cæſar*'s expedition was employed againſt ſeveral nations of *Germany*, who, to the number of four hundred and thirty thouſand of all ſorts, being driven out of their own country by the *Suevi*, the moſt powerful of all the *Germans*, had paſſed the *Rhine* into *Gaul*, and forced the *Menagii* from their habitations. *Cæſar*, well knowing the levity of the *Gauls*, and their readineſs to caſt off their yoke, reſolved to hinder the *Germans* from ſettling on this ſide of the *Rhine*. To this end, and to break the meaſures he found they had already began to concert with the *Gauls*, he anticipated the uſual time of taking the field, and marched directly to the *Germans*, who, amazed at his extraordinary diligence, ſent ambaſſadors to deſire a treaty. He gave them a patient hearing, and favourable anſwers, but ſtill continued his march. At laſt the articles were agreed on, provided *Cæſar* would ſtay three days; but he would allow them but one; during which, ſome of his cavalry going out to forage, met with a party of *German* horſe, who fell furiouſly upon them, put them to flight, and purſued them to their very camp. The *Germans* ſending their principal officers the next day to excuſe this action, *Cæſar* detained them priſoners, and advancing with his whole army, fell ſuddenly upon the enemy, and cut them all in pieces. After this, he laid a bridge over the *Rhine*, marched into *Germany*, relieved the *Ubii*, granted a peace to ſuch as gave him hoſtages, burnt and deſtroyed the reſt, and at the end of eighteen days returned into *Gaul*, breaking down the bridge behind him.

He invades *Britain*, Finding that he had time this year to undertake a new expedition, and animated by an ardent deſire of glory, he reſolved to croſs the ſea into *Britain*; an enterprize ſo hazardous, that few but *Cæſar* would have ventured upon it. His pretence was the *Britons* ſending ſupplies into *Gaul* againſt the *Romans*; and, in order to his deſign, he made ſtrict enquiry of the merchants who traded thither, what kind of people they were, how they made war, under what laws they lived, and which were their beſt ports. After this, he ſent *Voluſenus* to view their coaſts, and, in the mean time, ordered the ſhips he had employed againſt the *Veneti* to be got ready, and made all other neceſſary preparations.

Several

Several of the *British* people, alarmed at the impending danger, ſent ambaſſadors with tokens of ſubmiſſion to *Cæſar*, who ſent them back with fair words, and with them *Cornio*, whom he privately inſtructed to obſerve the country; but *Cornio*, not daring to truſt the inhabitants, ſtaid only five days upon the coaſts, and then returned to report what he had ſeen. *Cæſar*, leaving all things quiet in *Gaul*, and *Sulpicius Rufus* to guard the ports, put to ſea in the night, with two legions and part of his cavalry, and the next morning made the *Britiſh* coaſt, where he met with ſuch oppoſition, that the *Romans* were in danger of being driven back, till the ſtandard-bearer of the tenth legion boldly leaped aſhore, and being well ſupported by *Cæſar*, all the army landed, and the *Britons* fled, ſo terrified, that they ſent ſoon after to deſire a peace, which was granted. They had already delivered ſome hoſtages, when a great ſtorm aroſe, which ſhattered the *Roman* ſhips as they lay at anchor; and this, with *Cæſar*'s want of proviſions, ſo encouraged the *Britons*, that inſtead of ſending him the reſt of their hoſtages, they marched againſt him with a numerous army, and meeting one of the legions, almoſt defeated it: but *Cæſar* coming up with timely aſſiſtance, brought it off. He immediately ſet about repairing his ſhips, procuring of proviſions, and ſecuring his camp; and being again attacked by the *Britons*, he overthrew them, and burnt many of their towns, which obliged them once more to ſue for peace. *Cæſar* now required a double number of hoſtages; and finding the ſeaſon far advanced, he put to ſea, and returned ſafely to *Gaul*, only two of his ſhips, with about three hundred men on board, landing a little lower than they ſhould have done, were ſet upon by the *Morini*, who, not long before, had been reconciled to him. They were ſoon relieved, and *Labienus* was ſent to chaſtiſe the revolters, who being reduced, he and *Cotta* haraſſed the country of the *Menapians*, who had hid themſelves in the woods. which he leaves; and returns to *Gaul*.

The *Britons* having furniſhed *Cæſar* with a freſh pretence for attacking them, by breaking their articles with him, he embarked the next ſpring at *Iceius*, or *Calais*, with five legions and two thouſand horſe, and landed without oppoſition in *Britain*, where he ſhortly after forced one of the enemy's camps. About the ſame time, news was brought him, that his whole navy was extremely damaged by a ſtorm, and ſome of his ſhips loſt. Upon this he retired back towards the ſea coaſt, where he repaired moſt of them in ten days, and wrote to *Labienus* to build more. After that, he marched againſt *Caſſivelaun*, the general of all the *Britiſh* forces, and defeated him in a bloody battle, which ſo intimidated the enemy, that they were afraid to appear againſt him in any body. *Cæſar* thereupon advanced farther into the country, and paſſed the *Thames*, in ſpite af all oppoſition, his men wading up to the neck in water. *Caſſivelaun*, notwith- *Cæſar*'s ſecond expedition to *Britain*. Year of *Rome* 700.

ſtanding his reputed valour, kept to the woods and foreſts; and finding that ſeveral towns had ſurrendered to *Cæſar*, and particularly his own, he alſo ſent to him, deſiring peace. *Cæſar* received his ſubmiſſion, took hoſtages, and impoſed a certain tribute upon *Britain*; after which, finding the ſeaſon far advanced, and apprehending danger from ſome tumults in *Gaul*, he croſſed the ſea again, and brought back his army with much glory and renown.

He returns back to *Gaul*.

Year of *Rome* 701. The next year *Cæſar* perceived that many of the ſtates of *Gaul* were diſpoſed to a general inſurrection; whereupon he reinforced his army with three *Roman* legions, and as many auxiliaries as he could well procure. He opened the campaign ſooner than uſual, thereby to break, or at leaſt weaken the union of the diſaffected, of whom he ſoon reduced ſeveral nations, as the *Nervii* firſt, and, ſhortly after, the *Senones*, *Carnutes*, and *Menapians*; while his lieutenant *Labienus* ſubdued all the people about *Treves*. After this, he built a bridge, and paſſed the *Rhine* a ſecond time, becauſe many of the *Germans* had entered into a confederacy with the *Gauls*. His attempts upon the *Suevi* being attended with little ſucceſs, by reaſon of their flying into woods and impaſſable places, he turned his arms againſt the *Eburones*. But while he was ravaging their territories, the *Sicambri*, croſſing the *Rhine* ſuddenly, attacked his lieutenant *Q. Cicero*'s camp, killed many of his men, and cauſed a great conſternation among them all, till the news of *Cæſar*'s approach forced them to retire. *Cæſar* then fell again upon the country of the *Eburones*; after which, having held a council in *Gaul* for the puniſhment of the revolters, andprovided his army with all things neceſſary, he drew it into winter quarters.

And paſſes the *Rhine* into *Germany*.

During theſe great actions in *Gaul*, *Pompey* and *Craſſus*, upon the expiring of their conſulſhips, began to take care about the ſeveral governments that were allotted them. *Craſſus* was extremely elated with the thoughts of his expedition into *Syria* and *Parthia*, promiſing himſelf to ſurpaſs even *Pompey* in glory; and therefore he haſtened his preparations as much as he could. The tribunes ſtrongly oppoſed the raiſing of men, and endeavoured to repeal the laws made for their expeditions. *Pompey* was ſatisfied with ſending his lieutenant into his provinces; being unwilling to leave the city, as he pretended, becauſe of his office of ſuperintendant of the proviſions; an honour which *Cicero*, in return for his being recalled from baniſhment, had procured him from the ſenate, that he might thereby have authority all over the *Roman* empire. But *Craſſus* had recourſe to force. The tribunes, unable to withſtand it, deſiſted, and loaded him with curſes and imprecations; and indeed moſt men exclaimed loudly againſt the injuſtice of attacking the *Parthians*, who had not offended the *Romans*, and who were then at peace with them. Theſe reproaches made no impreſſion

preſſion upon *Craſſus*, who having got all things ready, ſet out for his province.

Pompey kept wholly to the city, ſtudying how to make himſelf ſtill greater and more powerful. The fame of *Cæſar*'s conqueſts, which engroſſed the attention of all *Rome*, began now to prove very ungrateful to him, who feared nothing ſo much as a rival in glory. He therefore did all he could to diminiſh the reputation of that great commander, obliging the magiſtrates not to publiſh any letters they received, till he had foreſtalled the credit of them, by ſpreading falſe and diſadvantageous reports. The prudent, who wiſhed well to their country, foreſaw with grief the miſeries that would enſue from a rupture between two ſuch extraordinary perſons; and what ſtill augmented their fears, was, the death of *Pompey*'s wife, *Julia*, daughter to *Cæſar*, which happened at the ſame time. *Pompey* loved her paſſionately; and her ſenſe and virtue had always a great aſcendant over the diſpoſitions both of *Cæſar* and *Pompey*. The people of *Rome* ſhewed the reſpect they bore her, by public demonſtrations of their ſorrow: and when *Pompey* would have carried her body to one of his houſes near *Alba*, they would not ſuffer it, but bore it into the field of *Mars*, where they buried it with the greateſt magnificence. From this moment *Pompey* reſolved to purſue nothing but his own advancement; and in order to regain the favour of the people, he built a ſtately theatre for plays, ſhews, and other public diverſions, which *Cicero* was much diſpleaſed at, as appears from one of his epiſtles.

Pompey grows jealous of *Cæſar*'s glory.

While *Pompey* was managing his affairs at home, and *Cæſar* in the midſt of *Gaul*, *Craſſus* was purſuing his expedition with all vigour. In his journey he marched through *Jeruſalem*, where he rifled the temple of a great treaſure, to the value of ten thouſand talents, which *Pompey*, to his great reputation, had ſpared. He ſpent many days in weighing the treaſure of the idol goddeſs in *Hierapolis*, or *Edeſſa*, in *Syria*; and in his whole paſſage he ſhewed more of covetouſneſs than valour, liſting many men, and then diſcharging them again for money. He likewiſe neglected many opportunities of falling upon the *Parthians* unprovided; deſpiſed the friendſhip of the king of *Armenia*, who gave him leave to paſs through his country to *Parthia*; took no care about refreſhing his men, till he came within the enemy's reach, and neglected to paſs down the river *Seleucia*, as he was adviſed, where he might have been ſupplied with proviſions by water. This laſt counſel he rejected through the cunning inſinuations of *Abgarus* the *Oſroenian*, who, having formerly been a friend and ally of the *Romans*, was now in the intereſts of the *Parthians*, and feeding *Craſſus* with money to gild over his treachery, gave them notice of all that paſſed in the *Roman* camp. He likewiſe perſuaded *Craſſus* to lay aſide all thoughts of *Seleucia* and *Cteſiphon*, and march

Craſſus's rapacious avarice in his expedition.

His injudicious conduct.

directly

directly againſt *Surenas*, the *Parthian* general. This advice he followed; and thereby, firſt loſing his ſon, he himſelf
His death. was circumvented by *Surenas*, under pretence of a treaty, and either ſlain by his enemies, or killed by ſome of his own men, to prevent his falling into their hands. His men were miſerably ſlaughtered, to the number of twenty thouſand, beſides ten thouſand taken, and his head was carried to *Orodes*, king of *Parthia*, who cauſed melted gold to be poured into his mouth, crying, *Now ſatisfy thyſelf with gold, of which thou haſt always been ſo unſatiably greedy.*

Thus fell *Craſſus*, one of the richeſt men in all the *Roman* empire, and one of the heads of the triumvirate. His death laid the foundation of the civil war between the other two; for while he lived he was a check to them both, and balanced their intereſts: but now an open field was left for their emulation and ambition. *Craſſus* was killed in the firſt year of his expedition, and in the 701ſt of *Rome*.

Factions and corruption never ran higher in the ſtate, than at this time. What bribery could not purchaſe was obtained by dint of violence. The conſuls, finding themſelves debarred, by the power of the triumvirate, from waging war and leading armies, as formerly, made it their ſole buſineſs to enrich themſelves out of the public revenues, or from bribes, as well as the ſalaries depending upon their offices. *Pompey* connived at all this, hoping that the infir-
Great diſturbances at *Rome*. mities of the ſtate would occaſion him to be created dictator; and for that reaſon he retired for a while into the country, that his friends might have the fairer opportunity of inſinuating the neceſſity of his preſence, as well as authority, for preſerving the peace of the city. At the time for the election of new magiſtrates, the contention among the candidates was ſo great, that none could be choſen for eight entire months: and what ſtill heightened theſe miſchiefs was, the death of *Clodius*, killed by his great enemy *Milo*, who met him by accident near his country houſe. The body was brought to *Rome*, and expoſed all bloody to the people, who thereupon immediately ran with fury to *Milo*'s houſe, to ſet it on fire; but they were repulſed, and ſeveral of them killed: upon which they returned to the body, pulled down all the magiſtrates ſeats, made a funeral pile of them, and ſet fire to it with ſuch rage, that all the buildings round the *forum* were burnt with *Clodius*'s body. The mutineers then diſperſing all over the city, under pretence of ſearching for *Milo*'s friends, committed ſuch horrid outrages, that nobody dared to walk the ſtreets unarmed.

Pompey made ſole conſul. These fatal miſchiefs made every one turn their eyes upon *Pompey*, as the fitteſt perſon to redreſs all: but while they were conſulting about creating him dictator, *Cato* prevailed with the ſenate to make him conſul alone, that ſo, if occaſion were, he might be afterwards accountable for any mal-adminiſtration. Accordingly, the authority of a dictator

tator was conferred upon him under a milder name; a thing never known in *Rome* before, but upon ſome extraordinary occaſion, and then only for a few days, when the conſuls were ſometimes commiſſioned, *To take care that the common-wealth received no damage*. New troops were allotted to *Pompey*, one thouſand talents allowed yearly for their pay, and the government of *Spain*, which he adminiſtred by his deputies, was continued to him for four years longer. *Milo* was ſhortly after accuſed by *Clodius*'s brother. *Cicero* undertook his defence; but, intimidated by the appearance of *Pompey*'s ſoldiers, who ſurrounded him as he was pleading, he was put out of his ſpeech, and *Milo* was baniſhed. When *Cicero* afterwards ſent him his oration in writing, the excellency of it made him anſwer, *That it was happy for him that* Cicero *was out in his harangue; for otherwiſe he ſhould not have lived ſo well as he now did at* Marſeilles; for that was the place of his exile. *Pompey*, after executing the office of dictator for a little time, took for his collegue *Scipio Metellus*, whoſe daughter *Cornelia* he had lately married. This alliance was ſuch an addition to his intereſt, that he now made no doubt of being able to out-top *Cæſar*, and only waited till affairs were ſomewhat more ripe for execution. But *Cæſar*, by his great policy and induſtry, his noble exploits abroad, and his profuſion of preſents at home, ſtill ſecured himſelf a ſufficient party in the city. He cauſed a new *forum* to be built at *Rome*, the ground whereof coſt him one hundred thouſand ſeſterces; and he gave the people a public entertainment, in acknowledgment of the honours done to his daughter *Julia*. He was a great encourager of learning. At this time flouriſhed, among many other learned men, that excellent hiſtorian, *Salluſt*.

Year of *Rome* 702.

The troubles in *Rome*, and *Cæſar*'s abſence, encouraged many of the nations of *Gaul* to endeavour once more to recover their liberty. They purſued their deſign with greater vigour than ever, and choſe *Vercingetorix* for their general. Upon the news of this, *Cæſar* immediately ſet out, forced his way over the mountains through deep ſnows, and overthrew *Vercingetorix*, who thereupon retired to *Aleſia*, a city of the *Madubii*, and ſhut himſelf up in it, with eight thouſand men, and all things neceſſary for a ſiege. *Cæſar*, notwithſtanding the hazard of ſuch an attempt, inveſted the place; and though two hundred and fifty thouſand of the braveſt of the *Gauls* came to relieve it, and in a manner beſieged him, yet, by his wonderful ſkill and management, his double and treble trenches, and his vaſt lines of contravallation, he repulſed the relievers, and ſoon after became maſter of the town, to his great honour and reputation. All the diſaffected in thoſe parts ſubmitted immediately after, and thus ended *Cæſar*'s ſeventh year's expedition in *Gaul*, which was the moſt dangerous and the moſt glorious that ever he undertook.

The *Gauls* revolt.

Cæſar ſubdues them.

Cæſar's eighth and laſt year's expedition into *Gaul*.

The next year the *Gauls* reſolved to try their fortune once more, and many of their nations again entered into a confederacy. *Cæſar*, having intelligence of their deſigns, began his march from *Bibracte*, made great devaſtations throughout the territories of the *Bituriges* in *Aquitain*, and ſubdued ſeveral of the people about thoſe parts. C. *Fabius* and *Caninius*, two of his lieutenants, defeated others of them; and *Cæſar* joining this laſt, inveſted *Uxellodunum*, a city of the *Cadurci*, which, though very ſtrong by its ſituation, he reduced with little bloodſhed, by turning the courſe of the ſprings that ſupplied the place with water. The reſt of *Aquitain* ſoon ſubmitted. He then went to *Narbonne*, and diſpoſed his men in their winter quarters, in ſuch manner that they proved very uſeful to him afterwards in the civil wars: and thus ended *Cæſar*'s eighth and laſt year's expedition in *Gaul*, by which he acquired great honour and renown, and the *Romans* a vaſt increaſe of riches and dominions.

The jealouſies between *Cæſar* and *Pompey* break out.

The jealouſies between *Cæſar* and *Pompey* began now to be more conſpicuous than ever; and a rupture might well be expected, when two perſons, the greateſt that ever *Rome* produced, were become rivals in glory, and their tempers were ſuch, that the latter could not endure an equal, nor the former a ſuperior. *Cæſar*'s reputation ſtood very high, his riches were great, his generoſity was unbounded, his troops almoſt adored him, and numbers of the ſenators were obliged to him for conſiderable ſums, which he had lent them without intereſt. He entertained with magnificence all that ſerved under him, and his army was a refuge to all criminals and debtors, many of which laſt he diſcharged at his own expence; but for ſome, whoſe debts were larger than ordinary, he uſed to ſay, *That one civil war would make all even*. All this was done at the expence of *Gaul*; which occaſioned this obſervation, *That* Cæſar *conquered the* Gauls *with the* Roman *ſteel, and the* Romans *with the* Gallic *gold*.

Pompey having obſerved that *Cæſar* had rendered himſelf very diſagreeable to the ſenate in his conſulſhip, made it his ſtudy to gain the favour of that body, and ſucceeded therein. *Cæſar* was aware of the conſequence of this, and therefore endeavoured vigorouſly to obtain the conſulſhip again, in his abſence, and likewiſe to get his government continued to him; trying all ways to keep his army till he ſhould be choſen conſul. But he ſoon found that this affair did not ſucceed according to his wiſh, owing chiefly to the oppoſition of *Marcus Marcellus*, one of the preſent conſuls, and his great enemy. He therefore, though ſufficiently ſenſible of *Pompey*'s jealouſy, reſolved to endeavour once more to preſerve his friendſhip, and to that end offered him his niece *Octavia*, and demanded *Pompey*'s daughter for himſelf: but *Pompey* preferred an alliance with *Scipio*, whom he joined with him in the conſulſhip for the laſt five months.

The

The firſt public appearance of the diviſion was occaſioned by *Pompey*'s two laws, publiſhed in his conſulſhip; the one, to inquire into the conduct of the officers of the ſtate for twenty years paſt; and the other, to diſqualify all abſent perſons from demanding any public employment. Though both theſe laws were plainly levelled againſt *Cæſar*, no violence was uſed, but all was managed with extreme artifice and cunning, till the election of the new conſuls, who were *Æmilius Paulus* and *Calidius Marcellus*. Every one was impatient to ſee how they would declare themſelves. A preſent of fifteen hundred talents had already ſecured the former in *Cæſar*'s intereſt; but the latter was his enemy. The tribune *Curio*, a man of great reſolution, and very eminent for his abilities at the bar, now burthened with debts both for himſelf and others, and particularly for *Mark Anthony*, one of his collegues, was, from a violent enemy, brought over to be a friend to *Cæſar* by the making of his circumſtances eaſy to him. He did not, however, immediately declare himſelf, but artfully diſſembled his intentions, the better to penetrate the deſigns of the other party, after which he ſought an opportunity to break with *Pompey*. In order to this, he demanded the ſuperintendence of the highways; and on its being refuſed him, as he knew it would, he ſhewed his reſentment: and ſoon after, when the conſul *Marcellus* propoſed, with great earneſtneſs, the recalling of *Cæſar* from his government, *Curio* applauded his wiſdom; adding, *That it was but juſt that* Pompey *and* Cæſar *ſhould be recalled together*. The meaning of this propoſal was plain; and *Pompey*'s friends began to be very troubleſome to *Curio*; particularly *Appius*, one of the cenſors, who threatened to expel him from the ſenate, and actually propoſed it in one of their meetings. *Curio* ſubmitted to any thing decreed againſt himſelf only, but would yield to nothing where *Cæſar*'s intereſt was ſtruck at; and the conſul *Æmilius* ſecured him from the effects of *Appius*'s menace.

Curio made the ſame propoſal to the people as he had done to the ſenate. The people received it with the greateſt applauſe: and, as a farther teſtimony of their ſatisfaction, they impowered *Cæſar* to demand the conſulſhip without removing from his province. Upon this, *Pompey* left the city, under pretence of going to his government: but he really went no farther than a country houſe of his, where falling ſick, he wrote to the ſenate, *That he was ready to reſign all his employments when* Cæſar *did the like*; *which he would confirm upon his return to* Rome. *Cicero* immediately laid hold of this, and told him, *It was his duty to begin what he propoſed: he would engage that* Cæſar *ſhould follow his example*. The matter was then publicly debated; but ended only in an order, That two legions ſhould be drawn out of *Cæſar*'s and *Pompey*'s army to be ſent againſt the *Parthians*. This was only to weaken *Cæſar*, for *Pompey* likewiſe demanded the legions he had

had formerly lent him: *Cæsar* saw at once the reason of this order, and *Pompey*'s designs. However, he made no opposition, but surrendered two legions, generously giving each man five and twenty crowns.

Cicero endeavours to mediate between them, but in vain.

Cicero returned at this time from his government of *Cilicia*, from his exploits in which he pretended to have merited the honour of a triumph, His absence had hindered his joining with either party; and his present pretensions obliged him to be a mediator between both. Proposals were made, but to no purpose; for *Appius*, returning from *Cæsar*'s army, gave out, that his soldiers had no esteem for him, and that they would certainly come over to the senate's party whenever they should repass the *Alps*. This relation gave *Pompey* such confidence, that he would not hear *Cicero*: and when this last afterwards asked him, *What forces he had to oppose* Cæsar; his answer was, *That he need but stamp with his foot, and an army would start out of the earth.* Many of the senators began to think very meanly of *Cæsar*; and *Cato* himself scornfully declared, *That he would bring him to an account for his actions*; *and that he should be treated as* Milo *had been before him.*

Cæsar repasses the *Alps.*

Cæsar often wrote to the senate, to desire to be continued in his government, as *Pompey* had been; or, that both might be recalled at the same time; or else, that he might be permitted to stand for the consulship by proxy. These proposals being rejected, he repassed the *Alps* with the third legion, and marched to *Ravenna*; from whence he sent a letter to the new consuls, *Cornelius Lentulus* and *Clodius Marcellus*; wherein, after an honourable mention of his own exploits, he signified, *That he was ready to resign all his power, in case* Pompey *did the like*; *otherwise they might reasonably expect, that he could not be wholly insensible of the injury done to him as well as to his country.* Great debates, and violent dissentions arose about this letter; but at last a decree was issued, purporting, *That* Cæsar *should disband his forces within such a time, on pain of being declared an enemy to the state.* This decree, though strongly opposed by many, was immediately followed by another, published only in case of extremity, directing the consul and other magistrates to take care that the commonwealth received no damage: and *Pompey* was ordered to command what troops were ready. *Domitius* was appointed to supersede *Cæsar*; and all were up in arms in *Rome*. *Cæsar* received a speedy account of this from *Curio*, *Anthony*, and *Longinus*, who fled to him in slaves habits, in which condition he shewed them to his army, telling his men, *That the senate had dealt basely and ungratefully by him, who had done them so many services*; *as well as unjustly and inhumanly by his friends, whose persons were sacred by their office, but who were now forced to conceal themselves under the mean disguise of slavery, to shun the fury of his enemies*; *and all for maintaining those undoubted rights which even* Sylla *durst never violate.* Then, tearing his robes,

robes, and melting into tears, he conjured all his ſoldiers to defend his honour and reputation, after having ſerved nine years under him with ſo much glory and renown. The ſoldiers, to a man, anſwered, with loud acclamations, *That they were ready to revenge all injuries done to their general:* and thus began the famous civil-war, about four years after the death of *Craſſus*. Year of *Rome* 705.

Among the many warlike qualities of *Cæſar*, his diligence in preventing an enemy and purſuing a victory, held the firſt rank. He never had to deal with ſo expert a commander as at this time; and therefore ſtood now in need of all his ſkill and policy. The firſt ſtep he took, was, to ſend a choſen party of men, armed only with ſwords, to put themſelves as ſecretly as poſſible into *Arminium*, the firſt city of his province. He himſelf remained at *Ravenna*, and went to ſee the combat of gladiators, as if he had thought of nothing but pleaſure and amuſement; and when night came, he ſat down to ſupper with his friends, ſtaid a little while with them, and then riſing up, deſired them to make themſelves welcome, and that he would be with them again in a moment. But he had ſecretly ordered his chariot to be got ready, and, with ſome few of his particular friends, ſet forward towards *Arminium*. When he arrived at the banks of the *Rubicon*, a little river which paſſed *Ciſalpine Gaul* from the reſt of *Italy*, all the misfortunes of the approaching war preſenting themſelves to his melancholy mind, he began to conſider what poſterity would think of the ſtep he was about to take. Sometimes he was minded to go back; and turning himſelf to *Aſinius Pollio*, *'Tis now in our power*, ſaid he, *to return; but if we paſs this fatal river, our only retreat muſt be to our arms*. Some authors ſay, that juſt by the place where he ſtood, of a ſudden there appeared a man of an extraordinary ſtature, who made excellent muſic with a reed he played upon. This uncommon ſight drew many of the ſoldiers to him; among the reſt, a trumpeter; from whom he ſnatched his trumpet, and ſounding a charge with a more violent blaſt than ordinary, threw himſelf into the water and ſwam to the other ſide. *Cæſar*, continue our authors, without farther conſideration, paſſed the river, crying, *Let us go where the gods ſo loudly call, and the fury of our enemies drives us!* From thence he marched directly to *Arminium*, and poſſeſſed himſelf of it without reſiſtance. He had only ſix thouſand men at this time; the reſt of his troops not having yet joined him. *Cæſar's* paſſage of the *Rubicon*. He takes *Aminium*.

This unexpected enterprize filled *Rome* with the utmoſt conſternation, every one imagining *Cæſar* at its gates with all his army. *Pompey* was amazed, and *Cicero* at a loſs what to do, as appears by his epiſtles on this occaſion. But what ſtung *Pompey* moſt of all, was, the ſarcaſms and bitter reflections of many of his own party; ſome of whom accuſed him of indiſcretion, others of injuſtice; and *Favonius*, a crack- Great conſternation at *Rome*.

crack-brained philoſopher, who pretended to imitate *Cato*, bid him ſtamp with his foot and produce his armies. At length *Pompey* told them, *That if they would follow him, they ſhould not want an army; that it was neither their houſes nor their provinces that could inſpire them with the love of virtue and liberty; but that men of honour might find it in all retreats; and that their following him would be the only way to put them in a condition of returning to their houſes with glory.* The conſideration of the preſent danger made them reſolve to quit the city. Accordingly, the conſuls, and almoſt all the ſenate, followed him with great precipitation to *Capua*, where were the two legions which *Cæſar* had ſent from *Gaul*. *Pompey* put his affairs in the beſt order he could, and reſolved to retire towards *Brundaſium*. He left *L. Domitius* in *Corfinium*, and *Cicero* to command in *Capua*, who received his commiſſion with ſome reluctancy. *Labienus*, upon ſome diſguſt, left *Cæſar*, and went over to *Pompey*; and *Cæſar*, either thro' policy or generoſity, ſent all his money and equipage after him. Some overtures of accommodation were made by *Pompey*; but the demands on both ſides could not be agreed upon. *Pompey*'s deſign was only to gain time; his chief reliance being upon the forces of the *Eaſt*, which were abſolutely in his intereſt: and *Cæſar*, on his ſide, depending upon the valour and affection of his ſoldiers, had no thoughts of quitting his arms, but wanted only to ſhew that he had taken them up with juſtice.

Pompey, the conſuls, and moſt of the ſenators, leave *Rome*.

Cæſar proceeds to action, and becomes maſter of *Italy*.

The negociation being over, *Cæſar* ſeized upon the towns of *Picenum* which lay in his way, and very ſoon became maſter of all that province. This progreſs redoubled the fears of *Rome*; and *Lentulus*, who was come back to ſeize the public treaſure, was obliged to fly. In the mean time, the twelfth legion joined *Cæſar*, who thereupon marched directly after *Pompey*, without offering to attack *Rome*, which he knew would fall of courſe to the conqueror. The firſt place that made any reſiſtance was *Corfinium*, the chief city of the country of the *Peligni*, which was poſſeſſed by *Domitius*, who had lately raiſed twenty cohorts in thoſe parts. *Cæſar* made his approaches with two legions, and was oppoſed by five cohorts, who defended a bridge about three miles from the city, but were driven back to the gates of *Corfinium*, which was immediately inveſted. *Domitius* prepared for a vigorous defence, and wrote to *Pompey*, *That he had now a fair opportunity to ſhut in* Cæſar, *if he would come up; and that it would not be for his reputation to leave ſo many ſenators and knights as were now beſieged, as well as ſo many ſoldiers, to the mercy of the enemy.* *Pompey* anſwered, *That he was not then in a condition to hazard a battle; that* Domitius *had engaged himſelf in* Corfinium *contrary to his opinion, and therefore ought to think of making the beſt retreat he could.* It was this refuſal that made *Cicero* ſo angry with *Pompey*, as we find he was, in one of his letters to *Atticus*.

Domitius

Domitius concealed *Pompey*'s anſwer, giving out, That he would bring ſpeedy relief. But at the ſame time he conſulted with his friends how to make a private retreat; which being diſcovered, his ſoldiers ſecured him, and ſent to *Cæſar*, offering to deliver him up, and ſurrender the place. *Cæſar* kept his men from entering that night, to prevent all violences; and the next day *Lentulus*, who was in the town, came out, and humbly begged pardon, reminding him of their antient friendſhip, and acknowledging many favours he had formerly received at his hands. *Cæſar* interrupting him, told him, *That he came not from his province to injure any man, but for his own ſecurity, the reſtoration of the tribune's office, and the liberty of* Rome. *Lentulus* deſired leave to return with this meſſage; and the next day, the ſenators and knights who were in the town, together with their children, and the officers of the garriſon, came out to *Cæſar*, who gave them all liberty to go where they pleaſed: and to ſhew that he ſought as little after money as after the lives of his enemies, he returned *Domitius* ſix thouſand *ſeſterces* that were ſeized, though he was ſatisfied that it was public money, and given out by *Pompey* to pay ſoldiers. He made *Domitius*'s men take the military oath to him; and, after ſtaying ſeven days in *Corfinium*, marched into *Apulia*.

Pompey having intelligence of what paſſed at *Corfinium*, retreated to *Brunduſium*, where the conſuls immediately embarked for *Dyrrachium* in *Epirus*, with thirty cohorts, *Pompey* continuing in the town with twenty others. Shortly after, *Cæſar* arrived before the place, and having taken one of *Pompey*'s engineers, freely ſet him at liberty, with orders to tell his general, *That it might be for both their intereſts, as well as the good of the republic, for them two to have an interview, and not to truſt matters to a third perſon.* No anſwer being returned, *Cæſar* ſet about blocking up the harbour; and when his works were pretty far advanced, he again ſent to *Pompey* to deſire an interview. Anſwer was now returned, *That the conſuls being abſent, no propoſitions of that kind could be received.* By this time, the ſhips which had carried the conſuls being returned, *Pompey* and all his troops went on board them as ſecretly as they could, and immediately ſet ſail for *Dyrrachium*. *Cæſar* ſent after them, and took two of the ſhips, which had been run a-ground through haſte. *Brunduſium* opened its gates. Thus *Cæſar*, with little or no bloodſhed, became maſter of all *Italy* in two months.

Cæſar now reſolved to viſit *Rome*, to ſettle ſome ſort of government there. Accordingly, after ſending ſome conſiderable force into *Sicily* and *Sardinia*; the one kept by *Cato*, and the other by *Aurelius Cotta*, both of whom abandoned their poſts upon the arrival of *Cæſar*'s troops; he ſet out for that city: and in his way thither paid a viſit to *Cicero*, whom he would gladly have perſuaded to go with him. Upon his arrival at *Rome* he aſſembled what ſenators he found there

Cæſar viſits *Rome*.

there, and, calling them the ſenate, made a ſpeech in juſtification of what he had done, and propoſed ſending ambaſſadors to *Pompey*; but none were found to undertake that office. Conſidering that he ſhould ſoon want money, he went to the public treaſury, to furniſh himſelf there: but the tribune *Metellus* boldly oppoſed him, ſaying, *That money was ſacred by the law, which denounced the greateſt curſes againſt whoſoever touched it upon any occaſion but the* Gallic *war.* *Cæſar* replied, *That arms and laws ſeldom agreed well together; and that he had removed the former reaſons by reducing all* Gaul *to the* Roman *obedience.* He then went to the doors of the Treaſury, but the keys could not be found; upon which he ordered the locks to be broken; and when *Metellus* had ſtill the boldneſs to diſpute it with him, he laid his hand upon his ſword, and threatening to kill him, ſaid, *Know, young man, that it is harder for me to ſay this than to do it.* *Metellus* immediately retired, and *Cæſar* took three thouſand pounds weight of gold out of the Treaſury, which was ever after at his command in all his wars.

His expedition againſt *Afranius* and *Petreius* in *Spain*

Being unable to purſue *Pompey* for want of ſhipping, he reſolved to paſs into *Spain*, to drive out his troops there, all old ſoldiers, under the command of *Afranius* and *Petreius.* As he was ſetting out, well knowing *Pompey*'s circumſtances, he ſaid, *He was going to find an army without a general; and ſhould come back to find a general without an army.* Being informed, on his arrival in *Provence*, that the people of *Marſeilles* had reſolved to refuſe him entrance; and that *Domitius* had got thither with ſeven gallies, filled with ſlaves and peaſants belonging to his lands; he ſent to them, requiring them to ſubmit; and on their anſwering, *That they were determined not to take part either with* Cæſar *or* Pompey, *to both of whom they had equal obligations*; he immediately beſieged the town with three legions, and ordered twelve ſhips of war to be built at *Arles*; which were completed in a month, and brought before *Marſailles.* Finding this affair like to be tedious, he left *D. Brutus* to command the ſhips, and *C. Trebonius* to carry on the ſiege, and departed for *Spain*, where *Fabius*; whom he had ſent before, joined him with three legions; which, with his own forces, made a noble army. *Afranius* and *Petreius* were then poſted near *Ilerda*, in *Catalonia*, with a ſufficient number of forces. *Cæſar* advanced towards them, and a bloody conteſt enſued, in which neither ſide had any great advantage. Heavy rains that fell ſoon after, and ſwelled the river *Segre*, along which *Cæſar* had incamped, and waſhed away two bridges he had thrown over it, which reduced him to great ſtreights, by his not being able to get proviſions, or to join a ſupply of forces that came to him from *Gaul*, or to rebuild his bridges, by reaſon of the violence of the ſtorm, and the oppoſition of the enemies who lay on the other ſide of the river. The news of this gave ſuch hopes to *Pompey*'s party at *Rome*, that many who had hitherto ſtood neuter,

neuter, now declared in his favour; and among them was *Cicero* himself, though he soon after took an opportunity of leaving him again. *Cæsar*'s great skill and diligence put a speedy stop to all this joy; for he rebuilt his bridges, got provisions, and joined the forces which came to his assistance: and his lieutenant *Brutus* beat the *Marseillans* at sea. Several towns of *Spain* submitted. *Afranius* and *Petreius*, disliking their situation, decamped at midnight, and marched towards *Octogesa*, situated on the river *Iberus*, over which they had sent a party to lay a bridge. But *Cæsar* sent his cavalry after them, and obliged them to ford the river before they could come to their bridge; then suddenly crossing the river himself with his infantry, he pursued them so close that they could neither reach the intended place, nor return to their former camp. By this means he reduced them to such extremities of hunger and drought, that they were obliged to yield to his mercy. He generously gave them all their liberty, and treated them with the utmost courtesy. In a short time after he became master of all *Spain*, and departed from *Marseilles*, which surrendered upon his arrival. *Domitius* had made his escape by sea. *Cæsar* pardoned the inhabitants, more upon account of their name and antiquity, as he told them, than for any other merit; and leaving two legions in garrison, he set out for *Rome*.

Which country he becomes master of.

Upon his arrival there, he was received with great satisfaction by most people, and was made dictator by *M. Lepidus* the prætor: but finding this office not well liked of, he laid it down at the end of eleven days, and was chosen consul with *Servilius Isauricus*. To ingratiate himself with the people, he made several laws favourable to them, and advantageous to the state, and recalled those whom *Pompey*'s sentences had forced to leave their country. He then set out for *Brundusium*, to go against *Pompey*; after having received the bad news of the defeat and death of *Curio*, whom he had sent against *Varus*, *Pompey*'s lieutenant in *Africa*.

Year of *Rome* 706. *Cæsar* returns to *Rome*.

Pompey, after his departure from *Italy* into *Epirus* and *Greece*, had made all possible preparations for resistance, drawing all the East to his interest; and, during the time of *Cæsar*'s being at *Rome*, and in *Spain*, had assembled very powerful armies both by sea and land. His land-forces consisted of nine *Italian* legions complete, besides the two which his brother-in-law *Scipio* brought him; and the auxiliaries from the eastern countries amounted to seven thousand horse, three thousand archers, and eight cohorts of slingers. Besides these troops, which were quartered in *Dyrrachium* and *Apollonia*, and over all that coast, to oppose the coming down of *Cæsar*, he had a fleet of five hundred large ships, besides numbers of smaller vessels, commanded by *Bibulus*. He had also drawn great sums of money out of *Asia* and *Greece*; and had been successful against *Dolabella* and *Caius Antonius*, who commanded for *Cæsar* on the coast of *Illyricum*, driving the

Pompey's preparations for war.

former

former out of that country, and taking the latter priſoner. Theſe advantages induced many perſons of note to join him; ſo that he had in his camp upwards of two hundred ſenators, who met in the form of a ſenate. Of this number was *M. Brutus*, who, though he hated *Pompey*, joined his party, becauſe he thought it had the moſt juſtice on its ſide. In one of the aſſemblies of this ſenate, it was determined, by the politic advice of *Cato*, *That no* Roman *citizen ſhould be put to death out of battle*; *and that no town*, *ſubject to the* Romans, *ſhould be plundered*. This decree not only gained the authors of it the good wiſhes of the people, and the reputation of great juſtice and humanity; but kept the fortune of *Cæſar* a long while doubtful; and was at laſt made uſe of to juſtify his death.

War between *Pompey* and *Cæſar* in *Illyricum*.

Cæſar, not having ſhips enough to tranſport all his troops at once, was obliged to leave ſeven of his twelve legions behind him at *Brunduſium*; and with the other five, amounting to no more than twenty thouſand foot and ſix thouſand horſe, notwithſtanding the rigour of the ſeaſon, he ſet ſail upon the twenty-fourth of *January*, and landed the next day at a place called *Pharſalus*. He then ſent back his fleet, to bring the reſt of his legions, under the command of *Calinus*; but in their paſſage, thirty of the ſhips fell into the hands of *Pompey*'s admiral *Bibulus*, who burnt them and their crews. In the mean time *Oricum* and *Apollonia* ſurrendered at the ſight of *Cæſar*'s troops: by which means he cut off all communication with the land from *Bibulus*, ſo long as he ſtaid to intercept the return of his fleet. *Cæſar*, ſtill careful to juſtify his actions, ſent *Rufus*, whom he had twice taken priſoner, to *Pompey*, once more to offer a treaty, and to refer all to the ſenate and people of *Rome*: but *Pompey*, knowing how much the people were in *Cæſar*'s intereſt, refuſed to accept this propoſal.

Pompey, who was now in *Macedonia*, fearing leſt *Cæſar* ſhould become maſter of *Dyrrachium*, where all his ammunition lay, marched with his whole army to ſave that place. Many of his new raiſed troops having deſerted by the way, he made all his ſoldiers, on his arrival at that city, ſwear, *That they would never abandon their general*, *but follow him thro' all his fortunes*. This oath was likewiſe taken by all the officers. *Pompey* was encamped on one ſide of the river *Apſus*, and *Cæſar* on the other; both impatiently waiting for the arrival of ſuccours. *Cæſar* had written ſeveral times to *Brunduſium*, but ſtill his troops there did not come; upon which, *Bibulus* being dead, and *Pompey*'s fleet not near ſo well commanded as before, he reſolved upon an action which nothing could excuſe but the extraordinary confidence he always had in his good fortune. He diſguiſed himſelf in the habit of a ſlave, and with all imaginable ſecrecy put himſelf on board a fiſherman's bark, at the mouth of the river *Apſus*, with a deſign to paſs to *Brunduſium*: but the weather was ſo boiſterous,

ous, that, after ſeveral vain attempts to get out to ſea, the wind ſtill increaſing, the maſter of the bark ordered his mariners to deſiſt. *Cæſar* then diſcovering himſelf, *Fear nothing*, ſaid he, *for thou carrieſt* Cæſar *and all his fortune.* The ſailors, encouraged by the preſence of ſo great a man, made freſh endeavours, and got out to ſea; but the waves ran ſo high that they were at laſt forced to return to land. *Cæſar*'s ſoldiers immediately ran to him, and told him, with great tenderneſs and affection, *That he had reflected upon their courage, by going to ſeek new forces, when they were ſure to conquer without, whilſt he was pleaſed to head them.* Soon after, *Cæſar* received the good news of the ſafe arrival of moſt of his troops at *Apollonia*, under the comand of *Mark Anthony* and *Calinus*. They conſiſted of three veteran legions, one new raiſed, and eight hundred horſe.

The nearneſs of the two armies had occaſioned ſeveral parlies as well as ſkirmiſhes; and here the laſt propoſals of accommodation were made. *Pompey* proteſted, *That it never ſhould be ſaid, that his return was a favour beſtowed upon him by* Cæſar; and *Labienus* cried out, *That nothing could make a reconciliation but* Cæſar's *head.* All hopes of peace being at an end, *Cæſar* decamped to join *Anthony*, and *Pompey* did the like to hinder his deſign. He had no river to paſs, as *Cæſar* had, but poſted himſelf in a place where he lay in ambuſcade for *Anthony*: who, being informed of it, intrenched himſelf in an advantageous ſituation, where he ſtaid for *Cæſar*, who ſoon after arrived: and *Pompey*, fearing to be hemmed in between two armies, retreated to *Aſparagus*, near *Dyrrachium*; leaving *Anthony* the liberty of joining *Cæſar*, which he did the ſame day. *Cæſar* and *Pompey*, at the head of all their troops, were now preparing to diſpute the empire of the world; and, what was ſtill more valuable to them, the preeminence of all that glory and renown which they had gained by their arms; one in the weſt, and the other in the eaſt. As the actions of theſe two great rivals were, on this occaſion, more remarkable than perhaps any yet met with in the *Roman* ſtory, eſpecially in point of generalſhip; it may not be amiſs to be ſomewhat particular in our relations of them.

Cæſar marched directly towards *Pompey* at *Aſparagus*; and coming within ſight of his camp in three days, he fortified his own, and the next day drew out his troops to offer him battle. *Pompey* ſtirred not; and from that moment *Cæſar* perceived he muſt take other meaſures. Accordingly, he decamped the next day, and went towards *Dyrrachium*, with deſign either to force *Pompey* to ſhut himſelf up in that town, or to cut off his communication with it. *Pompey* at firſt believed that *Cæſar* drew off for want of proviſions; but, upon better information, he marched the next day, hoping to prevent *Cæſar* by a ſhorter way than he was obliged to take. *Cæſar*, being aware of this, reſted his troops but a ſmall part of the night, and arriving the next morning under

the walls of *Dyrrachium*, he diſcovered the van of *Pompey*'s army, who immediately ſecured a hill called *Petra*, which commanded the ſea, and under which was a ſmall ſhelter for ſhips, where few winds could annoy them. Both parties intrenched themſelves in the poſts they had taken; and *Pompey* cauſed part of his ſhips to come under his camp, and immediately ſent into *Aſia* and other parts for proviſions and ammunition. *Cæſar*, on his ſide, perceiving that the war was like to continue long, and that he ſhould be in want of corn, cauſed magazines to be made in all parts not in the enemy's hands: but, notwithſtanding all his care, the diſadvantages he laboured under were ſuch, that his army was but ill furniſhed at laſt.

The inconveniencies that were like to follow from hence, put *Cæſar* upon a new deſign. All around *Pompey*'s camp were little hills, high and ſteep, of which *Cæſar* poſſeſſed himſelf, and built towers upon them in the nature of redoubts; then, drawing lines of communication from hill to hill, he endeavoured to block up *Pompey* by that circumvallation. This was done chiefly to diminiſh *Pompey*'s reputation among foreign nations, by ſhewing them, that, though he was ſuperior in numbers, and inveſted by *Cæſar*, he dared not engage him. But *Pompey* reſolved to run the hazard of any cenſure, rather than venture a battle at this time, or quit either *Dyrrachium* or the ſea, from whence he was plentifully ſupplied with all neceſſaries; whilſt *Cæſar*, who held him beſieged, was reduced to ſuch diſtreſs, that his men were forced to live upon beans and barley, and a kind of root called *chara*, which they mixed with milk. But when ſummer came on, the ſcene was greatly altered, and *Pompey*'s army could ſcarce be kept alive for want of water, which *Cæſar* had turned a different way by dams and other methods. On the contrary, *Cæſar*'s troops were healthy, and now well furniſhed with every thing except wheat, of which alſo they had fair hopes, harveſt being near at hand. Frequent ſkirmiſhes happened; in which ſometimes the one, and ſometimes the other, had the better; and *Cæſar* drew out his men almoſt every day, and offered battle to *Pompey* within view of his lines. *Pompey* drew out alſo, but always kept his troops under the defence of his ramparts, where *Cæſar* did not think fit to attack him. *Cæſar* had drawn ſeveral provinces of *Greece* over to his party; and underſtanding that *Scipio* was come into *Macedonia*, he ſent to him, to procure an accommodation between him and *Pompey*, which he might eaſily have brought about, as he had the command of an army. But this not ſucceeding, *Cæſar* blocked *Pompey* up more cloſely than ever; and brought him at laſt into ſuch a ſituation, that his horſes, having conſumed all their forage, and even the leaves of the trees that were within their reach, were ſcarce able to go upon their legs for want of ſuſtenance.

This

This distress made *Pompey* resolve to make an effort to extricate himself, especially after he had been informed of the condition of *Cæsar*'s fortifications, by two deserters who came over to him. To this end, drawing out cohorts of his light-armed troops and archers, he put them on board his ships, and attacked *Cæsar*'s works next the sea, which had been too little regarded, and not well completed. This was done with such effect, that all the centurions of the first cohort were cut off, except one; and though *Cæsar* and his officers used their utmost endeavours to hinder *Pompey*'s designs, yet, by his great skill and conduct, he got out of his intrenchments, and incamped in another place near the sea, where he had both the convenience of forage and of his shipping. *Cæsar* now resolved to hem in *Pompey* closer than before; and, in order to this, he attempted to cut off a legion of the enemy which were posted near a wood: but this action brought on a general battle, in which his men were intangled within the intrenchments of the old camp lately abandoned, and at the same time so surprised and overpowered by *Pompey*'s forces, that, in spite of all *Cæsar*'s endeavours, they fled with great precipitation and loss. *Pompey* pursued his victory to the very camp of *Cæsar*, but durst not attack it; partly through surprize at the suddenness of his victory, and partly through fear of ambuscade. This was his great error; for *Cæsar* himself confessed, *That he must have been irretrievably undone, if* Pompey *had known how to make use of his victory*. *Pompey* was saluted *Imperator*: *Labienus* begged the prisoners, and ordered them all to be killed: and now the victorious party, exulting in their advantage, without considering to what uncommon circumstances it was owing, carried themselves every where as undoubted conquerors.

Battle of *Dyrrachium*.

Pompey defeats *Cæsar*.

Cæsar, resolving to change the whole course of the war, assembled his men, and after exhorting them not to be discouraged by one little disaster, one error, or inadvertency of Fortune, whose favour they had experienced in the course of many glorious conquests, he retreated to *Apollonia*. *Pompey* harrassed his rear for four days, but was repulsed with loss, and at length obliged to give over his pursuit. From *Apollonia*, *Cæsar* hastened to join *Domitius*, one of his lieutenants, who was now in *Macedonia* with three legions, and whom he feared *Pompey* might surprise. *Pompey*, perceiving which way he marched, was in as great fear for *Scipio*, now in *Thessaly* with the *Syrian* legions. Each general marched with all possible expedition, both to secure their friends and surprise their enemies. *Pompey* had the advantage of the shortness of the way, and *Domitius* very narrowly escaped him, and joined *Cæsar* at *Æginum*, on the frontiers of *Thessaly*. *Cæsar*, having now all his forces together, marched directly to *Gomphi*, the first town in the way from *Epirus* to *Thessaly*, and of which the inhabitants, who some time before had promised

Who marches into *Thessaly*.

miſed obedience to him, now refuſed to open their gates, expecting aſſiſtance from *Scipio* and *Pompey*. Piqued at this reſiſtance, he inveſted the town, which was very rich and ſtrong, and took it by ſtorm before any ſuccours could arrive. This done, he left it to be plundered, and marched farther on into *Theſſaly*, all the towns of which ſubmitted to him except *Lariſſa*, where *Scipio* was.

Cæſar and *Pompey* meet in the plain of *Pharſalia*, where the two armies come to a general battle,

Pompey arrived in *Theſſaly* within a few days after the taking of *Gomphi*, and incamped in the plains of *Pharſalia*, where *Scipio* joined him. *Cæſar* likewiſe advanced thither. The approach of theſe two noble armies, in which were all the flower of the *Roman* legions, whoſe valour was to decide the fate of that great empire; the hatred and ambition of the generals, animated by the prize as well as the glory of the conqueſt; together with the ſmall appearance of an accommodation; made it out of doubt, that nothing but a general battle could determine this great quarrel. *Pompey*'s party, being the ſtrongeſt, looked upon themſelves as ſure of victory, and began already to diſpute about ſharing the ſpoils and offices of their adverſaries. But *Cæſar* was far otherwiſe employed, uſing all his care and ſkill to encourage and perfect his men.

At length, finding them vigorous and deſirous of action, he drew out of his camp, and offered *Pompey* battle. But that general, either doubting his troops, or fearing to hazard his reputation, declined it, and endeavoured to waſte *Cæſar*'s army with fatigue and want of proviſions, keeping his men, even when he drew out, ſo near his intrenchments, that *Cæſar* could not attack him without great diſadvantage. *Cæſar* thereupon reſolved to decamp, and to try, by frequent motions, to weary out *Pompey*'s men, who were not ſo hardened to toil and labour as his. While his tents were taking down, advice came, that *Pompey*'s army was drawn up in order of battle, and far enough from his trenches; upon which *Cæſar* ordered all his troops to halt, and, with extreme joy, told them, *That the happy and long wiſhed for moment was now come, in which they might gain immortal honour.* He then drew up his troops in order, and advanced with them towards the place of battle. *Pompey*, on the other ſide, was full of melancholy thoughts, but did what he could to encourage his men, telling them, *That his cavalry alone was ſufficient to gain the victory.* *Labienus* ſeconded him, and took a ſolemn oath, *not to return into his camp but with victory.* *Pompey* himſelf, and all his officers, ſwore the ſame.

Pompey's army conſiſted of forty-five thouſand foot, according to *Plutarch*, and ſeven thouſand horſe; *Cæſar*'s but of twenty-two thouſand foot, and not much above one thouſand horſe: but *Appian*, with ſome reaſon, excepts the auxiliaries, which he ſuppoſes to have been great on both ſides; though all agree that *Pompey*'s forces were double the number of *Cæſar*'s. *Pompey* left ſeven cohorts to guard his camp, and

drew

drew up all his men in three lines, every legion making three battalions, and each battalion was drawn up in half cohorts; that is, two hundred men in rank, and eight in file. The *Syrian* legions were pleced in the middle, under the command of *Scipio*; the *Spaniards*, whom *Pompey* moſt relied upon, on the right, under *Domitius Ahenobarbus*; and, on the left, was *Pompey* himſelf, with the two legions which *Cæſar* had reſtored at the beginning of the war, under *Lentulus*. The reſt were in the ſame order, between *Scipio*'s legions and the wings; only the auxiliary troops, at leaſt ſuch as fought in order, compoſed the body of reſerve: and, as for the others, they were drawn out without order upon the left, with the archers, ſlingers, and all the cavalry; the right being fortified by a river. *Cæſar* left two cohorts to guard his camp, and drew up in three lines alſo, in the ſame order as *Pompey*. The tenth legion was upon the right, and the ninth upon the left, joined almoſt to the eighth: the reſt of the cohorts, being drawn up between theſe legions, were in the center, were *Domitius Calvinus* commanded; *Sylla* having the right wing and *Athony* the left. *Cæſar* put himſelf at the head of the tenth legion, whoſe valour he had often experienced, in order to be oppoſite to *Pompey*, who intended to fall ſuddenly on the flanks of *Cæſar*'s troops, which this laſt ſoon perceived by the order of his battle, and thereupon drew ſix cohorts out of all his troops, of which he compoſed a body of reſerve. He then placed his cavalry ſo as to cover the right of the tenth legion, and ordered his third line not to ſtir till they received a ſignal from him.

As the armies approached, the two generals went from rank to rank, encouraging their ſoldiers. *Pompey* repreſented to his men the juſtice and merit of his cauſe; the advantage of their numbers, ſtrengthened by the aſſiſtance of ſo many illuſtrious ſenators; and the glory lately obtained at the battle of *Dyrrachium*. *Cæſar* only told his, *That he had endeavoured, by all poſſible means, to obtain an honourable peace; and, if his enemies had ſo pleaſed, they might have ſpared the blood of many brave men.* Then, ſeeing the impatience of his ſoldiers to fall on, he gave the ſignal for battle. The word on *Pompey*'s ſide was, *Hercules the invincible:* that on *Cæſar*'s, *Venus the victorious*. There was now only ſo much ſpace between the two armies as was juſt ſufficient for the place of battle. *Pompey* ordered his men to receive the firſt ſhock without moving from their places. *Cæſar*'s ſoldiers ſeeing that, like men of ſkill, of their own accord made a halt in the midſt of their career; and, after taking a little breath, ran furiouſly upon the enemy, firſt diſcharging their javelins, and then drawing their ſwords, as *Cæſar* had ordered them. *Pompey*'s men received the firſt charge without the leaſt diſorder; and falling on with their javelins and ſwords, a cruel and bloody battle enſued, which for ſome time ſeemed equal. Then *Pompey* ordered his cavalry to charge, which, with the multitude of

archers and ſlingers, ſoon obliged *Cæſar*'s men to give ground, and *Pompey*'s cavalry got upon their flank, as was at firſt deſigned. *Cæſar* ſeeing this, immediately ordered his body of reſerve to advance, and charge upon the faces of the enemy, with their pikes ported. This attack quite diſconcerted the nice and effeminate knights; and the fear of ſpoiling their faces, put them into ſuch confuſion, that the moment *Cæſar*'s cavalry rallied, they were all broke; and the archers and ſlingers being thus abandoned, were all cut to pieces. *Cæſar*, following that advantage, charged *Pompey*'s troops upon the flank, and gave the ſignal for his third line to advance. Theſe freſh troops, pouring in upon *Pompey*'s, wearied out and attacked on all ſides, eaſily broke them. The flight began among the auxiliaries, *Pompey*'s right wing ſtill maintaining its ground: but, upon *Cæſar*'s calling out to his men, to kill the ſtrangers, but ſave the *Romans*, theſe laſt laid down their arms, and a dreadful ſlaughter was made among the others.

in which *Pompey* is totally defeated;

Pompey retreated to his trenches; and *Cæſar*, now ſure of the victory, cried out to his men, *That they ought to purſue it, and take the enemy*'s camp. Though they were wearied out with the exceſſive heat of the weather, and it was now noonday, yet, upon ſeeing their general march on foot at their head, they followed him with great reſolution, and falling on with freſh courage, drove all their enemies to a neighbouring mountain. *Pompey* himſelf, quite diſheartened and confounded, getting on horſeback, fled to *Lariſſa*, and from thence to the ſea. *Cæſar* begged of his troops not to loſe time in plundering the camp, but to complete their glorious victory by following the enemy to their retreat. They did ſo, and immediately threw up a trench about the mountain, which *Pompey*'s men ſoon quitted for want of water, and retired towards *Lariſſa*. *Cæſar* followed them with four legions, and forced them to a high hill, at the foot of which was a river. Though *Cæſar*'s men were ready to faint with the inceſſant toil of the whole day, and it was now almoſt night, yet he prevailed upon them to make one effort more, to cut off the conveniency of water from the enemy by a trench. This immediately forced them to a capitulation: only ſome ſenators made their eſcape in the dark. The next morning, *Cæſar* ordered them all to come down into the plain and lay down their arms. They did ſo, and falling upon their knees before him, begged for mercy; which he not only granted with great clemency and kindneſs, but ſtrictly commanded his ſoldiers not to offer them the leaſt inſult, or plunder any of their baggage. Thus *Cæſar*, by his wonderful ſkill and courage, and by the indefatigable ardor of his ſoldiers, obtained the moſt complete, though not the moſt bloody, victory that ever general did; fifteen thouſand of the enemy being ſlain in battle, and twenty-four thouſand taken priſoners, with very little loſs on his ſide.

his camp is taken.

The

The great *Pompey*, who juſt before had been the commander of kings, was now forced to take ſhelter with a few friends in a poor fiſherman's bark, from which he got on board another ſhip, and ſailed away as faſt as poſſible. But the ungrateful ſound of his defeat ſtill flew before him; and his misfortunes ſo benumbed his ſenſes, that he did not even think of the reſources he ſtill had left by ſea, where a powerful and victorious fleet waited only his cammand. He ſailed firſt to *Amphipolis*, then to *Leſbos*, and from thence to *Egypt*, where king *Ptolomy*, whoſe father *Pompey* had ſettled in his kingdom, was then at war with *Cleopatra*. *Pompey* ſent to him, to implore his protection. The king himſelf, who was very young, returned no anſwer to the meſſenger: but *Photinus*, *Achillas*, and *Theodotus*, who were the young prince's chief counſellors, deſired him to come; and, under pretence of paying him the greater reſpect, *Achillas* and *Septimius*, a *Roman* tribune, went off in a ſmall veſſel to receive him, and invited him on board their bark, *the ſea*, ſaid they, *being too ſhallow for his galley to land him*. *Pompey* imprudently did as they deſired; and as he was ſtepping out of the boat, they treacherouſly murdered him, cut off his head, and left his body naked on the ſhore. His freedman *Philip*, who was with him, ſtaid by till the multitude, who were aſſembled on this occaſion, had ſatisfied their curioſity and were gone; and then, wrapping it up in his own garment, he made a funeral pile of ſome broken planks of a fiſhing-boat. While he was laying them together, an old *Roman*, who had ſerved from his youth under *Pompey*, came, and helped him to perform theſe melancholy rites. Thus fell, by the hands of three or four villians, in the fifty-eighth year of his age, an hero who had triumphed over three parts of the world.

He flies into *Egypt*.

where he is treacherouſly murdered.

Cæſar followed *Pompey* into *Egypt*, and arrived at *Alexandria* juſt as the news of his death reached that city. He had then with him only three thouſand two hundreed foot, and eight hundred horſe; the reſt of his troops being ordered to follow him. Soon after his arrival, one of the aſſaſſins, thinking to pay his court to *Cæſar*, preſented him *Pompey*'s head wrapped up in a veil, together with his ſignet: but *Cæſar*, with the utmoſt horror, turned his eyes from ſo diſmal a ſight; and, reflecting on his former friendſhip with the deceaſed; the inconſtancy of fortune; and the calamities which often attend the greateſt of men; he burſt into tears, and, with an angry voice, commanded the meſſenger to depart that inſtant. He kept the ſeal; but ordered the head to be buried with great ſolemnity in the ſuburbs of *Alexandria*, where he erected a temple to *Nemeſis*, the goddeſs of Revenge.

Cæſar arrives in *Egypt*, and cauſes *Pompey*'s head to be buried.

Cæſar's landing at *Alexandria*, and his entering that city with his faſces carried before him as conſul, greatly offended the multitude, who cried out, *That their king's authority* was invaded: He took no notice of this, but immediately ordered

ſome legions which had been raiſed for *Pompey*'s ſervice, to be brought to him out of *Aſia*. In the mean while, the eunuch *Photinus*, who had the adminiſtration of the kingdom, and was at *Alexandria* with the young king, behaved with ſuch haughtineſs, even intimating a deſign of having recourſe to arms, that *Cæſar*, unable to bear his inſolence, publicly declared, *That the difference between the king and his ſiſter belonged to the cognizance of the people of* Rome, *and conſequently to him as conſul; their father having made the* Roman *people executors of his will.* At the ſame time he iſſued a proclamation, ordering *Ptolomy* and *Cleopatra* to diſband their armies, and bring their cauſe to his tribunal. Advocates were appointed on both ſides; and *Cæſar* decreed, *That* Ptolomy *and* Cleopatra, *being the eldeſt ſon and daughter of* Ptolomy Auletes, *whoſe will was, read on this occaſion to the people, ſhould, according to the cuſtom of that country, be joined in marriage, and reign together in* Egypt, *under the protection of the* Roman *people; and that the younger* Ptolomy, *and* Auletes's *other daughter, named* Arſinoe, *ſhould reign in* Cyprus; which he made them a preſent of, that iſland having lately been ſubdued by the *Romans*.

Photinus was the only perſon in the aſſembly who did not applaud this decree. The reaſon was, that, as he had been the chief cauſe of the breach between *Cleopatra* and her brother, and of her expulſion out of the kingdom, he was afraid their reconciliation would bring him into danger. He therefore endeavoured to raiſe new diſcontents among the people; and prevailed upon *Achillas* to bring his army, conſiſting of upwards of twenty thouſand men, from *Peluſium* to *Alexandria*, in order to drive *Cæſar* out of the city. This gave riſe to the famous *Alexandrian* war; for the particulars of which the reader is referred to the hiſtory of *Egypt*. King *Ptolemy* periſhing in this war, *Alexandria* and all *Egypt* ſubmitted to the conqueror, who thereupon ſettled *Cleopatra*, and the ſurviving *Ptolomy*, her younger brother, on the throne, as king and queen; which was putting the whole power into her hands, *Ptolomy* being then only eleven years old. *Achillas* and *Photinus* periſhed alſo in this war, together with all the accomplices of *Pompey*'s murder, except *Theodotus*, who, flying from *Egypt*, wandered up and down, deſpiſed and hated by all men, till *M. Brutus*, after *Cæſar*'s death, finding him in *Aſia*, put him to death, after making him ſuffer the moſt exquiſite torments.

The *Alexandrian* war.

Honours heaped upon *Cæſar*.

When the news of *Pompey*'s death reached *Rome*, the ſenate and people ſtrove who ſhould heap moſt honours on the conqueror, now become abſolute maſter of their lives, liberties, and fortunes. He was made conſul for five years; dictator for a whole year; tribune of the people, and head of that college, for his life; impowered to make peace and war with whom he pleaſed, and to levy what forces he thought fit: ſo that all the dignities and power of the republic now centered in

in *Cæsar* alone. As he could not then go in person to *Rome*, to take possession of these honours, he appointed *Mark Anthony* his general of the horse, and committed the government of *Italy* to him during his absence. *Anthony* was forced to lay down his office at the end of six months, and was made consul; the augurs saying, *it was unlawful for any general of the horse to hold that post above six months*. But the chief reason was his carrying things with too high a hand; which, with the outrageous behaviour of *Trebellius* and *Dolabella*, both tribunes, raised great disturbances in the city. *Cæsar*'s presence was now much wanted; and he might have been at *Rome* long before this, had he not been detained in *Egypt* by the charms of *Cleopatra*, with whom he staid nine months, and whom he left with child of a son who was called *Cæsario*.

Cæsar marches against *Pharnaces*

At length he was forced to quit that kingdom, and march into the north of *Asia*, against *Pharnaces*, king of the *Cimmerian Bosphorus*, son of *Mithridates the Great*, who, taking advantage of the civil wars of the *Romans*, endeavoured to recover his father's dominions, and made himself master of *Colchis*, *Armenia Minor*, and several other places, in the absence of the Tetrarch *Deiotarus*. *Cæsar* had sent *Domitius Calvinius* against him, before he left *Egypt*; but he, together with *Deiotarus* and *Ariobarzanes*, who joined him, was considerably worsted by *Pharnaces*, who, elated with his success, over-ran all *Pontus*, and marched into *Bithynia*, where his career was stopped by the revolt of *Asander*, to whom he had intrusted the government of his kingdom. He was preparing to march against *Asander*, when *Cæsar* entered the kingdom of *Pontus*, and in one day marched up to, fought, and defeated him. His letter on this occasion to his friend *Anitius* at *Rome*, containing only these three words, *Veni*, *Vidi*, *Vici*; *I came*, *I saw*, *I conquered*, was remarkably expressive of his celerity in this expedition. After settling his affairs in these parts in the best manner his time would permit, and giving the government of *Armenia* to *Ariobarzanes*, that of *Judæa* to *Hyrcanus* and *Antipater*, that of *Bosphorus* to *Mithridates*, and that of *Pontus* to *Cælius Vinicianus*, he set out for *Rome* with all possible expedition.

and defeats him.

He returns to *Italy*.

Upon his arrival in *Italy*, *Cicero*, and many others of *Pompey*'s party, went to meet him, and were received with as much civility as if they had always been on his side. This courteous behaviour so far gained him the hearts of the people of *Rome*, that he easily appeased the dissentions there; and the time of his dictatorship being expired, he was chosen consul with *Æmilius Lepidus*. His stay at *Rome* was but short, the affairs of *Africa* calling him to that country, where the remains of *Pompey*'s party had rallied themselves under *Scipio*, *Cato*, and *Juba* king of *Mauritania*. After several skirmishes, in which he was sometimes in great danger, he resolved to come to a decisive battle. To this end, he invested the city of *Tapsus*: *Scipio* and *Juba* came,

Carries the war into *Africa*.

came, as he expected, to relieve it, and were totally defeated. *Tapsus*, *Adrumetum*, and *Zama* immediately surrendered. *Cato* fled to *Utica*, : *Juba* and *Petreius* killed each other out of despair, and all *Juba*'s kingdom submitted to the government of *Rome*. *Sitius*, one of *Cæsar*'s lieutenants, shortly after intercepted *Afranius* and *Sylla*, as they were going to *Spain*, defeated their forces, and took them prisoners ; soon after which they were both killed in a mutiny. *Scipio*, and several senators who had embarked with him for *Spain*, were driven upon *Sitius*'s fleet where all of them lost their lives.

Subdues the remains of *Pompey*'s party.

Cato, the only general that remained of *Pompey*'s party, had retreated to *Utica*, and established a kind of senate there, composed of three hundred *Romans*. His first resolution was, not to surrender that town on any account : but finding the inhabitants not so firmly resolved, he quitted that design for another more agreeable to his character. He desired his friends, some to save themselves by sea, and others to rely upon *Cæsar*'s clemency ; and, embracing them with a more than ordinary tenderness, spent the evening with a a few that remained, in discoursing upon moral subjects, tending to prove that the good man only is free, and that all wicked men are slaves. His son, suspecting his intention, entered his room privately, and took away his sword. He laid down on his bed, and taking up *Plato*'s dialogue on the immortality of the soul, began to read it with great attention. After he had read some time, in a transport of joy, which the hope of an happy immortality had raised in his breast, he looked for his sword, and missing it, grew very angry till it was brought him. He took it, and feeling the point, laid it by him, saying, *Now I am master of myself.* He then took his book again, which he had read twice over, and fell into a sound sleep : but just as day began to appear, he ran his sword into his body. The wound was such, that he did not die immediately, but fell staggering upon his bed, and with that motion threw down a table, on which he had drawn some geometical figures. At the noise of this, his son and friends broke into the room, and found him weltering in his blood, with his bowels a great part out of his body. His eyes were yet open, and his freed man *Butas* laid him upon his bed, put up his bowels, which were not hurt, and sewed up the wound. But *Cato*, after some time, coming to himself, thrust away *Butas*, rent the wound open again, and tearing his bowels, expired immediately. He was one of the most virtuous citizens *Rome* ever produced ; had all the virtues and none of the faults of *Cato* the censor, one of his illustrious ancestors, and would, with his invincible constancy and resolution, have supported the sinking republic had not the gods themselves, says *Plutarch*, decreed her destruction. *Cæsar*, upon hearing of his death, said, Cato *has envied me the glory of saving his life, and therefore I*

Cato retreats to *Utica*,

where he kills himself.

envy

envy him his death; deſigning, as ſome have thought, to conquer him by generoſity and kindneſs. *Utica* ſurrendered immediately. *Cæſar* then marched into *Numidia* and *Mauritania*, and reduced both thoſe kingdoms to *Roman* provinces. Before he left *Utica*, he gave orders for the rebuilding of *Carthage*, as he did, ſoon after his return to *Italy*, for the rebuilding of *Corinth*; ſo that theſe two famous cities were deſtroyed in the ſame year, and in the ſame year raiſed out of their ruins. Two years after, they were both repeopled with *Roman* colonies; and from theſe new inhabitants of *Corinth* were deſcended thoſe *Corinthians* to whom *St Paul* wrote his two epiſtles.

The war in *Africa* being now compleatly finiſhed, *Cæſar* returned to *Rome*. The whole city went out to meet him, and conducted him to the capitol, where he returned thanks to *Jupiter* for the ſucceſs of his arms. The ſenate and people ſtrove who ſhould be moſt forward in heaping honours upon him: ſupplications and ſacrifices of thankſgiving were appointed for forty days. His uſual guard was, by a decree of the ſenate, trebled, and the number of lictors, who attended him as dictator, doubled. His dictatorſhip was prolonged for ten years; and the dignity of cenſor, which had hitherto been divided between two magiſtrates, was conferred on him alone, unde the title of *præfect*, or *reformer of manners*, that of cenſor ſeeming too vulgar. His perſon was declared ſacred and inviolable; and, to raiſe him above the level of his fellow citizens, it was decreed, that he ſhould ſit, during his life, next the conſuls; that he ſhould give his opinion the firſt in all public deliberations; that he ſhould ſit at all public ſhews in a curule chair; and that, even after his death, the chair ſhould be placed at the ſhews, to render his memory immortal: nay, they went ſo far as to place his ſtatue in the capitol next to that of *Jupiter*, with this inſcription on the pedeſtal, *To* Cæſar, *a demi-god*. But the title of *demi-god* was eraſed, by his order, the moment he ſaw it.

Cæſar returned to *Rome*.

Honours beſtowed on him by the ſenate and people.

Cæſar had too much penetration not to know, that this profuſion of honours was the effect of fear, rather than of love; and therefore, when he accepted them, he declared, that he would make no other uſe of his authority, than to prevent any farther diſturbances in the republic, and to render, as far as in him lay, all the members of it happy. He then aſſembled the people, and appearing in the aſſembly more like a private citizen than a victorious general, returned them thanks for their attachment to him, and gave them a particular account of his victories, telling them, that by his laſt conqueſt, he had gained to the commonwealth of *Rome* a country ſo rich, and of ſuch extent, that it would ſupply the city yearly with two hundred thouſand buſhels of corn, and three millions of meaſures of oil. In

conſidertion of his many conqueſts, four triumphs were decreed him.

Four triumphs decreed him.

In the firſt, which was over the *Gauls*, the names of three hundred nations and eight hundred cities, reduced by the death of a million of enemies, were carried before his chariot. The ſecond was over *Egypt*. The third ſhewed the defeat of *Pharnaces* in *Aſia*; and the fourth, that of *Juba* in *Africa*. The utmoſt magnificence was diſplayed on this occaſion. His ſoldiers followed him, crowned with laurel, and the whole city attended him with loud acclamations. In this manner he proceeded to the capitol, the ſteps whereof he aſcended upon his knees, to ſet the people an example of religion. The veſſels of gold and ſilver which were carried before him in theſe triumphs, amounted to the value of ſixty-five thouſand talents, that is above twelve millions of our money, beſides one thouſand eight hundred and twenty-two crowns of gold, weighing fifteen thouſand and thirty-three pounds, which were preſents made him by princes and cities after his victories.

His liberality towards the ſoldiers and the *Roman* people.

Out of theſe ſums he paid his ſoldiers their arrears, together with an hundred and fifty pounds of our money to every private man, as much more to every centurion, and thrice that ſum to each tribune and commander of the cavalry; and for their retreat after the wars, he gave them inheritances in ſeveral places out of *Italy*. As to the *Roman* people, whoſe favour he courted, he gave to each particular perſon ten buſhels of corn, and ten meaſures of oil, and added an hundred denarii, by way of intereſt, to the three hundred he had promiſed them before he ſet out for *Africa*. After this, he treated the people at twenty-two thouſand tables; and that nothing might be wanting to the pomp and magnificence of theſe feaſts, he entertained the city with a combat of two thouſand gladiators, and made repreſentations of ſea and land fights of four or five thouſand men on a ſide, beſides all ſorts of plays and ſhews. Theſe entertainments laſted ſeveral days, and drew ſuch multitudes of people to *Rome*, that the greateſt part of them were forced to lie in the open air, and many were ſtifled in the crowd: among theſe laſt were two ſenators.

He reforms the government,

He then made it his whole buſineſs to reform the government, and eſtabliſh good order in the city; to which end he made ſeveral excellent laws, ſuch as granting great privileges and exemptions to ſuch as had numerous families, recalling thoſe who had ſettled in foreign parts, giving rewards to ſuch as had many children, reſtraining luxury, and inviting to *Rome* learned men from all parts of the world. He committed the power of judicature to the ſenators and knights only; and, conſidering how much his own long command in *Gaul* had given him an opportunity of eſtabliſhing an extraordinary power, he ordained, that no prætor

ter should command above a year in his province, nor a consul above two year's after the expiration of his office. He also undertook to regulate the *Roman* calendar, the want of accuracy in which had occasioned many inconveniencies. The year which the *Romans* made use of till this time consisted of twelve lunar months, which fell eleven days short of a solar year. *Cæsar*, who was himself a good astronomer, reformed this abuse by introducing the solar year of three hundred and sixty-five days, and adding one intercalary day every fourth year, called the *bis-sextile*. At this time flourished the poet *Catullus*,

and the *Roman* calendar.

While *Cæsar* was thus employed in works of peace, the two sons of *Pompey* had assembled the remains of their father's party, and made themselves masters of several strong places in *Spain*. They had many good officers, and, among the rest, *Labienus*, who had learnt the art of war under *Cæsar* himself. *Cæsar* sent two of his lietenants against them; but they not succeeding, he resolved to go in person. But before he left *Rome*, he assembled the *comitia*, and having caused himself to be chosen consul a fourth time; as dictator, he appointed his collegue, *M. Æmilius Lepidus*, his general of the horse, and filled all the inferior offices with his own friends and creatures, to secure the capital in his absence; after which, he took leave of *Cleopatra*, whom he kept at *Rome* in his own house, and set out for *Spain*, where he arrived in twenty-four days, which was much sooner than the enemy imagined he could be there. He assembled what troops were in that country, and marched immediately towards *Corduba*, where *Sextus*, the younger of the two *Pompeys*, was then quartered. *Sextus* sent an express to his brother *Cneius*, who was then besieging the city of *Ulla*, desiring him to come with all speed to his assistance. He did so; and *Cæsar* finding he could not draw him to a battle, went and invested the city of *Ategua*, about sixteen miles from *Corduba*, which the republican party had made their place of arms. The besieged made a brave resistance, but were at last forced to capitulate. The surrender of this city was followed by that of many others, and the *Pompeys*, driven from place to place, resolved at last to come to a battle. The two armies met in the plains of *Munda*. *Pompey*'s men were desperate, knowing that all hopes of pardon were cut off; and *Cæsar*'s found on this occasion, a resistance they had never known before. The fight continued many hours extremely obstinate, and *Cæsar* was several times in great danger; but at last he gave the enemy a total overthrow, and killed thirty thousand upon the spot. This battle was so fierce and dangerous, that *Cæsar* often said, *He had fought at other places for his glory, but at* Munda *for his life*. *Labienus* and *Varus* were killed, and all the enemy's ensigns were taken. *Cneius*, with one hundred and fifty horse, escaped to *Carteia*, and got on board his fleet, from whence he was forced

Pompey's sons renew the war in *Spain*.

Year of *Rome* 709.

Cæsar sets out for *Spain*,

and totally defeats the *Pompeys* in the plains of *Munda*.

forced back by *Cæsar*'s lieutenant *Didius*, and got to a castle, where he hid himself in a cave, in which he was killed. His brother *Sextus*, escaping from *Corduba*, fled in disguise to *Celtiberia*, where he remained concealed all his life. All *Spain* submitted immediately, and *Cæsar* exacted great contributions from the enemy's cities, under pretence of punishing their rebellion.

All *Spain* submits.

Cæsar returned to *Rome*, highly pleased that he had at last brought under submission that commonwealth which gave laws to the greatest part of the world. He entered the city in triumph; but this triumph was not attended with any joyful acclamations of the people, who were much concerned to see the memory of their beloved *Pompey* insulted over, and the race of one of the greatest men in *Rome* almost extirpated. What made it still more distasteful was, that he had never acquainted the senate, by any letter or express, of the victories he had obtained during the course of the war: and, not content with having triumphed himself, he bestowed the same honour upon two of his lieutenants, *Q. Fabius Maximus* and *Q. Pedius*, with this difference, that the representations of cities, rivers, *&c.* carried before *Cæsar* were of ivory, and those of his lieutenants only of wood.

Cæsar returns to *Rome*.

His triumph offends the *Romans*.

Peace was now established throughout all the dominions of the *Romans*, and the civil war was intirely ended, which, tho' it did not last much above four years, had been so destructive, that, at a *census* just before *Cæsar*'s last expedition, there were found but one hundred and fifty thousand heads of families in *Rome*; whereas in the *lustrum* before, there were three hundred and twenty thousand.

Dissatisfied as the *Romans* were with many of *Cæsar*'s actions, yet, siding with fortune, they again began to heap new honours upon the conqueror, and those greater than any they had yet bestowed. *Cicero*, indeed, proposed in the senate, the conferring such honours on him as were, in some measure, within the bounds of modesty; but others, striving who should deserve most, carried them so high, that they made *Cæsar* odious, even to the most indifferent and moderate sort of men. They made him dictator for life; subjected all magistrates, even the tribunes of the people, to his power; decreed, that he alone should levy troops, command armies, declare war, make peace, take charge of the public money, and that all inferior magistrates should oblige themselves by an oath to observe whatever decrees he should think fit to enact. This was making him, in effect, sovereign prince, or king. Among other titles, that of *Imperator* was given him; not in the sense in which it had been formerly bestowed on generals, after some signal victory; but as importing the greatest power and authority in the commonwealth. From him was derived the name of *Imperator*, or *Emperor*, and likewise that of *Cæsar*, to his successors; and this was the beginning of the imperial state of *Rome*, though

He is created perpetual dictator.

though it was not ſettled till ſome years after. He was likewiſe made cenſor for life, and conſul for ten years; though with regard to this laſt office, he diveſted himſelf of it for a certain time, and made *Fabius* and *Trebonius* conſuls for the remainder of the year. From this time the conſulſhip loſt its priſtine dignity, and few held it a whole year, eſpecially when all its authority was ſoon after ſwallowed up by the *imperial* power. As to the other magiſtracies, he pretended he would not concern himſelf with them, but leave them, as uſual, to the nomination of the people: but this ſoon proved only a pretence; for he appointed them himſelf, and ſent them into the provinces, without fixing their departments by lot.

He courts the affections of the people

Cæſar's enemies are thought to have had ſome ſhare in the extraordinary honours that were conferred on him, as well as his flatterers, ſince they took from thence an opportunity of alienating from him the minds of ſuch as were friends to the ancient form of government. On the other hand, he himſelf made it his ſtudy to gain the affections even of his moſt inveterate enemies; not only pardoning thoſe who had borne arms againſt him, but beſtowing honours and offices on ſeveral of them; inſomuch that the ſenate and people, to teſtify their gratitude for the mild uſe he made of his power, decreed a temple to *Clemency*. To win the people, he entertained them frequently with public feaſts and ſhews, and diſtributed corn among the poorer ſort; and knowing the regard they ſtill retained for *Pompey*, he ordered the ſtatues of that great man, which had been thrown down, to be ſet up again; by which, ſaid *Cicero*, he fixed his own. To gain the confidence of the ſenate, and the republican party, contrary to the advice of his beſt friends, he diſmiſſed his guards, ſaying, *It was better to ſuffer death once, than to live always in fear of it*; and as for the nobility, he attached moſt of them to his intereſt, by raiſing them to the chief offices in the ſtate, and truſting them with the government of the many provinces that were then ſubject to *Rome*. To this end, he increaſed the prætors to ſixteen, and the quæſtors to forty. He created ſix new ædiles, and augmented the number of the other curule magiſtrates in proportion. But as there ſtill remained many unrewarded, who had ſerved him with great fidelity, he allotted them places in the ſenate, by which means the number of the ſenators roſe from three hundred to nine hundred. This change gave great offence to the ancient ſenators, many of the new raiſed ones being common ſoldiers, ſons of freed men, foreigners lately admitted to the *Roman* citizenſhip, *Gauls*, *Spaniards*, and ſuch like. After thus debaſing that once moſt auguſt aſſembly, he treated it with contempt, looking upon its members as his vaſſals and creatures. Of this he gave a ſignal inſtance, when the conſuls, prætors, and all the curule magiſtrates then in *Rome*, attended by the ſenate, waiting on him with a decree, by which ſome new honours were conferred upon him, he received

and of the nobility.

Increaſes the number of the magiſtrates and ſenators.

ceived them with all the haughtineſs of a ſovereign, without condeſcending to riſe from his ſeat. This carriage offended not only the ſenators, but the people too, who thought the whole republic inſulted by it.

Mark Anthony offers him a crown.

Not long after, he gave a freſh occaſion of reſentment, by affronting the tribunes. While he was one day ſitting in a golden chair upon the *roſtra*, to view the ceremony of the *Lupercalia*, *Mark Anthony*, who was then his collegue in the conſulſhip, came into the *forum*, and, falling down before *Cæſar*, preſented him a diadem wreathed with laurel. Some clapped their hands, as if they approved of it; but when *Cæſar* put the crown back, the applauſe was general. *Anthony* offered it a ſecond time; and upon *Cæſar*'s refuſing it again, the whole aſſembly rang with loud accamations. *Cæſar* then, finding his deſign would not take, roſe up, and ordered the crown to be carried into the capitol, ſaying, that Jupiter *alone was king of the* Romans. The next morning, *Cæſar*'s ſtatues were found with royal diadems on their heads; but *Flavius* and *Marcellus*, two tribunes of the people, not only pulled them off, but cauſed thoſe to be apprehended and committed to priſon, who, the day before, had applauded *Anthony*'s offering the crown to *Cæſar*.

He diſobliges the people.

Upon this, *Cæſar* diſplaced the tribunes, and inveighed againſt them in a public ſpeech, in which he alſo very injudiciouſly abuſed and ridiculed the people.

A conſpiracy formed againſt him, firſt, by *Caſſius*

His deſign was now plain to every one; and the zealous republicans, deteſting his ambition, began to hold private meetings, and to conſult among themſelves about the proper means for delivering *Rome* from the yoke ſhe groaned under. The chief of the conſpirators was C. *Caſſius*, a ſincere friend to his country, and at the ſame time an enemy to *Cæſar*, on a private account, the dictator having, a few months before, beſtowed the firſt and moſt honourable prætorſhip on *Brutus*, though he could not help owning, that *Caſſius* had the beſt right to it. *Caſſius* firſt formed the plan of the conſpiracy himſelf, and then imparted it to a few, whom he knew to be ſecret enemies both to the tyrant and to tyranny.

As *Brutus* was highly eſteemed both by the people and ſenate, *Caſſius* looked upon him as a perſon highly proper to be engaged in his enterprize. He was a moſt zealous republican, and fully convinced that the commonwealth could be no longer maintained without the death of the dictator; but the obligations he lay under to *Cæſar* reſtrained him from uſing violent means. He had not only been pardoned himſelf, and obtained the ſame grace for many of his friends, after the battle of *Pharſalia*; but was one in whom *Cæſar* had a particular confidence. *Caſſius* therefore, not daring to diſcourſe the matter with him openly, laid, in the night time, papers about his chair, where he uſed to ſit as prætor, and determine cauſes, with words to this import: Brutus, *thou art aſleep, and not a true* Brutus: and under the ſtatue of

Who draws *Brutus* into the plot.

famous

famous *Junius Brutus* he wrote, *Would to heaven thou wert alive, or that ſome of thy name reſembled thee!* *Caſſius*, perceiving that theſe ſentences made a deep impreſſion on his mind, firſt ſet his wife *Junia*, who was ſiſter to *Brutus*, to raiſe in the breaſt of her brother thoſe ſentiments, which he wanted to find in him, and then determined, at all events, to tell him his deſign.

Cæſar, little dreaming of the danger that menaced him, was then preparing for an expedition againſt the *Parthians*, and had already ordered ſixteen legions and ten thouſand horſe to march towards *Brundaſium*, intending to follow them in four days. His flatterers ſeized this opportunity to give out, that, according to the *Sybilline* oracles, the *Parthians* could not be overcome, but by a king; and *Aurelius Cotta*, the keeper of thoſe ſacred volumes, was to propoſe to the ſenate to give him that title every where out of *Italy*, within which he was ſtill to be only dictator. *Caſſius* took this occaſion to pay a viſit to *Brutus*, and aſked him, whether he intended to be at the ſenate-houſe when *Cæſar*'s friends were to propoſe giving him the title of king? *Brutus* anſwered, that he deſigned to abſent himſelf that day. *But ſuppoſe you are called thither*, replied Caſſius. *Then*, ſaid Brutus, *I ſhall think it my duty to ſpeak, and uſe my utmoſt endeavours againſt ſuch unwarrantable proceedings; nay, and to die, rather than out-live the liberty of my country.* *Ah!* replied Caſſius, *What generous* Roman *would ſuffer you to die for his liberty? You are not acquainted with yourſelf*, Brutus, *if you imagine, that thoſe papers which were thrown into your tribunal, came from any but the moſt illuſtrious and braveſt men of* Rome. *From other prætors they demand games, ſhews, and plays; but from you, whoſe very name is a terror to tyrants, they expect the ruin and downfall of arbitrary power; being ready to expoſe themſelves to the utmoſt dangers, in expectation of your auſpicious aid.* Theſe words made ſo deep an impreſſion on *Brutus*, that, notwithſtanding the many favours he had received at the dictator's hands, he entered into all *Caſſius*'s meaſures, and, from that time, took upon himſelf the whole management of the conſpiracy. The name of *Brutus* had ſuch effect, that ſixty of the moſt illuſtrious citizens ſoon engaged in the plot; and till the time came for executing their deſign, they made it their buſineſs to ſtir up the common people by a thouſand falſe reports; ſuch as, *That* Cæſar *intended to fix the ſeat of his empire in* Egypt *or* Phrygia, *and to tranſport thither all the riches of* Italy, *leaving* Rome *to the mercy of his creatures and favourites.* *Cæſar* hearing of this, began to ſuſpect that ſome plot was carrying on againſt him. His friends, believing that *Mark Anthony* and *Dolabella* were concerned in it, adviſed him to be upon his guard, and watch them narrowly. To which he anſwered, *That he was not at all afraid of ſuch plump jolly fellows; but rather of pale lean men, like* Caſſius *and* Brutus. However, his flatterers, among whom were ſome of the conſpirators

In which many others join.

ſpirators, telling him that he had no cauſe to fear, for that the commonwealth was more concerned than himſelf in his preſervation, he neglected the neceſſary precautions for his ſafety, and was more intent upon making preparations for puting in execution the vaſt deſigns he had formed, than in guarding againſt the attempts of his domeſtic enemies.

Cæſar's vaſt deſigns.

Theſe deſigns were, to make war upon the *Parthians*, to revenge the death of *Craſſus*; then to paſs through *Hyrcania*, and from thence to march by the *Caſpian* ſea to Mount *Caucaſus*, till he came into *Scythia*; then to over-run all the countries between *Scythia* and *Germany*, and *Germany* itſelf; from whence he intended to return through *Gaul* and *Italy*, deſcribing the ſpacious circle of his intended empire, and bounding it on every ſide by the ſea.

Brutus, from the time of his being engaged in the conſpiracy, ſtrove as much as poſſible, when abroad, to keep his uneaſineſs of mind to himſelf; but at home, and eſpecially in the night, he was not the ſame man; but ſometimes, on a ſudden, ſtarted out of his bed, and, at other times, was ſo taken up with unquiet thoughts, and ſo perplexed in his mind, that *Porcia*, his wife, concluded he had ſome dangerous and difficult enterprize in agitation. Deſirous as ſhe was to know the ſecret, ſhe reſolved not to inquire into it, till ſhe had firſt tried whether ſhe had courage and reſolution enough to keep it, even in the midſt of torment. To this end, ſhe gave herſelf a deep wound in the thigh, and, after bearing it without betraying the leaſt ſenſe of pain, told her huſband, that though ſhe was the daughter of *Cato*, and the wife of *Brutus*, two titles in which ſhe might have placed much confidence, yet, to be ſure of herſelf, ſhe had made that ſevere trial of her own conſtancy. *Brutus*, touched with this, diſcovered the whole plot to her.

Brutus reveals the conſpiracy to *Porcia*.

The conſpirators fix on the ides of *March* for the execution of their deſign.

The ſenate was appointed to meet on the ides of *March*, to give *Cæſar* the title of king, and that day the conſpirators fixed upon as the moſt proper for the execution of their deſign; judging that he would not fail coming to the ſenate-houſe on that occaſion, and that it was ſafer to fall upon him there, moſt of the ſenators being privately his enemies, than in any other place, where the populace might divert the blow. All the ancient hiſtorians are full of prodigies and apparitions, which, in their opinion, were manifeſt preſages of *Cæſar*'s tragical death. *Spurina*, a famous augur, bid him beware of the ides of *March*, for that he was then threatened with ſome great danger. The night before his death, he dreamt that he was carried above the clouds, and that he ſhook hands with *Jove*; and his wife *Calpurnia* dreamt, that he was aſſaſſinated in her arms. The doors and windows of the apartment where he lay flew open of their own accord, with a great noiſe, and a prodigious flaſh of light. Theſe accidents ſomewhat alarmed him; and his wife, by her prayers and tears, prevailed ſo, that he was

upon

upon the point of reſolving not to ſtir out that day, and was going to ſend *Mark Anthony* with orders to the ſenate not to aſſemble, when *Decimus Brutus*, who was one of the conſpirators, and his intimate friend, coming in, made him change his reſolution, and, taking him by the hand, in a manner forced him out of his houſe. A ſlave was juſt then coming to give him an account of the conſpiracy, but could not get up to him by reaſon of the crowd; and in his way to the ſenate-houſe, one *Artemidorus*, who was intimately acquainted with moſt of the conſpirators, delivered him a paper, containing the heads of the conſpiracy, and deſired him to read it inſtantly, for that it concerned him nearly; but *Cæſar*, without reading it, put it among other papers that were given him. They are in danger of being diſcovered

The aſſembly of the ſenate was at this time held in a great hall which *Pompey* had built for that purpoſe, and in which his ſtatue ſtood. *Cæſar*, as he was entering, met *Spurina*, and ſmiling told him, *The ides of* March *were come. Yes*, replied the augur, *but they are not paſt.* As ſoon as he had taken his place, the conſpirators crowded round about him, under pretence of joining their prayers with thoſe of *Metellus Cimber*, in behalf of his brother, who had been baniſhed. *Cæſar* rejected their petition; but *Cimber* ſtill preſſed on him with great earneſtneſs, and laying hold of his robe with both hands, pulled it off his ſhoulders. In that inſtant, *Caſca*, who ſtood behind him, drawing his dagger, ſtabbed him in the neck; but the weapon glancing, the wound was not mortal. *Cæſar* immediately ſeized *Caſca* by the hand which held the dagger, crying out, *Vile traitor! What doſt thou mean?* *Caſca*, on the other ſide, called to his brother to come and help him; upon which, the reſt of the conſpirators, drawing their daggers, ſurrounded *Cæſar*, and fell upon him with ſuch fury, that ſeveral of them wounded each other. *Brutus*, in particular, received a wound in the hand from *Caſſius*, who, flying at *Cæſar* with prodigious rage, gave him a deep wound in the head. The hero, thus baited on all ſides, to uſe *Plutarch*'s expreſſion, like a wild beaſt in a toil, fought and defended himſelf in the beſt manner he could, till, looking round him, to ſee if he could make his eſcape, he perceived *Brutus*, with his dagger in his hand. Filled with anguiſh at this ſight, he ſtruggled no more, but crying out, *What! my ſon* Brutus, *and thou too!* he covered his face with his robe, and wrapping the ſkirts of his garment round his knees, that he might fall with decency, he ſunk down at the foot of *Pompey*'s ſtatue, and expired, having received three and twenty wounds. The ſenate looked on with horror and amazement; but not one of them dared to lend him the leaſt aſſiſtance. Death of *Cæſar*. Year of *Rome* 710.

Thus died, in the fifty-ſixth year of his age, the greateſt warrior that *Rome*, or perhaps the world ever ſaw, after he

had fought with ſucceſs fifty pitched battles, taken by aſſault a thouſand towns, and ſlain, if *Pliny* is to be credited, eleven hundred ninety-two thouſand men. He was a perſon of moſt extraordinary parts, and wonderful abilities in all the arts of war and civil government, and of equal diligence and application in the uſe of them. He was beloved and revered by the people, honoured and adored by his friends, and eſteemed and admired even by his enemies. But as his ambition, which knew no bounds, prompted him to enthral his country, and uſurp an arbitrary power over thoſe who were as free as himſelf, his life was certainly a juſt forfeit. If the ſtate had been deemed irretrievable, and a deſpotic governor a neceſſary evil, *Rome* could not have had a better than *Cæſar*.

Great diſturbances in the city.

So great a confuſion immediately enſued among the ſenate and people, that the conſpirators ſoon perceived their action would not be ſo generally approved as ſome of them had expected. All the ſenators, who were not accomplices, fled from the aſſembly with ſuch precipitation, that many were in danger of their lives as they preſſed out of the ſenate-houſe: and the people, alarmed at the news, ran up and down the city, ſome for information, ſome for ſafety, and others for plunder. The conſpirators, marching through the ſtreets, preceded by a herald, who carried on the point of a lance a cap, the ſymbol of liberty among the *Romans*, exhorted the people to reſume their rights. But they were no more thoſe ancient *Romans*, to whom liberty was more precious than life itſelf. They were become effeminate, debauched, and accuſtomed to live by ſelling their votes to the higheſt bidder. *Brutus*, therefore, and his followers, retired to the capitol, whither they were attended by a body of gladiators, belonging to *Decimus Brutus*.

Anthony and *Lepidus* declare againſt the conſpirators.

Anthony and *Lepidus* were extremely enraged at *Cæſar*'s death, and reſolved to revenge it to the utmoſt. The latter immediately brought into the *Campus Martius* a legion of his, and *Anthony*, as conſul, took the command of it. The conſpirators thereupon ſent deputies to them, deſiring them to conſider the fatal conſequences of a diviſion at that time, and aſſuring them that no perſonal hatred to *Cæſar* had put them upon what they had done, but only their ſincere love to their country. *Anthony*, conſidering that *Decimus*, who was now governor of *Ciſalpine Gaul*, might fall upon him with a powerful army; in order to gain time, whereby he hoped to bring over *Decimus*'s ſoldiers, anſwered; *That tho' they had bound themſelves by oath to revenge* Cæſar's *death, yet they were not obſtinate, but were content to have the ſenate aſſembled, that they might be governed by ſo many illuſtrious and diſcerning perſons.*

The ſenate was immediately called, and many debates aroſe, which at laſt terminated in this, either that *Cæſar* muſt be declared a tyrant, or that his murderers ſtood in need

need of pardon. *Anthony* oppoſed the former, urging, that if the memory of *Cæſar* were condemned, all his orders muſt be cancelled, which would be proclaiming many illuſtrious men whom he had raiſed, unworthy of their honours. After many violent heats and diſturbances, the ſenate paſſed an act of oblivion for all that was paſt, and ratified *Cæſar*'s ordinances. This act of oblivion brought matters to a more peaceable poſture: but *Anthony* and *Lepidus* were ſtill reſolved to purſue their revenge on the conſpirators, though ſeemingly reconciled to them. They therefore, the next day, ordered *Cæſar*'s will to be read in the preſence of the people, the conſpirators in vain oppoſing it. By the will it appeared, that *Octavius*, the grandſon of *Julia*, *Cæſar*'s ſiſter, was adopted to take upon him his name, and conſtituted heir of three parts in four of all his eſtate, and *Pinarius* and *Pedius*, his two other great nephews, heirs of the remaining fourth part. To the *Roman* people he left his gardens on the other ſide of the *Tiber*, and to every *Roman* citizen in particular a certain ſum of money. Among his ſecond heirs, who were to inherit in caſe of mortality, he ſubſtituted *Decimus Brutus*, one of the conſpirators; and ſeveral others, who had dipped their hands in his blood, were appointed guardians to his children, in caſe he left any. Theſe tokens of *Cæſar*'s good-will revived the affection of the people for him, and provoked them a-new againſt *Brutus* and his followers.

The ſenate paſſes an act of oblivion, and confirms *Cæſar*'s ordinances. *Cæſar*'s will.

Immediately after this, *Cæſar*'s body, borne with great pomp and ſolemnity by ſome of the moſt illuſtrious of the ſenate, was brought into the middle of the *forum*, and laid upon a bed of ivory, richly adorned with cloth of gold and purple, in a ſmall temple of gilded wood, built after the model of that of *Venus*. The robe in which he was killed was hung up by it. All the people crouded to ſee this ſight, weeping and lamenting a-freſh; and thoſe eſpecially who had borne arms under their deceaſed hero, cried aloud for vengeance. *Anthony* then aſcended the roſtrum, and pronounced *Cæſar*'s funeral oration, enlarging upon every topic which could move compaſſion. He enumerated the many victories he had gained, the great conqueſts he had made, and the various nations he had ſubdued. Then he mentioned all the titles of honour which the republic had conferred upon him, his dictatorſhip, his ſeveral conſulſhips, and, above all, the glorious name of *father of his country*. From thence he paſſed to his virtues, extolling his courage, his learning, his eloquence, his humanity, generoſity, and clemency even to his enemies. After this, he repeated the oath which the people of *Rome* had taken to him, by which they ſwore, that his perſon ſhould be ſacred and inviolable, and that they would defend him at the hazard of their own lives. Then unfolding the bloody garment of *Cæſar*, he ſhewed them in how many places it was pierced, and expo-

His body brought forth with great pomp.

Anthony inflames the people by his funeral oration.

ſed to their view the number of his wounds. But obſerving that ſome of the ſenators were diſpleaſed at this ſpeech, he concluded it with ſaying, that what had been done ought to be forgot, ſince it was the crime of ſome evil dæmons, enemies to *Rome*, rather than of men; and that nothing farther ought to be thought of, but honouring the memory of the illuſtrious deceaſed, and placing him among the immortal gods.

Various artifices uſed to ſtir up the multitude.

Anthony had ſcarce done ſpeaking, when one of the ſpectators, as if ſome fury had poſſeſſed him, ſnatching up *Cæſar*'s robe, diſplayed it again to the multitude, crying out, *Here is the ſpoil of an hero beloved of the gods, and reverenced by the world, even to adoration.* Theſe words, interrupted with frequent ſighs, and uttered with a mournful voice and geſture, occaſioned a general commotion. At the ſame time appeared on a ſudden an image of *Cæſar* in wax, which moved by ſprings, and ſhewed all the wounds he had received. This ſight tranſported the populace even to madneſs; the *forum* reſounded with cries of grief, and bitter menaces and curſes againſt the authors of his death, whom they ſtiled aſſaſſins and parricides, worthy of the moſt cruel puniſhments.

Cæſar's body burnt.

Upon the lighting of the pile, the old ſoldiers who had ſerved under *Cæſar* threw into the flames all the military rewards they had received from him; and many women of diſtinction, to teſtify their grief, and honour the memory of the deceaſed, committed to the fire their jewels, their childrens ornaments and robes, and whatever they had of value about them. The incenſed multitude, ſnatching the flaming brands out of the fire, ran to burn the houſes of the conſpirators, but were repulſed, and meeting with one *Cinna*, whom they miſtook for another of that name, who was one of the conſpirators, they immediately tore him in a thouſand pieces. *Brutus* and his party were ſo alarmed at theſe proceedings, that they immediately withdrew privately to *Antium*. All the ſtrangers in *Rome* mourned after the cuſtom of their reſpective countries, eſpecially the Jews, who watched ſeveral nights at *Cæſar*'s funeral pile. At laſt divine honours were decreed him, and an altar was erected by the people on the ſpot where his body was burnt. His great nephew *Octavius* afterwards built a temple there, and ſet up a pillar of jaſper, twenty feet high, with this inſcription, *To the father of his country.*

Octavius returns to *Rome.*

At the time when *Cæſar* was killed, his heir and adopted ſon *Octavius*, afterwards called *Auguſtus*, was at *Apollonia* in *Greece*, from whence he ſet out for *Rome*, upon the firſt news of the murder, fully determined to revenge his death: not doubting but he ſhould find both a friend and aſſiſtant in *Anthony*. But *Anthony* was now ſo much taken up with projects of aggrandizing himſelf, that he gave but little heed to what *Octavius* ſaid; and when this laſt publicly declared himſelf

himself *Cæsar*'s heir, and, as such, demanded his money of *Anthony*, or at least some part of it, he treated him with great coldness, and contempt of his youth, and refused to give him any. *Octavius* was now about eighteen years of age, graceful, sensible, insinuating, and ambitious. His first step to gain the hearts of the people was, to sell all his inheritance, to pay off the legacies left them by his uncle. This procured him much love, and *Cæsar*'s old soldiers flocked to him in great numbers; whilst *Anthony* became suspicious both to the senate and people. To please these last, who still continued to have a passionate affection for *Pompey*, *Anthony* proposed the promoting of *Sextus*, his only surviving son, to the same command of the seas and navy that his father formerly had, and the allowing him a sum of money out of the public treasury, in lieu of his father's forfeited estate. This was immediately agreed to with great applause, and *Pompey* was recalled into *Sicily*, where he afterwards managed a sharp war against *Octavius*.

As the consular year was near expiring, and the differences between *Anthony* and *Octavius* increased daily, the former deceiving the senate with a false report of the *Getæ* having invaded *Macedonia*, desired the command of the six legions which lay in that province. The senate was very unwilling to grant this, and at the same time expressed great jealousy of his power; to remove which, he preferred a law, making it death for any one ever to aim at being made dictator. These legions he designed to bring over into *Italy*, to awe and command all; and the better to effect this, he proposed another law, by which he caused the government of *Macedonia*, which had been assigned to *M. Brutus*, to be given to his brother *C. Antonius*, and to himself that of *Cisalpine Gaul*; which had been allotted to *Decimus Brutus*. The senate would by no means hear of this demand; but he obtained it of the people, partly by force, and partly by bribes. Still he was not quite so successful as he expected; for his quarrels with *Octavius*, and his neglect of revenging *Cæsar*'s death, gained him the hatred of his soldiers; so that when he had brought his legions from *Macedonia*, two of them went over to *Octavius*, who was then very busy in going through all *Italy*, and gathering together soldiers out of the colonies his uncle had planted. At length *Anthony*, with a considerable army, marched into *Gaul*, from whence he commanded *Decimus Brutus* to depart. *Decimus* retreated to *Mutina*, now *Modena*, where *Anthony* soon after besieged him; and thus a new war broke out in about three quarters of a year after *Cæsar*'s death. *Anthony* obtains the province of *Cisalpine Gaul*, where he begins a civil war. Year of *Rome* 711.

About this time the new consuls entered upon their office. These were *Hirtius* and *Pansa*, who had both served under *Cæsar*, and were great friends to *Cicero*. *Hirtius* was the author of that relation of the *Alexandrian* and *African* wars, which is annexed to *Cæsar*'s commentaries. Upon their

assembling the senate, *Anthony* was declared an enemy to the state, chiefly by the means of *Cicero*, who bore great sway in the senate, and whose *Philippics* we owe to this occasion. The two consuls were ordered to raise troops, and hasten to the relief of *Decimus*, who was reduced to great streights in *Mutina*; and, at the same time, *Octavius* was commanded to join his troops to those of the consuls, and to act in concert with them against the common enemy. The senate, though they neither loved nor esteemed him, almost all of them being of *Pompey*'s faction, sensible of how great service he might be on this occasion, gave him a power equal to that of the consuls, made him one of their body, notwithstanding his youth, and decreed, that, in respect of public preferment, he should be considered as ten years older than he really was. Though the senate pleased *Octavius* greatly by these honours, yet their promoting and giving provinces to many of the conspirators displeased him much more; and a letter from *Anthony*, upbraiding him with advancing and assisting *Cæsar*'s murderers, increased his uneasiness. However, concealing his designs with a prudence surpassing his age, he marched with the consuls who soon made themselves masters of *Bononia*, which *Anthony* had seized. Shortly after, *Anthony* and *Pansa* meeting, this last was defeated, and mortally wounded; and *Anthony* was, in his turn, worsted by *Hirtius*, as he was returning to his camp. Not many days after, a general battle was fought near *Mutina*, wherein *Anthony* was defeated with great loss, and obliged to raise the siege of that city; after which he fled to *Lepidus*, who then commanded in *Cisalpine Gaul*. The consul *Hirtius* was killed in this engagement.

Anthony is declared an enemy to the state.

The senate heaps honours upon *Octavius*.

Anthony defeated, and both the consuls killed

Anthony had no sooner left *Italy*, than the senate, thinking they had nothing farther to fear from him, slighted *Octavius* exceedingly, and denied him a triumph, which they granted to *Decimus*, whom he had relieved. *Decimus* too, as chief commander in *Cisalpine Gaul*, ordered him to quit that province. *Octavius* thereupon retired to *Bononia*, where the consul *Pansa*, who then lay dying of his wounds, advised him strongly to join with *Anthony* and *Lepidus*, as the only means by which he could revenge his uncle's death. Accordingly he wrote to them immediately, inviting them both to *Italy*, and at the same time sent four hundred of his soldiers to *Rome*, in the name of his army, to demand the consulship for him. The news of their approach, and that at the head of seventeen legions, together with *Octavius*'s coming in person with eight legions, so terrified the senate, that the *comitia* was immediately assembled, and he and *Q. Pedius* were elected consuls. The senate also decreed, that after his consulship he should take place of all other consuls, that he should levy what forces he pleased, and likewise have the command of *Decimus*'s legions. The city too was committed to his care, and power was given him to do whatever

The senate disgusts *Octavius*.

He is elected consul,

whatever he thought right, even beyond the limitation of the laws; a power which he retained to his death. One of the firſt uſes he made of his new authority was, to get his adoption confirmed in a general aſſembly of the people, to procure the condemnation of *Brutus*, *Caſſius*, and all their accomplices, and to cancel the decrees made againſt his friends. *Decimus Brutus* attempted to ſave himſelf by flying to *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, who were now in *Greece*; but as he was traverſing *Gaul*, with only a few attendants, his troops having forſaken him, and gone over to *Anthony*, he was taken by *Camelius*, a lord of that country, who ſent his head to *Anthony*. *Trebonius* and *Baſilius*, two other of the conſpirators, were killed much about the ſame time, the former by *Dolabella*, and the latter by his own ſlaves.

Cauſes the murderers of *Cæſar* to be condemned.

Soon after *Octavius*'s promotion to the conſulſhip, *Anthony* and *Lepidus* arrived in *Italy*, and he met them near *Mutina*. Their conference laſted three days, and ended in this agreement: *That* Octavius *ſhould reſign the conſulſhip to* Anthony's *friend* Ventidius: *That the ſupreme authority ſhould be divided between them three, and be kept by them for the ſpace of five years, under the name of* triumviri, *and in quality of reformers of the commonwealth. That they ſhould cauſe this authority to be confirmed by the* Roman *people: That* Anthony *ſhould have all* Gaul, *except* Narbonne, *which* Lepidus *was to have, with* Spain; *and that* Octavius *ſhould have* Africa, *with* Sicily *and* Sardinia: *That* Italy, *and the eaſtern provinces which were poſſeſſed by* Brutus *and* Caſſius, *ſhould for a while remain in common: That* Anthony *and* Octavius *ſhould immediately join their forces, and make war upon* Brutus *and* Caſſius, *whilſt* Lepidus, *with four legions, ſtaid at* Rome, *to maintain the authority of the triumvirate there.* Thus did theſe three men, as *Plutarch* obſerves, divide the empire of the world between them, as if it had been their paternal inheritance. They farther agreed, not only that all their enemies ſhould be cut off, but, as they had occaſion for immenſe ſums of money to carry on their deſigns, thoſe alſo who were poſſeſſed of great riches, or who were thought to retain the leaſt ſpark of zeal for their antient laws and liberties. The fate of *Cicero* cauſed the greateſt conteſt on this occaſion. *Anthony* inſiſted that his name ſhould be ſet down in the fatal liſt. *Octavius* endeavoured to ſave him, but at laſt gave him up, on *Anthony*'s conſenting to ſacrifice his uncle *Lucius*, and *Lepidus* his brother *Paulus*. The liſt of the others, whom the triumvirs doomed to die, was ſoon drawn up, each of the tyrants ſetting down the names of his particular enemies, and even of the enemies of his creatures. Three hundred of the ſenatorian, and about two thouſand of the equeſtrian rank, were proſcribed; and the articles of this wicked confederacy being ſworn to, *Octavius* and *Anthony* joined their armies. Thus was concluded the ſecond triumvirate, which gave the laſt blow to the liberty of *Rome*.

Octavius, *Anthony*, and *Lepidus* meet.

Articles of their agreement.

The ſecond triumvirate.

Their proſcriptions.

The

The fatal decree was drawn up, publiſhed, and ſent to *Rome*, together with the firſt liſt of thoſe that were condemned to die, and ſome companies of ſoldiers to put the orders of the triumvirs in execution. The ſoldiers arrived in the evening, before the decree, and meeting four of the proſcribed perſons in the ſtreets, immediately put them to death. Others were maſſacred in their houſes, ſeveral in the temples, and in an inſtant the whole city was filled with horror and confuſion. As the liſt of the proſcribed perſons was not yet made public, every one feared for himſelf, and the terror became general. Some, in the height of their deſpair, reſolving to involve the whole city in their ruin, ſet fire to it in ſeveral places. Early the next morning, a liſt of the proſcribed, containing the names of only ſeventeen perſons, was ſet up in a public place, together with the decree of the triumvirs.

The entry of the triumvirs into *Rome*.

During theſe alarms, the triumvirs, at the head of their united forces, advanced towards *Rome*, and entered it on three different days; *Octavius* on the firſt, *Anthony* on the ſecond, and *Lepidus* on the third, each of them being attended with his prætorian cohort and one legion. The firſt ſtep they took after their arrival was, to get a law paſſed by the people, inveſting them with the authority they had uſurped; after which, *Octavius* reſigned the conſulſhip to *Ventidius*; and theſe three tyrants, now looking upon themſelves as lawful magiſtrates, added daily to the liſt of the proſcribed, till the number amounted to three hundred ſenators and above two thouſand knights, making it death to conceal or help any one of them, and offering large rewards to whoever diſcovered or killed them. Nothing but cries and lamentations were heard through all the city: the ſtreets were covered with dead bodies, and the heads of the moſt illuſtrious of *Rome* were expoſed upon the *roſtra*. The common price of the head of a proſcribed perſon brought to the triumviri, was ten thouſand ſeſterces, if done by a freeman, and half as much if done by a ſlave, with the freedom of the city. Of thoſe that could eſcape, ſome fled to *Brutus* in *Macedonia*, ſome to *Cornificius* in *Africa*, but moſt of all to young *Pompey* in *Sicily*, where this laſt was now very powerful at ſea.

The death of *Cicero*.

The perſon moſt aimed at by *Anthony* was *Cicero*, who was then at his country houſe, near *Tuſculum*, from whence he got on board a ſhip, with deſign to paſs over into *Macedonia*, and join *Brutus*; but not being able to endure the ſea, he returned to land, ſaying, *He would die in his own country, which he had ſo often preſerved.* He came to a ſmall village about a mile from the ſhore, where his ſervants, finding that he was purſued, put him again into his litter, and were carrying him back to the ſhip, when the aſſaſſins overtook them. *Cicero* ordered his litter to be ſet down, and quietly

ſtretched

ſtretched out his neck to *Popilius Lena*, the tribune, whoſe life he had formerly ſaved by his eloquence. *Lena* cut off his head; and, by *Anthony*'s particular direction, his right hand, with which he had written the *Phillipics*, and immediately haſtened to *Rome*, and preſented them to *Anthony*, who was holding an aſſembly for the election of magiſtrates. The cruel tyrant no ſooner beheld them, than he cried out, in a tranſport of joy, *Now let there be an end of all our proſcriptions! Live*, Romans, *live in ſafety; you have nothing more to fear.* The head and hand were ſet up in the *forum*, where the people could not, without horror, ſee thoſe ſad remains of a man who had ſo often triumphed in that very place by the force and charms of his eloquence. Thus fell, in the ſixty-third year of his age, the greateſt orator that the world ever produced; *a man, who*, to uſe *Cæſar*'s words, *obtained a laurel as much above all triumph, as it was more glorious to extend the bounds of the* Roman *learning, than thoſe of the* Roman *empire.*

Rapacious avarice of the triumvirs.

The triumvirs having now almoſt glutted their revenge, began to think of raiſing the neceſſary ſums for carrying on the war againſt *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, which they eſtimated at two hundred thouſand talents. In order to this, they daily iſſued out new proſcriptions againſt the richeſt citizens of *Rome*, cauſed them to be murdered, and ſeized on their eſtates. They loaded the people with moſt grievous taxes; ſeized all the gold and ſilver they could lay hands on, whether belonging to *Romans* or to ſtrangers, and drew up a liſt of fourteen hundred of the richeſt ladies of *Rome*, mothers, daughters, relations, or any way allied to thoſe they had proſcribed, and taxed them all moſt exceſſively. The ladies applied to the female relations of the triumviri for relief; but that not ſucceeding, they went in a body to the tribunal of thoſe magiſtrates, and demanded to be heard. *Hortenſia*, the daughter of *Hortenſius*, a very famous orator, ſpoke with ſuch boldneſs, that the triumvirs, fearing ſome ſudden tumult, ordered their lictors to drive away all the women: but the people crying out againſt ſuch violence, they adjourned the affair to the next day, when, to appeaſe the multitude, they reduced the number of the ladies to four hundred; but, at the ſame time, taxed above one hundred thouſand men. The triumviri then aſſembled the few ſenators they had left alive, and entering the ſenate-houſe, declared, *That the proſcription was at an end.* *Lepidus* endeavoured to juſtify their paſt proceedings, and aſſured the ſenators, *That he would give them no farther cauſe of complaint*: but *Octavius* openly declared, *That he ſtill reſerved to himſelf the liberty of puniſhing the guilty.* The triumvirs then, of their own authority, without ſo much as aſſembling the people, appointed their collegue *M. Æmilius Lepidus* to be one of the conſuls for the following year; and joined with him *L. Munatius Plancus*; and, after filling up all the other great offices in the ſame manner, for ſeveral enſuing

The *Roman* women taxed.

The triumvirs appoint the great officers.

ſuing years, with creatures of their own, *Anthony* and *Octavius* divided the money and troops between them, and ſet out on their expedition againſt *Brutus* and *Caſſius*. *Anthony* embarked at *Brunduſium*, and *Octavius* at *Rhegium*; and both of them landed at *Dyrrachium*.

Year of *Rome* 712. Progreſs of the conſpirators in the Eaſt.

The conſpirators had now made a conſiderable progreſs in the Eaſt; and *Caſſius*, having poſſeſſed himſelf of all *Syria*, thought of invading *Egypt*, where *Cleopatra* had declared for the triumvirs, and was ready to join them with a powerful fleet. But he was recalled by *Brutus*, upon the news that *Anthony* and *Cæſar* were upon their march with forty legions, of which eight had already paſſed the *Ionian* ſea. *Caſſius* therefore leaving *Syria* to his brother's ſon with one legion, ſent a party of horſe into *Cappadocia*, to kill *Ariobarzanes*, and levy great ſums on his ſubjects; and, after ſeveral other ſevere exactions, he joined *Brutus* at *Smyrna*, where they conſulted about the preſent war, and agreed to begin by reducing the *Rhodians* and *Lycians*. This expedition was ſoon completed, and extraordinary contributions raiſed. The *Rhodians* were plundered of almoſt all they had; and the inhabitants of *Xanthus*, after an obſtinate reſiſtance, ſet fire to their city, and deſtroyed themſelves with it. *Brutus* and *Caſſius* met again at *Sardis*, from whence, after ſeveral conſultations, they reſolved to march againſt *Anthony* and *Octavius*. Here it was that *Brutus* is reported to have ſeen a ghoſt or ſpectre in his tent.

A ſpectre appears to Brutus.

This memorable ſtory is thus related by *Plutarch*, *Florus*, and *Appian*. As *Brutus*, according to his uſual cuſtom, was ſitting one night, late, alone, and very thoughtful, in his tent, with only a dim light burning by him, all being ſilent in the camp, and eſpecially about his tent, he heard, on a ſudden, an unuſual noiſe at the door, which at the ſame time flew open. Caſting his eye towards the place from whence the noiſe came, he ſaw a huge and frightful figure advancing towards him, which he undauntedly addreſſed, ſaying, *What art thou; a god, or a man? and for what reaſon comeſt thou hither? I am*, replied the ſpirit, *thy evil genius*, Brutus: *thou ſhalt ſee me again at* Philippi. *Brutus* boldly anſwered, *Well, I will ſee thee there:* upon which the apparition vaniſhed. He immediately called his ſervants, who all told him, *that they had neither ſeen nor heard any thing*. He continued watching all the reſt of the night, and, as ſoon as it was day, went to give an account of what had happened to *Caſſius*; who, as he had been brought up in the principles of the *Epicurean* philoſophy, aſcribed the viſion wholly to the weakneſs of his ſenſes, and the force of imagination, which eaſily moves and varies tinto all manner of ideas. This he maintained by the example of dreams; where the fancy, forming different images, affects the organs of the body after the ſame manner as they would be moved by outward objects. *But that there is any ſuch thing*

as

as ſpirits and demons, continued he, *let us not believe; much leſs that ſpirits can have human ſhape, voice; or any power over us: though I could earneſtly wiſh it was ſo, that we might not only rely upon the greatneſs of our forces, but likewiſe on the aſſiſtance of thoſe immortal beings who could not but be favourable to a cauſe ſo juſt and ſacred as ours is.* This diſcourſe ſatisfied *Brutus*, who ſhortly after paſſed over into *Thrace*, and ſo to *Philippi*, a city between that country and *Macedonia*, near which the forces of the triumviri were poſted.

The whole world now waited the event of a battle which was to decide the fate and fortune of the *Roman* empire. The army of the conſpirators conſiſted of nineteen legions and twenty thouſand horſe; and that of the triumviri of the ſame number of legions, but much better diſciplined, and thirteen thouſand horſe. *Brutus* and *Caſſius* encamped on a high ground near the ſea, whereby they were plentifully ſupplied with all ſorts of proviſions. The other party was greatly diſtreſſed for want of neceſſaries, having only *Macedonia* and *Theſſaly* open to them; for *Pompey*, *Murcus*, and *Ahenobarbus*, had, with their fleets, cut of all communication with *Africa*, *Spain*, and *Italy*. This made *Anthony* extremely deſirous of coming to a battle, which *Caſſius* as carefully avoided, though *Brutus* was much for it, ſaying, *he was impatient to put an end to the miſeries of mankind, by a glorious victory, or a glorious death.* At laſt *Anthony*, with great labour, made a way through a large fen, and *Caſſius* threw up works againſt him, which, with the ſoldiers cagerneſs to fight, brought on a general engagement, though much againſt *Caſſius*'s will, who declared, *That he was forced, in the ſame manner as* Pompey *was, to expoſe the liberty of the* Roman *people to the hazard of a battle.* In the morning, juſt before the action, *Caſſius* aſked *Brutus*, *What he intended to do, if Fortune ſhould prove their enemy? When I was young*, anſwered *Brutus*, *I condemned the death of* Cato, *and maintained, that ſuch a way of avoiding diſgraces, was an impious attempt againſt Heaven which ſent them: but now I have altered my opinion, and am reſolved, if we are unſucceſsful in this laſt ſtruggle, no longer to preſerve a life which I devoted to the ſervice of my country on the ides of* March, *and which I have ever ſince enjoyed with liberty and honour.* At theſe words *Caſſius* ſmiled; and, tenderly embracing him, *Now*, ſaid he, *we may boldly venture againſt the enemy; for either we ourſelves ſhall conquer, or have no cauſe to fear thoſe who do.*

The armies of the conſpirators and triumviri meet.

The forces of the triumvirate were commanded by *Anthony* alone, *Octavius* being ſick. *Brutus*, ſeconded by *Meſſala*, commanded the right wing of the army of the republicans, and attacked the left wing of their enemies with ſuch fury, that they bore down all before them, and penetrated to the very camp of *Octavius*, who had juſt been carried to *Anthony*'s. *Anthony*, in his turn, opened himſelf a paſſage through the left wing of the republicans commanded by *Caſſius*,

The firſt battle of *Philippi*.

ſius, and, purſuing his advantage, ſoon became maſter of his camp. *Caſſius* retreated to a hill not far off, expecting the event of the battle on *Brutus*'s ſide. Whilſt he was there, perceiving a body of horſe make towards him, and not being able to diſtinguiſh, by reaſon of the great duſt, whether they were friends or enemies, he ſent *Titinius* to reconnoitre them. *Titinius* was received with great joy, for they were friends coming with tidings of victory: but he ſtaid ſo long with them, that *Caſſius*, fearing *Brutus* had been defeated, and his friend taken priſoner, cried out, *Alas! to to preſerve the remainder of a miſerable life, I have ruined my beſt friend.* At theſe words he retired into his tent, and either killed himſelf, or made his freedman kill him. *Titinius* arrived immediately after, and, accuſing himſelf of being the cauſe of *Caſſius*'s death by his delay, ſtabbed himſelf and fell upon the body of his friend.

Caſſius's death.

Brutus was extremely grieved at the death of *Caſſius*, whom he called the laſt of the *Romans*. He ordered his body to be removed out of ſight, and buried privately, leſt his army ſhould be too much dejected; but could not help ſaying to his friends, *That he thought* Caſſius *happy in being beyond the reach of thoſe misfortunes which remained for them to ſuffer.* For ſome little time he avoided fighting, hoping to ſtarve his enemies, who were now in extreme want of proviſions, their fleet having lately been defeated; but at laſt the eagerneſs of his ſoldiers, and his fear of a general deſertion if he delayed it any longer, forced him to hazard a ſecond battle. We are told, that the ſpectre which he ſaw before, appeared to him again the night before this deciſive action, but ſaid nothing now. Whatever melancholy apprehenſions he had upon him, he encouraged his men as much as poſſible, promiſing them the liberty of plundering *Lacedemon* and *Theſſalonica*: and when the battle began, the eagerneſs of both ſides made them throw aſide their miſſive weapons, and betake themſelves immediately to their ſwords, fighting a long time with prodigious fury, till at laſt *Brutus*'s party was borne down by main force, and intirely defeated. *Brutus* fled to a hill hard by, and there remained all night; and when, in the morning, he found no way of eſcaping, he ſaid, with a chearful countenance, to the few friends that were with him, *That he looked upon himſelf as much happier than any of his conquerors, ſince he ſhould enjoy the reputation which always follows virtue, and which tyranny and injuſtice would never deſerve.* Then, beſeeching his friends to provide for their own ſafety, and adding, *That he hoped* Anthony *and* Octavius, *ſatisfied with his death, would purſue their tyranny no further*, he withdrew with two or three only of his particular friends; of which number was *Strato*, whom he earneſtly conjured to give him the laſt teſtimony of his affection, by performing that friendly office which all others had declined. He too being as unwilling as the reſt, *Brutus* called one of his ſlaves; upon which *Strato* cried

The ſpectre appears again to *Brutus*.

Second battle of *Philippi*.

Brutus defeated.

cried out, *Forbid, ye gods, it ſhould ever be ſaid, that* Brutus *died by the hand of a ſlave for want of a friend*; and preſented the point of his ſword to *Brutus*, who threw himſelf upon it, and expired immediately. The death of *Brutus*.

Thus fell *Brutus* in the forty-third year of his age, and with him fell the liberty of *Rome*. The conquered troops ſubmitted, and the triumvirs eſtabliſhed, on the ruins of the republic, the authority they had uſurped, and became maſters of the whole *Roman* empire, *Sicily* alone excepted, which was ſtill held by *Sextus*, the ſon of *Pompey* the Great; but the oppoſition they met with from him was not conſiderable.

The firſt days after the victory were employed by the triumviri in puniſhing their enemies. *Anthony* ſacrificed *Hortenſius* to the memory of his brother *Caius*; *Livius Druſus*, the father of that *Livia* who was afterwards married to *Octavius*, killed himſelf in his tent; and *Quintilius Verus*, after having adorned himſelf with all the enſigns of the honours and dignities he had borne, choſe rather to die by the hands of his freedman, than be expoſed to the inſults of his mercileſs enemies. *Octavius*, on this occaſion, betrayed a cruelty unworthy of a *Roman*. He ſent the head of *Brutus* to *Rome*, to be thrown at the feet of his uncle's ſtatue. His aſhes were ſent to his wife *Porcia*, *Cato*'s daughter, who, it is ſaid, killed herſelf by ſwallowing burning coals. He condemned a ſenator and his ſon to draw lots for their lives; but they both refuſed it, the father voluntarily giving himſelf up, and the ſon ſtabbing himſelf before his face. To another, who begged of him to have the rites of burial, he anſwered, *That he would ſoon be at the diſpoſal of the crows*. Theſe bitter words and rigorous puniſhments rendered him odious as well as terrible to all the priſoners that were brought before him. Cruelty of *Octavius*.

After the triumviri had glutted their revenge, they began to conſider how they could beſt eſtabliſh their authority, and extirpate thoſe who ſtill ſtood up in defence of their liberties; for *Pompey* was ſtill in poſſeſſion of *Sicily*; *Domitius Ahenobarbus*, and *Statius Murcus*, *Brutus*'s two admirals, commanded two powerful fleets; the former on the coaſts of *Macedon*, the latter in the *Ionian* ſea; and *Caſſius Parmenſis*, one of the conſpirators, had a great fleet, and was at the head of a conſiderable army in *Aſia*. They agreed, that *Anthony* ſhould undertake the ſettling of the Eaſt, and raiſing money there to reward the ſoldiers; and that *Octavius* ſhould lead the veteran troops back into *Italy*, to put them in poſſeſſion of the lands which had been promiſed them; and likewiſe to drive young *Pompey* from his retreat, which ſerved for an aſylum to all the zealous republicans. who returns to *Italy*.

Anthony firſt viſited *Greece*, where his affability and generoſity, particularly at *Athens*, gained him the hearts of all. From thence leaving *Marcus Cenſorinus* to command in that country, he paſſed over into *Aſia* with all his troops. There

all

all the princes of the East, who acknowledged the *Roman* power, came to make their court to him; some bringing presents, and others their wives and daughters, who strove which should appear most charming in his eyes. This crowd of sovereigns, who constantly attended him with their praises and submissions, most agreeably soothed his voluptuous and ambitious temper. He pardoned all those of *Brutus*'s party, who surrendered themselves to him, except *Petronius*, who was one of the conspirators: and *Quintus*, who was charged with betraying *Dolabella* to *Cassius* in *Laodicea*. But then he stripped several rich citizens of their estates to gratify his flatterers and buffoons; and assembling the deputies of all the subjects of the *Romans* in those parts, in a set speech he insisted upon his necessities and their duties; and thereby squeezed out of the inhabitants almost all the money that *Brutus* and *Cassius* had left them. After this, he went a progress through the provinces of *Asia*, giving every where proofs of generosity and good nature. He pardoned *Lucius*, brother to *Cassius*, and several other of his enemies in those parts; but spared none that had any hand in *Cæsar*'s death.

The behaviour of *Anthony* to the *Greeks*.

On his arrival in *Cilicia*, he sent *Dellius* into *Egypt*, to summon *Cleopatra* to appear before him, and give an account of her conduct during the war; for, though she had assisted *Dolabella*, yet *Serapion*, her lieutenant in *Cyprus*, had joined *Brutus* and *Cassius*, which the triumvirs had taken much amiss, considering what she owed to the memory of *Cæsar*. *Dellius*'s persuasion, and her confidence in her own charms, easily determined her to go in person to *Anthony*, whose heart she made no doubt of gaining. Arriving at the mouth of the river *Cydnus*, she embarked in a vessel whose stern was of gold, the sails of purple silk, and the oars of silver, which gently kept time to a concert of excellent music. The queen was laid under a canopy of cloth of gold, adorned like *Venus* rising out of the sea, with lovely children playing about her like Cupids, fanning her, and her women habited like Nereids and Graces, leaning negligently on the sides and shrouds of the vessel. The sweets that burned around her perfumed the banks of the river, which were covered with an infinite number of people, who ran with such eagerness to see this sight, that *Anthony*, who was mounted on a throne to make a shew of majesty, was quite deserted. *Anthony* desired her to land and sup with him, but she desired his company first on board her galley. The sumptuous elegance with which he was entertained there, was such that, when he returned the compliment the next day, he found it impossible to equal, or even approach, her taste and magnificence. After some time spent in mutual compliments, *Cleopatra* told him, *She came not thither to clear herself, but to be recompenced for the great services she had done to him and* Cæsar, *in assisting* Dolabella, *and commanding a fleet in person in spite of* Cassius

His interview with *Cleopatra*.

and

and his party. This interview proved fatal to *Anthony.* No longer maſter of himſelf, he, from this moment, entertained a paſſion for her, which was the cauſe of all the future miſfortunes of his life. The purſuit of arms gave way to gentler cares, and he followed her into *Egypt*, where he ſpent the enſuing year in all the delights and pleaſures his wanton heart could wiſh, or that luxuriant nation furniſh.

Whilſt *Anthony* was thus wholly taken up with *Cleopatra*, *Octavius* was very buſy in ſettling the affairs of *Italy*, and dividing the promiſed lands among the veterans. This was extremely difficult, and very dangerous; for as the public treaſury was quite exhauſted, and he could not poſſibly raiſe money enough to ſatisfy the troops, it became abſolutely neceſſary for him to give up ſeveral towns allotted for their recompence. The inhabitants of thoſe unhappy towns flocked daily in great multitudes to *Rome*; and vaſt numbers of women, with children in their arms whoſe tender years and innocence drew compaſſion from every one, filled the temples and public places with their cries and lamentations. The people of *Rome* talked very freely and boldly, and *Octavius* heard their murmurings with a diſſimulation peculiar to himſelf. He borrowed what money he could; but finding that not ſufficient, he at laſt broke through all difficulties, and, purſuant to his firſt deſign, gave his ſoldiers lands and other places for their inheritance. The rich city of *Cremona*, which had been attached to the intereſt of *Brutus*, ſuffered exceedingly in this iniquitous diſtribution; and *Mantua*, unfortunately too near that place when abandoned to the mercy of the ungovernable ſoldiery, had more than her ſhare in theſe misfortunes. The prince of the *Latin* poets had like to have periſhed on this occaſion by the hand of a centurion named *Arrius*, who purſued him with his drawn ſword, for daring to diſpute with him the poſſeſſion of his ſmall eſtate on the banks of the *Mincio*; and would have deprived the world of the greateſt poet *Italy* ever produced, had he not happily eſcaped by ſwimming croſs a river. To this adventure *Virgil* ſeems to have owed his farther reputation and advancement; for it put him upon going directly to *Rome*, where his extraordinary talents recommended him to *Mæcenas* and *Aſinius Pollio*, by whoſe intereſt he obtained the reſtitution of his farm, which is the ſubject of that excellent eclogue, the firſt of his *Bucolics*, he being then about twenty-eight years of age.

Year of *Rome* 713.

Virgil in great danger of being killed, goes to *Rome*.

Anthony's wife, *Fulvia*, knowing that nothing but a war in *Italy* could force her huſband from *Cleopatra*'s arms, reſolved to try every method which her rage and jealouſy could prompt to bring him back. To this end ſhe applied to her brother-in-law *Lucius*, who was then conſul, and who, being under great obligations to her, and diſliking *Octavius*'s proceedings, readily came into her deſigns of quarreling with him. Many plauſible pretences, of which there could be no

Fulvia quarrels with *Octavius*, and kindles a war in *Italy*.

want in ſuch unſettled times, were made uſe of. *Rome* and all *Italy*, were in great miſery: proviſions were extremely dear, by *Pompey*'s preventing all ſupplies from abroad; and at home the troops conſumed the whole produce of the land, and committed a thouſand diſorders. *Fulvia* and *Lucius* took advantage of theſe misfortunes to fire the ſoldiers and people againſt *Octavius*, who, on his ſide did his utmoſt to calm them; heard their complaints with patience, and promiſed to redreſs their grievances. An open rupture ſoon enſued. The veterans who had ſerved under *Anthony*, complaining that *Octavius* had favoured his own men in the diſtribution of the lands, together with ſuch of the *Italians* as had been driven from their antient inheritances, ſided with *Fulvia* and *Lucius*; whilſt the friends of the late dictator, and thoſe legionaries who were ſatisfied with the lands fallen to their ſhare, took part with *Octavius*. *Lucius* was forced to retire to *Peruſia*, a ſtrong city of *Hetruria*, where he was cloſely beſieged by *Octavius*. *Ventidius* and *Aſidius*, two of *Anthony*'s commanders, attempted in vain to relieve the town, which, being at laſt reduced to the utmoſt miſeries of famine, *Lucius* came out, ſurrendered himſelf to *Octavius*, and, with great earneſtneſs, interceded for his poor ſoldiers, begging that his puniſhment might attone for their offences. *Octavius* received him kindly, and generouſly pardoned all his men. The town was deſigned to be plundered; but one of the chief inhabitants, called *Macedonicus*, in a violent rage ſet fire to his houſe, and burned both himſelf and the whole city. *Ventidius* and the reſt made no reſiſtance; ſo that this dangerous war was ended in a few months, *Pompey* taking but ſmall advantage of it. *Octavius* entered *Rome* in triumphal robes, and crowned with laurel: public feaſts were celebrated for ſeveral days together; and it was decreed by the ſenate and people, *That, whenever any general ſhould, for the future, merit a triumph*, Octavius *ſhould have a ſhare in his honour*.

Siege of *Peruſia*.

Whilſt *Octavius* was ſettling his affairs in *Italy* with all the ſkill and addreſs of an able politician, *Anthony* was paſſing his time ingloriouſly at *Alexandria*, thinking of nothing but the enjoyment of his pleaſures; when he received the news that his brother had been defeated, that his wife and all his friends had left *Italy*, and that *Octavius* had made himſelf maſter of all *Gaul*, and of the legions quartered therein. From another part he received advice, that the *Parthians*, under the command of *Pacorus*, their king's ſon, aſſiſted by *Labienus* and *Barzapharnes*, had made themſelves maſters of *Syria*, and ſacked *Jeruſalem*. Upon this, *Anthony*, recovering, as it were, from his lethargic indolence, reſolved at length to leave *Cleopatra*, and march forthwith againſt the *Parthians*. With this view, having got together two hundred ſhips, and a conſiderable army, he ſailed to *Tyre*: but letters which he found on his arrival there from his wife *Fulvia*, and his friends, determined

The *Parthians* over-run *Syria*.

termined him to poſtpone his *Parthian* expedition, and to return immediately to *Italy*. In his way thither, he met *Fulvia* at *Athens*, where he blamed her and his brother *Lucius* for occaſioning the late diſorders; and learned from her, that *Octavius*, after putting away her daughter *Clodia*, had lately married *Scribonia*, the ſiſter of *Libo*; *Pompey*'s father-in-law. *Octavius*, politic in all he did, hoped by this to gain an alliance with *Pompey*, whoſe ſhipping he much wanted.

Anthony returns to Italy,

Anthony, ſuſpecting *Octavius*, advanced towards *Italy*, without ſhewing the leaſt concern for *Fulvia*, whom he left ſick at *Sicyon*, where ſhe died of grief ſoon after. *Domitius Ahenobarbus*, the republican admiral, met him upon the *Ionian* ſea, and, inſtead of oppoſing him, delivered up to his fleet and forces. *Anthony* then ſailed to *Brunduſium*, where the garriſon, conſiſting of five legions, which *Octavius* had placed there, refuſed him admittance. Upon this, *Anthony* blocked up the place, and prevailed on *Pompey* to join him in attacking *Italy*. *Octavius* marched directly to *Brunduſium*, where the old ſoldiers being unwilling to fight againſt *Anthony*, he was obliged to hearken to an accommodation, which was at length brought about by *Cocceius*, *Pollio*, and *Mecænas*. This dangerous breach being made up, and all offences and affronts mutually forgiven, a marriage was propoſed between *Anthony* and *Octavius*'s half-ſiſter *Octavia*, the widow of *Marcellus*. Though the queen of *Egypt* had ſo large a ſhare in *Anthony*'s heart, yet this match was no ſooner propoſed to him, than he agreed to it with inexpreſſible ſatisfaction, at leaſt in appearance. After this, the two triumvirs had an interview, in which they made a new partition of the *Roman* empire; by virtue whereof, all weſtward of *Codropolis*, a town of *Illyricum*, was to obey *Octavius*; and all eaſtward of it, *Anthony*. *Africa* was left to *Lepidus*, whoſe authority declined daily. *Anthony* was to make war upon the *Parthians*, and *Octavius* upon *Pompey*, if he refuſed to ſubmit upon reaſonable conditions. *Italy* was to be common to both the triumvirs, for the raiſing of forces to carry on theſe wars; and *Octavius* was to pardon *Domitius*, and all who had borne arms againſt him in the war of *Peruſia*. The two generals, thus reconciled, marched together to *Rome*, where the marriage between *Anthony* and *Octavia* was ſolemnized with great magnificence.

and lays ſiege to Brunduſium.

His agreement with Octavius.

He marries Octavius's ſiſter.

In conſequence of this agreement, *Anthony* ſent *Ventidius* into *Aſia* againſt the *Parthians*. But, in the mean time, great trouble aroſe at home. *Pompey* blocking up all the ports of *Italy* with his numerous fleets, *Rome* was reduced to the utmoſt extremity for want of proviſions, eſpecially corn, which was become ſo dear that the people were ready to ſtarve. *Anthony* thereupon preſſed his collegue, either to come to an accommodation with *Pompey*, or oblige him, by a vigorous war, to recall his ſhips, and leave the ſea open

Rome in great diſtreſs.

for trade. *Octavius* was more inclined to war, *Pompey* having lately taken from him the islands of *Sardinia* and *Corsica*: but, as he wanted money to carry it on, with *Anthony*'s approbation he laid two taxes on all the inhabitants of *Rome* and *Italy*; the one of two drachmas and an half for every slave; the other on all legacies. This so provoked the populace, already pinched with hunger, that they rose in opposition to these edicts, assaulted *Octavius* in the *forum*, and would have torn him in pieces, had not *Anthony* hastened to his assistance with a body of troops. At length, *Anthony*, *Octavius*, and *Pompey*, came to an interview; in which, among other articles, it was agreed, That *Pompey* should keep possession of the islands he then had, and that *Peloponnesus* should be yielded to him; that he should have the privilege of demanding the consulship, though absent; and of discharging that office by any of his friends; that he should leave the sea open, and pay the people what corn was due from *Sicily*; and, that all the proscribed persons, except such as were guilty of *Cæsar*'s death, should have liberty to return.

The people rise.

Agreement between the trinmvirs and *Pompey*.

Year of *Rome* 714. *Anthony* marches into the East.

All civil wars being now ended for a while, *Octavius*, to keep his troops in discipline, sent some of them into *Illyricum*, and led the rest into *Gaul*, where some disturbances had broke out. *Anthony* departed for the East, against the *Parthians*, whom his lieutenant, *Ventidius*, had already dealt with so effectually, as fully to revenge the death of *Crassus*, and retrieve the honour of the *Roman* name. *Anthony* there settled the affairs of *Syria*; made peace with *Antiochus*, king of *Comagene*, who had assisted the *Parthians*; established *Darius* in *Pontus*, *Pharnaces* in *Idumæa*, *Herod* in *Judæa*, *Amintas* in *Pisidia*, and *Polemon* in *Cilicia*; and then returned to *Athens*, where he spent the winter with *Octavia* in all the luxury he could possibly devise.

New disputes between *Pompey* and *Octavius*.

In the mean time new disputes arose between *Pompey* and *Octavius*; the late treaty having only regulated their pretensions, but not their ambition. The apparent subject of their present quarrel was *Peloponnesus*, which had been ceded to *Pompey*. *Octavius* pretended, that it could not be given up to him, till he discharged the arrears due from that province to the republic before the treaty. *Pompey*, on the other hand, maintained, that they had yielded him that country free from all charges. A breach ensuing, *Pompey* again blocked up the ports of *Italy*, and reduced *Rome* to great distress; and *Octavius* prepared to invade *Sicily* with a powerful army, but wanted shipping. This was, very unexpectedly, remedied by the revolt of *Pompey*'s admiral *Menas*, who, being offended with his master for not revenging the death of some of his friends, came over to *Octavius*, with three legions and a numerous fleet which he commanded; and likewise delivered up to him the islands of *Corsica* and *Sardinia*, of which he

was

was governor. *Octavius* then put to ſea, to invade *Sicily*, but was beaten back by *Pompey*; and ſoon after his ſhips were extremely ſhattered as they lay at anchor, and moſt of his men caſt away. Theſe misfortunes obliged him to fortify the coaſts of *Italy*, leſt *Pompey* ſhould attempt an invaſion; and ſend to *Anthony* for his aſſiſtance. However, in the midſt of all theſe cares, he ſtill found time for love. The charms of *Livia*, the wife of *Tiberius*, made ſo great an impreſſion upon his heart, that he divorced *Scribonia*, whoſe bad temper he was not able to bear; and, either by his intreaties or authority, made *Tiberius* quit *Livia*, whom he married, though then big with child, all the prieſts allowing it.

Octavius worſted at ſea.

He marries *Livia*.

Anthony was now arrived at *Brunduſium* with three hundred ſhips: part of which, being of no uſe to him in his *Parthian* expedition, he deſigned to exchange with *Octavius* for land forces. But this laſt having received news of *Agrippa*'s quelling the *Gauls*, and having alſo got together a good fleet of his own, would willingly have diſpenſed with *Anthony*'s coming. He thought him already too powerful, and therefore, under various pretences, would fain have declined going to meet him. This ſo offended *Anthony*, who had long been jealous of his collegue, that he could not help complaining bitterly of him. *Octavia* generouſly undertook to mediate between them, and, with the aſſiſtance of *Agrippa* and *Mæcenas*, happily cleared up all miſunderſtandings, and brought *Octavius* to an interview with *Anthony*; in which the exchange which this laſt deſired, was made: and as the time which had been fixed for the duration of the triumvirate was almoſt expired, they, of their own authority, without any regard to the ſuffrages of the ſenate or people, prolonged their power for five years more. *Anthony* departed for *Syria*, and *Octavius* ſet about making great preparations for his expedition againſt *Pompey*.

Year of *Rome* 716. *Anthony* arrives in *Italy*.

He reſolved to invade *Sicily* in three different places at the ſame time. *Lepidus*, whom he had ſent for from *Africa*, was to land at *Lilybæum*, on the ſouth of the iſland; *Statiliut Taurus*, who was at *Tarentum*, on the eaſt ſide, at Cape *Pachynum*; and *Octavius* himſelf on the weſtern coaſt, at Cape *Pelorum*; whilſt *Agrippa*, whom he had appointed commander in chief of his navy, was to cruize off *Mylæ*, a city on the northern coaſt. *Mæcenas*, out of his natural levity, had already abandoned the party of *Octavius*, and returned to *Pompey*. *Octavius*'s fleet was again diſperſed and greatly ſhattered by a ſtorm: but he refitted it with all poſſible expedition, and ſent it out again under the command of *Agrippa*, who firſt defeated *Pompey* at ſea, then was worſted himſelf, and afterwards landed in *Sicily* twenty-one legions, two thouſand horſe, and five thouſand light-armed men. Nothing memorable happened on land; but *Pompey* challenged his enemy at ſea, and the offer being accepted, *Agrippa* to-

Octavius prepares for war againſt *Pompey*,

and intirely defeats him.

tally defeated him, ſinking twenty-eight of his ſhips, and taking or deſtroying the reſt; ſo that out of three hundred and fifty, only ſeventeen eſcaped. With theſe he fled towards *Aſia*, deſigning to throw himſelf upon the mercy of *Anthony*, whoſe mother *Julia* he had formerly received with great civility, when ſhe left *Rome*, during the war of *Peruſia*. *Pompey*'s troops ſubmitted to the conqueror; and *Meſſana*, after holding out ſome time, yielded to *Lepidus*; ſo that all *Sicily* was now brought into ſubjection.

Octavius differs with *Lepidus*,

This victory proved the ruin of *Lepidus*, who having now twenty-two legions and a ſtrong body of cavalry under his command, pleaſed himſelf with the ambitious thought of getting all *Sicily* into his hands, and even pretended a right to it, as having been firſt invaded by him. *Octavius* ſent to him, to complain of this proceeding; but *Lepidus* haughtily anſwered, *That he would not ſuffer* Octavius *to take upon him all the authority of the triumvirate, when he had an equal right to it.* Upon this reply, *Octavius*, having firſt gained over, by his emiſſaries, the greateſt part of *Lepidus*'s officers, repaired to his camp, attended with a ſtrong body of horſe. He no ſooner appeared, than the legions taken in *Meſſana*, whom he had already found means to corrupt, flocked to him, offering him their ſervice. *Lepidus*, alarmed at this, fell upon *Octavius* at the head of his guards, killed his ſhield-bearer cloſe by him, wounded him, and obliged him to retire. But the next day *Lepidus* had the mortification to ſee himſelf abandoned by all his troops, who, with their enſigns diſplayed, marched out of their camp in good order, to join his rival. The unhappy triumvir, thus forſaken, quitted all the marks of his authority, and, putting on a mourning robe, threw himſelf at the feet of his collegue, and begged his life; which was granted him with his eſtate; *Octavius* deſpiſing him too much to take it from him. *Suetonius* ſays he was

who is baniſhed.

baniſhed to *Circeii*, a ſmall town on the coaſt of *Latium*, and there ended his life in obſcurity and contempt. Thus the

Year of *Rome* 718.

whole authority of the triumvirate devolved upon *Anthony* and *Octavius*, who held the *Roman* empire divided between them; the former having all the eaſt from the borders of *Illyricum* and the *Adriatic* Gulph, and the latter all the reſt. *Pompey* was ſhortly after killed in *Phrygia* by *Anthony*'s order.

Octavius returns to *Rome*.

Octavius, after ſtaying ſome ſhort time in *Sicily*, to ſettle affairs there, returned to *Rome*; where he was received with all poſſible demonſtrations of joy. The ſenate, in a body, met him at the gates, and, followed by all the people crowned with garlands, conducted him to the capitol; from whence, after he had returned thanks to the gods for the ſucceſs of his arms, they attended him to his palace. The next day he aſſembled the ſenate, and, in a ſtudied ſpeech, gave them an account of his expedition, and aſſured them, that he had undertaken ſo many toils and dangers with no other view than

than to reſtore peace and tranquility to *Rome*. When he had ended his ſpeech, he withdrew; and the ſenators, no longer ſwayed with a love of liberty, but a ſpirit of ſlavery, and the meaneſt flattery, decreed him ſuch honours as he himſelf was aſhamed to aſſume. However, he gave leave for erecting his ſtatue of gold in the *forum*, with this inſcription, *To* Cæſar, *for having reſtored peace by ſea and land*; and to appoint an annual feaſt to be celebrated on the day he had overcome *Pompey*. A triumph was decreed him, but he would have only an ovation: after which he aſſembled the people, and having returned them thanks for the honour they had beſtowed on him, he leſſened the taxes, and forgave thoſe who had hired houſes of the public, all the rents they owed to the Treaſury. As the city, as well as the country, had been greatly infeſted with thieves and robbers, during the late troubles, he ordered *Sabinus*, one of his lieutenants, to purſue and bring to juſtice all of them that could be found in *Italy* and *Sicily*: and at the ſame time he eſtabliſhed at *Rome* ſeveral companies for the guard of the city. By this means, peace and tranquility were reſtored; which, together with the plenty he procured, being now maſter of *Sicily*, gained the affections of all the people to ſuch a degree, that ſome cities went even ſo far as to erect altars to him, eſpecially after one generous action, which gave them a high opinion of his prudence and good nature. He had found, among *Pompey*'s papers, a great many letters to him from ſome of the chief men in the ſenate. Theſe he brought into the *forum*, and, before all the people, threw them unopened into the fire, proteſting, *that he ſacrificed his private reſentments to the public good*. At the ſame time he ſolemnly declared, *That his intention was, to reſign his authority as ſoon as* Anthony *ſhould return from the* Parthian *war*. This declaration, however inſincere, abſolutely gained him the hearts of the undiſcerning multitude, who immediately choſe him tribune of the people for his life, hoping this new dignity might induce him to lay down the odious title of triumvir. He readily accepted the perpetual tribuneſhip, which rendered his perſon ſacred and inviolable; but put off the ſuppreſſion of the triumvirate till *Anthony*'s return, ſending *Bibulus* to him in the mean time, to inform him of his reſolution. After this, *Octavius* left *Rome*, and marched againſt the *Illyrians*, who had revolted.

Octavius is choſen tribune for life.

It was believed that the death of *Pompey* would have put an end to all civil war: but the unbounded ambition of *Octavius* and *Anthony* ſoon involved the *Roman* ſtate in new troubles. *Anthony*'s paſſion for *Cleopatra*, and the extravagant preſents of whole provinces which he made her, ſerved *Octavius* for a pretence to make war upon him in reality, to rid himſelf of a competitor ſo formidable, both for his valour and the high reputation he had gained among the ſoldiery. *Anthony* had led *Octavia* into *Italy*, and paſſed into *Syria*, whither he had invited *Cleopatra*, and gave her all *Phœnicia*,

Year of *Rome* 719.

Cœlo-Syria, *Cyprus*, and a great part of *Cilicia*, *Arabia*, and *Judæa*. These profuse gifts much displeased the *Roman* people, who daily published scurrilous lampoons, censuring his conduct, and turning him into ridicule, on account of the scandalous life he led with *Cleopatra*. Soon after, he marched against the *Parthians* with an army which made all the east tremble, but which served only to render his retreat more shameful, as we have related in the history of the *Parthians*. As all the misfortunes he met with in that fatal expedition were owing to his passion for *Cleopatra*, which made him neglect the more proper measures, to follow those only which might hasten his return to her, the *Romans* were highly incensed against him. But what most of all provoked them was, his taking *Artabazes*, king of *Armenia*, in the treacherous manner we have related in the history of that kingdom, and leading him in triumph into *Alexandria*; the *Romans* looking upon the ceremony of triumphing as appropriated wholly to their city.

Anthony's prodigality offends the *Roman* people.

Octavius took advantage of *Anthony*'s impolitic conduct to exasperate the people still more against him; and when he found them sufficiently incensed, he resolved to send *Octavia* to her husband, that he might have a plausible pretence to declare war against him, if he should offer her the affront of sending her back without seeing her. *Anthony* was now at *Leucopolis* in *Syria*, waiting impatiently for the arrival of *Cleopatra*, who at last came, with great quantities of cloaths for the soldiers, and a vast sum of money; at least *Anthony* gave her the honour of it, when he distributed it. Almost at the same time, *Octavia* sent him word from *Athens*, where she had stopped, that she had brought with her cloaths, arms, and horses for his soldiers, with rich presents for his friends and officers, and two thousand chosen men well armed. This was very unwelcome news to *Cleopatra*, who, fearing the presence of a virtuous rival, feigned a deep melancholy, abstained from food, shed tears, and practised every art that could excite *Anthony*'s tenderness; by which she prevailed so far, that he laid aside his expedition against *Parthia*, and sent *Octavia* word to return to *Rome*. After this he went with *Cleopatra* to *Egypt*.

Octavius stirs them up against him.

This injurious treatment of *Octavia* drew upon him the resentment of all the *Romans*, which was heightened by his behaviour immediately after at *Alexandria*, where, after feasting all the inhabitants of that city with great magnificence, and causing a throne of silver to be erected in the most public place, with two seats of gold, one for himself and the other for *Cleopatra*, and lower seats at their feet for his children, he proclaimed *Cleopatra* queen of *Egypt*, *Cyprus*, *Africa*, and *Cœlo-Syria*, associating with her *Cæsario*, the son she had by *Julius Cæsar*. To his own children by her he gave, to *Alexander*, the eldest, *Armenia*, *Media*, *Parthia*, and the rest of the eastern provinces from the *Euphrates* to the *Indus*;

Anthony again offends the *Roman* people.

Indus; to *Cleopatra*, the twin-ſiſter of *Alexander*, *Lybia* and *Cyrene*; and to *Ptolemy*, whom he ſurnamed *Philadelphus*, *Phœnicia*, *Syria*, *Cilicia*, and all the countries of the *Leſſer Aſia* from the *Euphrates* to the *Helleſpont*; and he conferred on each of them the title of *King of kings*. During this pompous ceremony, *Cleopatra* appeared dreſſed like the goddeſs *Iſis*, and *Anthony* like the god *Oſiris*.

Octavius accuſes him before the ſenate.

Octavius, taking advantage of the general reſentment againſt *Anthony*, accuſed him before the ſenate and people, of this and ſeveral other attempts highly injurious to the majeſty of the *Roman* empire; upon which, *Anthony* ſent ſome of his friends to *Rome* to plead his cauſe, and accuſe *Octavius* in his turn; but this laſt juſtified himſelf to the entire ſatisfaction of the *Romans*. *Octavia* uſed her utmoſt endeavours to bring about a reconciliation, but in vain, her efforts ſerving only to incenſe the people ſtill more againſt *Anthony*, for his ill uſage of a lady of her extraordinary merit.

Both ſides prepare for war.

Both ſides reſolved upon a war. *Anthony* ordered *Canidius*, one of his lieutenants, to march immediately with ſixteen legions to the coaſts of the *Ionian* ſea, and there keep himſelf in readineſs to paſs over into *Europe* at a day's warning; whilſt he himſelf haſtened with *Cleopatra* to *Epheſus*, where his lieutenants had got together eight hundred veſſels, of which *Cleopatra* furniſhed two hundred, with twenty thouſand talents, and proviſions for all his forces. *Anthony*, by the advice of his friends, was going to ſend *Clepatra* back into *Egypt*, there to wait the event of the war; but ſhe, fearing leſt a peace ſhould be made in her abſence, and *Anthony* be again reconciled to *Octavia*, bribed *Canidius* to repreſent to *Anthony* a number of inconveniences that her departure would occaſion, and particularly the depriving him of the aſſiſtance of the *Egyptians*, who were the beſt part of his navy. Theſe counſels, and her own artful inſinuations prevailed.

Behaviour of *Anthony* and *Cleopatra* at *Samos*.

Anthony and *Cleopatra* went together to *Samos*, to which place all the kings, princes, and nations, from *Egypt* to the *Euxine* ſea, and from *Armenia* to *Illyricum*, were ordered to ſend men, arms, and proviſion. At the ſame time, it was proclaimed, that all ſtage-players, dancers, ſingers, buffoons, &c. ſhould repair to the ſame iſland; ſo that frequently, when a ſhip was thought to come laden with ſoldiers, arms, and ammunition, it proved to be full of players, ſcenes, and machines; and whilſt all the reſt of the world was in tears, and great dread of the approaching war, joy and all kind of pleaſure reigned at *Samos*, as if they had abandoned all other places to reſide there. Thither each city within the limits of *Anthony*'s government was ordered to ſend an ox to be offered in ſacrifice, and the kings who accompanied him contended who ſhould make the moſt ſumptuous entertainments; inſomuch that the ſpectators could not help aſking

one

one another, *What rejoicings they would make after a victory, who made ſuch magnificent feaſts before a dangerous war?*

Anthony's ſtay at *Samos* was very favourable to *Octavius*, who could make but ſmall preparations for war, by reaſon of the diſcontent of all the *Italian* cities, occaſioned by the heavy taxes laid upon them, and increaſed by the news of *Anthony*'s approach with ſuch formidable forces. But when they ſaw that all *Anthony*'s parade tended only to fill the public places and theatres of *Samos*, *Octavius* found means to appeaſe them, and put himſelf in a poſture of diſputing the empire upon an equal footing with his enemies. A ſtep which *Anthony* now took rendered him more odious than ever; for having brought *Cleopatra* to *Athens*, and there heaped upon her greater honours than ever mortal had received before, he ſolemnly divorced *Octavia*, and ſent orders to *Rome* to drive her out of her houſe. *Octavia* readily obeyed, without murmuring, only lamenting her hard fate, in being made one of the cauſes of a civil war. Several of his friends, unable any longer to bear with his diſorders, abandoned him, and went over to *Octavius*, who having now got poſſeſſion of *Anthony*'s will, which had been lodged with the veſtals at *Rome*, found therein new matter to complain of to the ſenate and people; *Anthony* having bequeathed moſt of the *Roman* provinces under his command to *Cleopatra*, and ordered, that wherever he ſhould die, though at *Rome* itſelf, his body ſhould be ſent into *Egypt* to *Cleopatra*, to be buried as ſhe ſhould direct. To this was added a report, that *Anthony* deſigned to give *Rome* to *Cleopatra*, if his arms were proſperous, and to transfer the ſeat of the empire into *Egypt*.

Anthony divorces *Octavia.*

Year of *Rome* 722.

Octavius now finding himſelf in a condition to encounter *Anthony* with equal forces, no longer delayed declaring war, but cauſed it to be decreed only againſt *Cleopatra*, for fear of provoking *Anthony*'s friends, who were ſtill very numerous and powerful. However, *Anthony* was deprived of the conſulate, and his government was taken from him, for ſuffering himſelf to be ruled by a woman. The decree implied beſides, that *Cleopatra* had ſo bewitched *Anthony* with her charms and potions, as to bereave him of his ſenſes; and that it was not he who was to manage the war againſt the *Romans*, but *Mardicon* her eunuch, and *Iras* and *Charmia*, her women, who were now become *Anthony*'s governors. All his followers were invited over with great promiſes of rewards, but not declared enemies, partly to prevent their growing deſperate, and partly to render *Anthony* more inexcuſable in making war againſt his country for the ſake of an *Egyptian* woman.

War declared againſt *Cleopatra.*

The forces of *Octavius*

The forces of theſe two generals were anſwerable to the empire they contended for, one drawing all the eaſt, and the other the weſt to his party. All the ſeveral kings of *Aſia*,

Aſia, that were allies of the *Romans*, followed the fortune of *Anthony*, ſome in perſon, others only with their troops, and all which, together with *Anthony*'s forces, compoſed an army of an hundred thouſand foot, and twelve thouſand horſe; and his fleet conſiſted of five hundred ſhips of war, ſome of which had eight, and ſome ten banks of oars. As for *Octavius*, he had no foreign princes in his army, which amounted only to eighty thouſand foot, but was as ſtrong in cavalry as the enemy's. He had but two hundred and fifty ſhips; but they were lighter, better manned, and more convenient than *Anthony*'s. and *Anthony*.

As ſoon as the ſeaſon would permit, both armies took the field, and the fleets put to ſea. *Anthony*'s fleet ſailed into the gulf of *Ambracia*, between the iſlands of *Corcyra* and *Cephalonia*, and his army encamped at *Actium*, near his fleet. Whilſt *Anthony*'s fleet lay at anchor there, *Octavius*, croſſing the *Ionian* ſea, ſurprized *Toryne*, a ſmall city near *Actium*, and appeared the next morning, at break of day, off *Actium*, with his ſhips in order of battle. As *Anthony*'s legions were not yet arrived, he had but a ſmall number of ſoldiers on board his fleet, and conſequently muſt have been defeated, had *Octavius* attacked him. But this laſt, afraid to venture an engagement in that narrow paſſage, *Agrippa* being abſent, ſtood off to ſea. *Anthony* encamps at *Actium*, near his fleet.

Octavius's land-forces were encamped on the other ſide of the mouth of the gulf of *Ambracia*. While he lay there, *Anthony*, who was well acquainted with the country, found means to cut off the water from his camp, which much diſtreſſed his army. In the mean time, the brave *Agrippa* ravaged the coaſts of *Greece*, intercepted all the convoys that were coming to *Anthony* from *Egypt*, *Syria*, and *Aſia*, ſtormed ſeveral cities, and, in the ſight of *Anthony*, made himſelf maſter of *Leucas*, a ſmall iſland near *Actium*, and of the ſhips that were there. The cities of *Mathona*, *Leucadia*, *Petras*, and *Corinth* ſubmitted to him. He defeated *Q. Naſidius*, whom *Anthony* had ſent to ſtop the progreſs of his conqueſts; and as he was returning from the coaſts of *Greece*, to join *Octavius*, he fell in with *Socius*, one of *Anthony*'s admirals, who had juſt put to flight *L. Taureſius*, whom *Octavius* had ſent out with a numerous ſquadron to watch the motions of the enemy. *Agrippa* attacked him, took ſome of his ſhips, ſunk others, and diſperſed the reſt. *Socius* himſelf periſhed, and with him *Tracondimotus*, king of *Cilicia*. At the ſame time, a great body of *Anthony*'s cavalry, commanded by himſelf, was defeated by a detachment of *Octavius*'s, under the command of *Titius* and *Statilius Taurus*. Theſe advantages re-animated *Octavius*'s ſoldiers, brought ſeveral of *Anthony*'s friends over to him, and made *Anthony* himſelf abandon in the night the camp he had fortified over againſt the enemy's, and retire to *Actium*, on the other ſide of the gulf. and *Octavius* on the oppoſite ſide of the gulf *Ambracia*. Exploits of *Agrippa*.

At

Among the perſons of diſtinction who went over to *Octavius* on this occaſion, were, the kings *Amyntas* and *Deiotarus*, and *Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus*, the laſt year's conſul, who, notwithſtanding his affection to *Anthony*, could no longer bear the haughty and inſolent behaviour of *Cleopatra*. The deſertion of *Domitius*, whom *Anthony* looked upon as one of his beſt friends, ſtung him to the heart; but, with his natural generoſity, he ſent after him all his equipage, friends, and ſervants, which ſo ſenſibly touched *Domitius*, who, was ſick of a fever when he fled, that he died ſoon after, his diſtemper being increaſed by the cutting reflection of having abandoned a man who thus requited his infidelity with kindneſs only.

Anthony reſolves upon a ſea-fight.

At length *Canidius* arrived with the legions, and, ſeeing the danger near, changed his mind with relation to *Cleopatra*, whom he now adviſed *Anthony* to ſend back, and to go himſelf into *Macedonia*, where he might fight by land with ſo much the more advantage, as *Dicomes*, king of the *Getæ*, was ready to join him with a great army. *Anthony* was much inclined to follow this advice; but *Cleopatra*, whoſe words were oracles with him, byaſſed him the other way, and obliged him, againſt his own judgment, to hazard the empire and his life, in a ſea-fight. This reſolution being taken, *Anthony*, knowing the effeminacy of the *Egyptians*, and fearing they would turn their backs as ſoon as the fight began, ſet fire to all their ſhips, except ſixty, which he left to ſerve as a guard for the queen; and out of the ſquadrons of his allies he choſe the beſt gallies, from three ranks of oars to ten, and burnt the reſt, for want of mariners to man them.

Both fleets were now ready to engage; but a violent ſtorm, which continued for four days together, prevented them. On the fifth, the ſea being calm, they advanced towards each other in good order. *Gellius Publicola* commanded *Anthony*'s right wing, *Cælius* the left, and *Marcus Octavius* and *Marcus Juſteius* the main body. On *Octavius*'s ſide, *Agrippa* was placed in the centre, having *Larius* on his right, and *Aruntius* on his left. *Anthony* and *Octavius* had no particular poſt, but went each in a little veſſel from one diviſion to another, encouraging their men, and putting them in mind of their former exploits and victories. *The largeneſs of your ſhips*, ſaid Anthony to his men, *gives you an opportunity of fighting as firmly as on dry land. From your valour I expect this day the empire of the world, and you may depend upon rewards anſwerable to ſo noble a conqueſt.* *Octavius* gave no leſs hopes to his ſoldiers, and ended his ſpeech with ſaying, *The enemy's veſſels are laden indeed, but not manned; and if they exceed us in multitudes of men, we ſurpaſs them in number of ſoldiers. Be therefore now, as ye have ever been, conquerors. To ſpeak more, were to detain you from victory. Only call to mind your ancient valour, and remember, that I am* Cæſar, *and that you are* Romans.

The armies of the two contending chiefs, to the number of two hundred thouſand men, were drawn up, the one on the

the north, and the other on the ſouth ſide of the *Ambracian* gulf, waiting the event of the battle at ſea, which was begun with equal bravery on both ſides, and laſted ſeveral hours, with as fair a proſpect of ſucceſs for *Anthony* as for *Octavius*; when *Cleopatra*, wearied with expectation, or overcome with fear, on a ſudden tacked about with her ſixty ſhips, and fled towards *Peloponneſus*. *Anthony* ſtruck with amazement at this ſight, betrayed a weakneſs ſcarce to be imagined, and confirmed, as *Plutarch* obſerves, the ancient ſaying, that *a lover's ſoul lives in another's body*; for he no ſooner ſaw the queen's ſhip under ſail, than, forgetting the duty of a general, and renouncing the empire of the world, as if her abſence had been all he had to fear, he threw himſelf into a ſmall ſhip, and, attended only by two domeſtics, abandoned his men, who were ſacrificing their lives in his ſervice, to follow a baſe woman, who had long ſince begun, and was now completing his deſtruction. As ſoon as he came up with *Cleopatra*'s galley, he was taken on board; but, without ſo much as ſeeing her, he placed himſelf at the ſtern, and there, leaning his elbows on his knees, and his head on both his hands, as one confounded with anger and ſhame for his ill conduct, he remained a long while in that melancholy poſture. His men ſtill continued the battle with great bravery till the evening, when, partly by the great conduct of *Agrippa*, and partly by the promiſes of *Octavius*, they were induced to ſubmit. Three hundred ſhips yielded to the conqueror; but not above five thouſand men were killed in the whole action. *Anthony*'s land forces ſhewed no leſs fidelity and affection for their commander, than his marines had done. They could not be brought to believe, that a general, who had nineteen legions intire, and twelve thouſand horſe, could baſely deſert them; and eſpecially *Anthony* who had ſo often ſeen fortune in all her ſhapes, as *Plutarch* expreſſes it, and been ſo accuſtomed to changes. They expected that he would ſoon appear from ſome part or other, and, putting himſelf at their head, give them an opportunity of ſhewing their zeal for him, which was ſuch, that even after they were ſure he had forſaken them, and they were ſurrounded both by ſea and land, they kept in a body for ſeven days together, and rejected the advantageous offers *Octavius* made them; till at laſt, being abandoned by *Canidius* and all their chief officers, who privately made their eſcape, they ſubmitted on honourable terms, and were incorporated among *Octavius*'s legions. The auxiliaries, who had ſerved under *Anthony*, retired to their reſpective countries, and made their peace with the conqueror on the beſt terms they could. Some of them were diſbanded, others continued in their former ſtate, but all were heavily taxed. The *Romans* in general were treated with great clemency, only a few of the moſt inveterate being puniſhed with death.

The battle of *Actium*.

Anthony follows her.

His fleet ſubmits.

and his army.

Anthony

Anthony continued in his melancholy three days, without ſeeing *Cleopatra*, till he arrived at *Tænarus* in *Laconia*, where her woman brought them to converſe together as formerly, and he ſhewed himſelf as fond of her as ever. Here he learnt the fate of his navy; but not ſuſpecting the defection of his army, he wrote to *Canidius* to retreat through *Macedonia* into *Aſia*, propoſing to renew the war there. He then gave his friends that were about him one of his largeſt ſhips, laden with a vaſt treaſure, deſiring them to ſhare it among them, and provide for their own ſafety. They, with tears, refuſed to accept it, proteſting they would never forſake him: but he abſolutely commanded them to depart, and leave him to his evil deſtiny. After this he retired to *Africa*, from whence he ſent *Cleopatra* into *Egypt*, and ſoon after followed her thither. What enſued farther with regard to *Anthony* and *Cleopatra*, together with the affecting circumſtances of their death, and the reduction of *Egypt* by *Octavius*, belongs properly to the hiſtory of that country, to which we therefore refer our readers. All *Anthony*'s ſtatues, both in *Egypt* and at *Rome*, were thrown down, and intirely demoliſhed; his memory was declared infamous by the ſervile ſenate; and a decree was paſſed, enacting, that none of his family ſhould ever after bear the name of *Marcus*.

He retires to *Africa*, and from thence to *Egypt*.

Octavius returns to *Rome*. Year of *Rome* 725. The temple of *Janus* cloſed.

After *Octavius* had reduced *Egypt*, and ſettled the affairs of the eaſt, he returned to *Rome*, where he was received with univerſal joy and ſatisfaction, and had three triumphs decreed him; the firſt for *Illyricum*, the ſecond for the battle of *Actium*, and the third for the conqueſt of *Egypt*. The temple of *Janus*, which had ſtood open two hundred and five years, was now cloſed, and *Rome* was ſo much enriched by the immenſe treaſures which *Octavius* and his ſoldiers brought out of *Egypt*, that the intereſt of money fell from ten to four *per cent*. After his triumph, the name of *emperor* was conferred on him, not in the common ſenſe, as importing only a title of honour, but as expreſſing a ſovereign power and uncontroulable authority.

Octavius reforms the abuſes of the ſtate.

Octavius, now ſole maſter of the *Roman* empire, partly by the power with which the people had at ſeveral times inveſted him, and partly by the ruin of his enemies, was at the height of his wiſhes, and reſolved to exerciſe all the clemency of a good prince, and all the art of a refined politician. His firſt care was to aſſure himſelf of *Anthony*'s adherents; to which end he gave out, that he had burnt all *Anthony*'s papers without reading them; well knowing, that as long as any thought themſelves ſuſpected adverſaries, they would never be real friends. He gave to the ſenators and magiſtrates ſumptuous feaſts and entertainments, and to the people magnificent ſhews and plays, accompanied with ſuch an air of benevolence, and intermixed with ſuch a variety of pleaſures, as might reaſonably baniſh their ſorrows for the old proſcription, and remove their fears of a new one. He

regulated

regulated many abuſes and corruptions in the ſtate with great wiſdom and dexterity; and though he did not give up the leaſt part of his authority, yet he exerciſed it with ſuch diſcretion and moderation, that the commonwealth was happier under his government, than when it enjoyed all its privileges. He allowed the people their due liberties, but retrenched the licentiouſneſs of cabals and factions; and to the ſenate he reſtored its ancient ſplendor, but baniſhed its late corruption. He contented himſelf with a moderate power, which would not allow him the freedom of doing ill; but he made it abſolute, when it impoſed upon others the neceſſity of doing well: ſo that the people were not leſs free, but in matters of ſedition; nor the ſenate leſs powerful, but in matters of injuſtice; and the *Romans* ſeemed to have loſt nothing of the happineſs that liberty might produce, but only the misfortunes it might occaſion.

Octavius thinks of reſigning his power.

Having thus eſtabliſhed good order in the ſtate, *Octavius* began to be extremely perplexed in his mind, and long conſidered within himſelf, whether he ought to retain the government of the empire, or reſtore the people to their firſt liberty. The examples of *Sylla* and *Julius Cæſar* filled him with doubts and difficulties, when he conſidered that the former, who had voluntarily reſigned his power, died peaceably in the midſt of his enemies; and the latter, for retaining it, was aſſaſſinated in full ſenate by his moſt intimate friends. On the other hand, he reflected, that the commonwealth had been ſo extremely harraſſed and broken by violent factions and civil wars, that the yoke would prove their greateſt relief, eſpecially as he would manage it. He found too, that the people of *Rome* had almoſt intirely loſt their antient vigour and deſire of liberty, and the ſenate much of its former firmneſs and reſolution; and that the corruptions of the ſtate were ſo numerous, and ſo dangerous, that nothing but a change could cure or correct them. In this perplexed ſituation he determined to conſult his two moſt intimate and truſty friends, *Agrippa* and *Mecœnas*, the former no leſs famous for his probity than his valour, and the latter a man of great penetration, and generally eſteemed the beſt politician of his age.

Agrippa adviſes him to it.

Agrippa, ſenſible only of that glory which is acquired by great and heroic actions, frankly declared for a generous reſignation, and exhorted *Octavius* to convince the world, by reſtoring liberty to his country, that the only motive for his taking up arms was to revenge his uncle's death.

But he is diſſuaded from it by *Mæcenas*.

Mæcenas, on the contrary, repreſented to him, that he had done too much to go back; that, after ſo much blood-ſhed, there could be no ſafety for him but on the throne; that, if he diveſted himſelf of the ſovereign power, he would be immediately proſecuted by the children and friends of the many illuſtrious perſons, whom the misfortunes of the times had forced him to ſacrifice to his ſafety; and that it was abſolutely neceſſary for the welfare and tranquility of the republic

public, that the ſovereign power ſhould be in the hands of one, and not divided among many. *Octavius* thanked them for their friendly advice, but inclined to the opinion of *Mæcenas*, who thereupon gave him many excellent inſtruction and rules of government, which are related at length by *Dion Caſſius*. Among other things he told him, *That he could not fail of being ſucceſsful in all his undertakings, happy in his life-time, and famous in hiſtory after his death, if he governed others as he would wiſh to be governed himſelf, had he been born to obey, and not to command.* He added, *That if, in taking upon him the ſovereign power, he feared the name of king, as odious in a commonwealth, he might take the title of* Cæſar, *or* Imperator, *and under that name, which was well known to the* Romans, *enjoy the authority of a king.*

He continues the old magiſtrates.

From this time *Octavius* laid aſide all thoughts of quitting the ſovereign power; but, to deceive the people into a belief tnat they ſtill enjoyed their ancient government, he continued the old magiſtrates, with the ſame name, pomp, and ornaments as before, but with only what power he thought fit to leave them. They were to have no military power; but were, as before, to judge finally all cauſes, except ſuch as were capital, ſome of which were left to the governor of *Rome*, but the chief he reſerved to himſelf. He paid great court to the people, making the very name that covered his uſurpation a compliment to them, by affecting to call it the *power of the tribuneſhip*. He likewiſe won the hearts of the populace, by procuring them plenty and cheapneſs of proviſions, and frequently entertaining them with ſhews and diverſions; by which means he kept them in good humour, and made them forget uſurpation, ſlavery, and every public evil; people in eaſe and plenty being under no temptation of inquiring into the title of their prince, or reſenting acts of power, which they do not immediately feel.

He increaſes the ſenate,

but diveſts them of all power.

He and *Agrippa* being made cenſors, among other things belonging to that office, he took care to purge the ſenate of many unqualified members, which had crept into it during the late civil wars, and then filled it up with creatures of his own, increaſing the number to a thouſand. He ſupplied ſeveral poor ſenators with money out of the treaſury, to enable them to diſcharge the public offices, and always ſhewed a great reſpect for that venerable aſſembly, and a deſire to preſerve their ancient glory and dignity, whilſt he was, in fact, diveſting them of all power and authority. To prevent them from raiſing new diſturbances in the diſtant provinces, which he well knew how eaſy it might be for perſons of their high rank to do in the then unſettled ſtate of affairs, he iſſued an edict, forbidding any ſenator to travel out of *Italy* without leave, except ſuch as had lands in *Sicily*, or *Narbonenſe Gaul*, provinces adjoining to *Italy*, and not in a condition to do any harm.

Year of *Rome* 726.

Before *Octavius* ended his ſixth conſulſhip, in which *Agrippa* was his collegue, he took a *cenſus* of the people, being forty-

forty-one years ſince the laſt, and in this the number of men fit to bear arms amounted to four hundred and ſixty-three thouſand, the moſt that had ever yet been found. He likewiſe celebrated the games, which had been decreed for his victory at *Actium*; and it was ordered that they ſhould be repeated every fifth year, four colleges of prieſts called *pontifices*, *augurs*, *ſeptemviri*, and *quindecimviri*, being appointed to take care of them in their turns. He inſtituted many other games at his own expence, to amuſe the people, and divert their attention from his actions and their ancient freedom; giving them alſo four times as much corn as they uſed to have. All debts due to the exchequer before the battle of *Actium*, were cancelled, excepting ſuch as were for buildings erected at the public expence; and ſeveral ſevere and unjuſt laws, which had been made during the triumvirate, were annulled. He raiſed many public buildings, repaired the old ones, and added ſeveral ſtately ornaments to the city, which, if we may credit ſome ancient writers, was at this time fifty miles in circumference, and contained near four millions of ſouls.

Octavius numbers the people

Octavius, now entering upon his ſeventh conſulſhip, in which *Agrippa* was again his collegue, finding all things ripe for his deſign, the people being highly pleaſed with his mild government, and the ſenate filled with his creatures, whoſe fortunes depended upon his holding the power he had uſurped, went, by the advice of *Mæcenas* and *Agrippa*, to the ſenate-houſe, and there, in a ſtudied ſpeech, offered to reſign his authority, and reſtore the government of the commonwealth to the people. This, as he knew would be the caſe, was ſtrongly oppoſed by the majority of the ſenators, who often interrupted him whilſt he was ſpeaking, and, after he had done, unanimouſly beſought him to take upon himſelf alone the government of the *Roman* empire. He, with ſeeming reluctancy, yielded to their requeſts, but would accept of it only for ten years, in which time, he ſaid, he ſhould be able to ſettle all things in ſuch peace and order, that there would be no further need of his authority, and he might put the government again into the hands of the ſenate and people. With this new authority the ſenate reſolved to diſtinguiſh him with a new name. That of *Romulus* was propoſed by ſome, *Auguſtus* by others, and this laſt, by which we ſhall henceforth call him, was that which he choſe; the former ſavouring too much of royalty. For the greater ſafety of his perſon, it was decreed, that the pay of his guards ſhould be double that of all other ſoldiers.

Year of *Rome* 727.

Octavius offers to reſign his power.

But is prevailed on by the ſenate to keep it.

The title of *Auguſtus* conferred on him

Thus *Auguſtus* got confirmed to him by the ſenate and people, all the power and authority which he had uſurped: but that he might ſtill ſeem to ſhare it with them, he aſſigned to the ſenate the government of thoſe provinces which were quiet and peaceable, and kept to himſelf ſuch as, bordering upon enemies, were moſt expoſed to troubles, ſaying, *That he*

His policy in dividing the provinces with the ſenate.

he desired the fathers might enjoy their power with ease and safety, whilst he underwent all the fatigue and danger. By this policy, he secured all the military power to himself, the troops lying in the provinces he had chosen; and the others, which were to be governed by the senate, being quite destitute of forces. These last were called *senatorial*, and the former *imperial* provinces. The senatorial were, *Africa*, *Numidia*, *Lybia*, *Cyrenaica*, *Asia Minor*, *Greece*, *Epirus*, *Dalmatia*, *Macedonia*, *Crete*, *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, and that part of *Spain* called *Bætica*. The imperial provinces were, the rest of *Spain*, all *Gaul* and *Germany*, *Syria*, *Phœnicia*, *Cilicia*, *Cyprus*, and *Egypt*. After this he set over the provinces of both sorts men of patrician dignity, with the titles of *Pro-consuls* and *Pro-prætors*; but over *Egypt* only a private knight, fearing lest a person of high rank might avail himself of the wealth and situation of that country, to raise new disturbances in the empire. *Africa* and *Asia* were given to senators, and the rest of the provinces to prætorians; but none of them were to enter upon this employment within five years after they had borne offices in the city; nor was any one to hold his government above a year, but, upon the arrival of his successor, to depart immediately for *Rome*, and be there within three months after at furthest. Thus ended the greatest commonwealth, and at the same time began the greatest monarchy that ever was known.

The end of the common-wealth.

The *Roman* dominions, now almost at their greatest extent, contained at this time, in *Europe*, *Italy*, both the *Gauls*, *Spain*, *Greece*, *Illyricum*, *Dacia*, *Pannonia*, and some part of *Britain* and *Germany*: in *Asia*, all those provinces which went under the name of *Asia Minor*, *Armenia*, *Syria*, *Judæa*, with part of *Mesopotamia* and *Media*; and in *Africa*, *Egypt*, *Afric*, *Numidia*, *Mauritania*, and *Lybia*; besides many islands and parts of other provinces. This vast empire, comprehending the greatest, and by far the best part of the then known world, was near four thousand miles in length, and about half as much in breadth; and its yearly revenues have, by a modest computation, been reckoned to amount to forty millions of our money. As to the *Romans* themselves, they had nothing left of the noble spirit, and manly virtues of their ancestors, but were sunk in luxury and effeminacy. The people, who had been wont to direct mighty wars, to raise or depose the greatest kings, and to bestow or take away vast empires, were now so lost to all sense of greatness, that if they had but bread and shews, their ambition went no higher; and the nobility, more learned indeed, and more polite, than in former ages, were grown idle, venal, vicious, insensible of private virtues, utter strangers to public glory or disgrace, void of zeal for the welfare of their country, and solely intent on gaining the favour of the prince, as knowing, that certain wealth and preferment were the rewards of ready submission, acquiescence, and flattery.

BOOK

BOOK XV.

THE ROMAN HISTORY.

CHAP. I.

From the Reign of Auguſtus *to that of* Conſtantine, *when the Seat of the Empire was transferred to* Conſtantinople.

AUGUSTUS EMPEROR.

THE affairs of *Rome* were never in a more flouriſhing condition, than when *Auguſtus* became maſter of the empire. His firſt care was to ſatisfy his ſoldiers, and attach them firmly to his intereſt. To this end, and that he might the more eaſily reaſſemble them in caſe of need, he diſpoſed them all over *Italy*, in thirty-two colonies. Twenty-five legions, with their auxiliaries, were maintained in the provinces. Of theſe, ſeventeen were in *Europe: viz.* eighteen on the *Rhine*, four on the *Danube*, three in *Spain*, and two in *Dalmatia*. The other eight were in *Aſia* and *Africa*: namely, four upon the borders of the *Euphrates*, and in *Syria*; two in *Egypt*, and two in the antient dominions of *Carthage*. Theſe forces, amounting to one hundred and ſeventy thouſand, ſix hundred and fifty men, reckoning ſix thouſand one hundred foot, and ſeven hundred and twenty-ſix horſe, in each legion, were, for ſome ages after, conſtantly kept on foot, even in the moſt peaceable times. In the neighbourhood of *Rome* were always quartered twelve cohorts, conſiſting of about ten thouſand men; of which, nine were called *prætorians*, and the other three *city cohorts*. Theſe were to guard the emperor's perſon, and to protect and keep peace in the city. Beſides theſe numerous and well-diſciplined land-forces, *Auguſtus* kept conſtantly at ſea two powerful fleets: the one near *Ravenna*, in the *Upper*, or *Adriatic*, Sea, to command and defend *Dalmatia*, *Greece*, *Crete*, *Cyprus*, *Aſia*, and the reſt of the eaſtern provinces; and the other at *Miſenum*, in the *Lower*, or *Mediterranean*, Sea; to awe and protect *Gaul*, *Spain*, *Africa*, and the weſtern provinces. They were likewiſe to keep the ſeas clear

Year of *Rome* 727.

Forces of the empire.

Auguſtus. of pirates, and to convoy the ſhips that came to *Rome* with the tributes of the provinces beyond ſea, and the neceſſary proviſions for the ſubſiſtence of the city.

Auguſtus ſtudying to preſerve peace, and to gain the hearts and affections of the people, corrected ſeveral abuſes which had crept into the civil government; reformed many of the antient laws, and enacted new ones: but in all this he affected to do nothing without the approbation of the ſenate.

Policy of *Auguſtus.*

Auguſtus. The *comitia* were held as formerly, but ſuch only were choſen for the great offices, as *Auguſtus* had before-hand recommended to the centuries. The ſame officers of ſtate, the ſame names, pomp, and ornaments were continued, with all the appearance of authority, but without the leaſt power. The tribunes were permitted to intercede for the people, but not to prefer or hinder any bill. The affairs of religion were left on their antient footing, *Auguſtus* being ſenſible how dangerous it muſt be to attempt any alterations in that reſpect, in a yet unſettled empire. *Italy*, and particularly *Rome*, was infeſted with gangs of robbers. Thoſe he totally extirpated in a ſhort time, and re-eſtabliſhed public ſecurity. He alſo burned all the old bonds and accounts which were due to the public Treaſury, and releaſed all priſoners who were confined at the malicious ſuits either of their creditors, or of informers. At the ſame time he took great care to re-people *Italy*, much depopulated by the late civil wars, by bringing into it twenty-eight new colonies from *Ciſalpine Gaul*, and joining that country to the proper territories of the *Romans*. The mending of the high-ways, and repairing many public edifices, were likewiſe objects of his attention. Theſe things were highly pleaſing to the people and ſenate, who, as a token of their ſatisfaction, honoured him with the title of *Father of his country.*

It might have been reaſonably expected, that the mildneſs of *Auguſtus*'s new government, and the wiſdom of his inſtitutions, ſhould have prevented all diſturbances in the conquered countries. But ſo prevailing is the love of liberty, that *Britain*, *Gaul*, and part of *Spain*, prepared to ſhake off the *Roman* yoke. Upon this, *Auguſtus* opened the temple of *Janus*, which had been ſhut near five years, and departed immediately for *Gaul*. On his arrival at *Narbonne* he was met by deputies from the *Britons* and *Gauls*, with offers of ſubmiſſion, and promiſes of future obedience. He therefore made no long ſtay in that country, but haſtened to chaſtiſe the *Spaniards*, eſpecially the *Cantabrians* and *Aſturians*, who had now done much damage to the *Roman* allies. He ſoon came up with the enemy, defeated them in a pitched battle near the river *Iberus*, and forced them to retire with their wives and children to one of their higheſt mountains, now called the Mountain of *Aſturias*, where they ſtrongly fortified themſelves.

Britain, Gaul, and part of *Spain*, revolt.

The *Britons* and *Gauls* ſubmit.

The

Auguſtus.

The *Romans*, finding it extremely hazardous to attack them in that advantageous poſt, ſurrounded them with a wide and deep ditch, fortified with caſtles and turrets: by which means, all the avenues and paſſages being ſhut up, thoſe unhappy people were reduced to the utmoſt extremity for want of proviſions: yet, ſuch was their love of liberty, that, inſtead of yielding, they endured, for a long time, miſeries hardly to be expreſſed; the women devouring their own children, and the young men the old, to ſupport the neceſſities of nature. After many unſucceſsful attempts to force the *Roman* intrenchments, the *Aſturians* were for throwing themſelves upon the mercy of the conqueror; but were therein oppoſed by the *Cantabrians*, who maintained, *that they ought, like brave men, to die ſword in hand.* This dangerous contention was carried ſo far, that at laſt the *Cantabrians* drove ten thouſand of the *Aſturians*, with their wives and children, to the intrenchments of the *Romans*, where they begged, in the moſt moving manner, to be received on any terms. But the empreſs's ſon, *Tiberius*, then one of *Auguſtus*'s lieutenants, refuſing to admit them into the camp, ſome of them fell upon their own ſwords, others lighted great fires and threw themſelves into them, and others poiſoned themſelves with the juice of a venomous herb which grew in a foreſt near them. At length, the remainder of the enemy, being chiefly *Cantabrians*, to the number of twenty-three thouſand men, were forced to ſurrender at diſcretion to the *Romans*, who incorporated ten thouſand of them among their auxiliaries, to ſerve againſt the *Aſturians*. The reſt were diſarmed and ſold; but moſt of theſe laid violent hands on themſelves, deſpiſing their lives after the loſs of their liberty and arms. *Cantabria*, now *Biſcay*, being thus reduced, *Auguſtus* attacked the *Aſturians* in their own country; made himſelf maſter of their ſtrong places, and intirely defeated them in a battle which laſted two days. Thus were the two moſt warlike nations of *Spain* forced to receive the yoke, without being ever after able to recover their liberty. Before *Auguſtus* left the country, he built ſeveral cities to keep the natives in awe; among others, *Cæſar Auguſta*, now *Saragoſa*, and *Auguſta Emerita*, now *Merida*. He likewiſe built a ſtone bridge over the *Iberus*, to facilitate the march of the *Roman* troops.

The *Cantabrians*, *Aſturians*,

Whilſt *Auguſtus* was thus employed in *Spain*, his lieutenants were not leſs ſucceſsful in other parts. *Marcus Craſſus* overcame the *Mæſians*, a fierce and ſavage people beyond the *Danube*: *M. Vincius* gained conſiderable advantages in *Germany*; and *Terentius Varro* ſubdued the *Salaſſi*, a people upon the *Alps*, diſarmed them, and ſent forty thouſand of their youth into ſlavery for twenty years. *Auguſtus* divided their lands among the ſoldiers of his guard, and founded in this new colony a city which he called *Auguſta Prætoria*, now

and *Salaſſi* ſubdued.

Auguſtus. *Aoſta.* A ſtately monument was decreed to his honour, in the midſt of the *Alps*, and the title of *Imperator* given him, for this victory.

About this time, *Cornelius Gallus*, to whom *Virgil* inſcribed his tenth and laſt Eclogue, was condemned to perpetual baniſhment by the ſenate, for having ſpoken too freely of *Auguſtus*; but he prevented the execution of the ſentence, by ſtabbing himſelf.

Agrippa embelliſhes *Rome.*

During *Auguſtus*'s ſtay in *Spain*, *Agrippa* was not leſs employed in adorning *Rome*, than others were in extending her dominions. Among many public edifices which he built at his own expence, were the portico and temple of *Neptune*, the hot baths called by his name, and the famous *Pantheon*, which ſubſiſts entire to this day.

Julia married to *Marcellus.*

Auguſtus, on his return to *Rome*, married *Anthony*'s daughter *Cleopatra* to *Juba*, king of *Mauritania*; and his own daughter, *Julia*, whom he had by *Scribonia*, to his nephew and adopted ſon *Marcellus*, a youth of extraordinary accompliſhments. He now entered upon his tenth conſulſhip, with *Norbanus*; upon which the ſenate conferred a greater authority upon him than ever, freeing him from the obligation of the laws, and impowering him to govern the republic as he ſhould think proper. At the ſame time, by a ſolemn oath, they approved of all his acts, and decreed, that *Marcellus*, though then not above ſixteen years of age, ſhould take place in the ſenate among thoſe of the *prætorian* rank; and that he might ſtand for the conſulſhip ten years ſooner than was allowed by the laws. They likewiſe decreed, that *Auguſtus*'s ſon-in-law, *Tiberius*, might ſtand for any office or magiſtracy five years before the uſual time. Theſe decrees were no ſooner paſſed, than *Marcellus* was made ædile, and *Tiberius* quæſtor.

Year of *Rome* 730.

Ælius Gallus ſent to *Arabia Felix.*

The unfortunate expedition of *Ælius Gallus*, againſt the ſouthern *Arabs*, happened about this time. *Auguſtus*, being informed that their country abounded in gold, ſilver, and other riches, reſolved either to make them his friends by treaties, or his ſubjects by conqueſt. To this end, he ſent *Gallus* thither with ten thouſand men; *Herod*, king of *Judæa*, furniſhing five hundred more out of his own guards; and *Obodas*, king of the *Nabathæan Arabs*, a thouſand, under the command of his chief miniſter *Syllæus*, who, under pretence of guiding the *Romans* in this expedition, treacherouſly led them a march of ſix months ſouthward, into ſcorching ſandy deſarts, where moſt of them periſhed by famine or diſeaſe.

The *Cantabrians* and *Aſturians* rebel, but ſubdued.

About the ſame time, the *Cantabrians* and *Aſturians* made another attempt to recover their liberty; and having, by ſtratagem, ſurpriſed a conſiderable body of *Romans*, put them all to the ſword. But *Ælius Lama*, whom *Auguſtus* had left governor of that part of *Spain*, ſoon revenged their death, laying

ing the whole country waſte with fire and ſword, and maſſacring moſt of their young men who were able to bear arms; by which means he reduced them to an entire ſubjection in leſs than a month. *Auguſtus.*

The following year, *Auguſtus*, being then in his eleventh conſulſhip, with *C Calpurnius Piſo*, had a dangerous fit of ſickneſs, from which it was thought he could not recover. He himſelf was of that opinion, and therefore ſent for the chief magiſtrates of the ſtate, to whom he delivered a book of his own writing, which contained an exact account of all the towns, provinces, allies, forces, riches, and taxes, of the whole *Roman* empire; at the ſame time putting into the hands of his collegue *Piſo* his laſt will, the contents of which were never known, as it was not to be opened till after his death: but, from his not naming a ſucceſſor, which every one expected would have been *Marcellus*, and his giving the above-mentioned regiſter to the magiſtrates, in ſo critical a juncture, all concluded that his deſign was to put the commonwealth into the hands of the ſenate and people. His ring he delivered to *Agrippa*, as if he intended to ſignify, that they could not chuſe a more proper perſon, if they deſired to be governed by one man. This behaviour, at a time when his ſincerity could not reaſonably be ſuſpected, gained him the affections of the people more than any thing he had ever done before. Almoſt all deſpaired of life, when *Antonius Muſa*, a *Greek* phyſician, reſtored him to his health, to the great ſatisfaction of the ſenate and people, who immediately ordered a ſtatue of braſs to be erected to *Muſa* near that of *Æſculapius*. He was alſo allowed to wear a gold ring; and all perſons of his profeſſion were, for his ſake, exempted for ever from all taxes and tributes. The recovery of *Auguſtus* filled the whole city with joy; medals were ſtruck, ſome of which have reached our times; and the moſt magnificent ſhews exhibited that had ever been ſeen at *Rome*; fathers then upon their death-beds, commanded their children to carry their ſacrifices of thankſgivings to the capitol, with this inſcription, *The day of our death, was the day of* Auguſtus's *recovery*. *Auguſtus* dangerouſly ill.

The behaviour of *Auguſtus*, during his illneſs, occaſioned a miſunderſtanding between *Marcellus* and *Agrippa*. The former, thinking himſelf injured by his uncle, who had preferred to one of his own family a man of mean deſcent, a ſoldier of fortune, expreſſed his reſentment againſt *Agrippa* by ſuch contemptuous treatment as this laſt could not put up with. The emperor, to prevent the ill conſequences of this affair, thought it adviſeable to part them; and accordingly appointed *Agrippa* governor of *Syria*. He left *Rome* immediately, but went no farther than *Mitylene* in the iſland of *Leſbos*, from whence he ſent his lieutenants to govern the provinces committed to his care. *Marcellus* and *Agrippa* differ.

Auguſtus.

The emperor reſigns the faſces.

And now *Auguſtus*, thinking his authority ſufficiently eſtabliſhed, reſigned the faſces, after having held them nine years, to *P. Seſtius*, a man of unblemiſhed character, but a conſtant friend to *Brutus* and his memory. The ſenate was ſo affected with this impartial conduct of *Auguſtus*, in preferring *Seſtius* to many of his own friends who aſpired to the ſame dignity, that they heaped new honours upon him, declared him perpetual proconſul of the *Roman* empire, impowered him to aſſemble the ſenate when he pleaſed, and allowed him to exerciſe the authority of the tribuneſhip, and to enjoy all the privileges annexed to that dignity, not only within the walls of *Rome*, but in the moſt diſtant provinces. A power ſo unlimited was without precedent; but *Auguſtus* readily accepted it, as it rendered his perſon ſacred, and ſecured him againſt all inſults either it words or actions. His ſucceſſors thought proper not to part with it.

The death of *Marcellus.*

About a year after *Agrippa*'s departure for *Aſia*, *Marcellus* died, in the nineteenth year of his age, to the inexpreſſible grief of *Auguſtus*, his mother *Octavia*, and the *Roman* people, whoſe hearts he had won by his generous and noble behaviour in his ædileſhip. The ambitious *Livia* was ſtrongly ſuſpected of having haſtened his death, in order to make room for her own ſons, *Tiberius* and *Druſus*. His obſequies were performed with the utmoſt magnificence, *Auguſtus* himſelf, being his neareſt relation, pronouncing, according to cuſtom, his funeral oration.

A plague and famine in *Italy.*

The next year, *M. Marcellus* and *L. Aruntius* being conſuls, a dreadful plague raged in *Rome* and all the cities of *Italy*; which, as the lands were left untilled, was attended with a general famine. The *Tiber* overflowed great part of the city, and the Pantheon was ſtruck with lightening. The populace imputing theſe calamities to *Auguſtus*'s having laid down the conſulſhip, ſurrounded the ſenate-houſe, and threatened to ſet fire to it, if the fathers did not immediately create him dictator. This requeſt was complied with: upon which they repaired in great crowds to *Auguſtus*, with twenty-four axes and faſces, intreating him to accept of the dictatorſhip, and the office of general-purveyor. The latter he accepted, that he might not ſeem to ſlight the offers of the people, and in conſequence thereof, took care to have the city plentifully ſupplied with proviſions: but he wiſely refuſed being made dictator, having already all the power and authority of that office, without its odious title. He likewiſe declined the perpetual conſulſhip, which they wanted him to reaſſume, and named to that important employment *P. Æmilius Lepidus*, brother to the triumvir by whom he had been proſcribed, and *L. Munatius Plancus*, formerly one of *Anthony*'s greateſt friends: but *Lepidus* dying ſoon after, and *Plancus*, who was a man of a moſt infamous character, being no way qualified to cenſure the vices of others, *Auguſtus*,

The emperor refuſes the dictatorſhip, and the office of perpetual dictator.

though

though he would not have the title, performed the functions of that magiſtracy, and enacted ſeveral excellent laws for the reformation of manners. Among other things, he ſuppreſſed ſeveral private aſſemblies, and regulated others: he tranſferred the care of the public games from the ædiles, who uſed to ruin themſelves with them, to the prætors, whom he reduced to ten, and forbad their being at the ſole expence of theſe diverſions, but made the people contribute a ſmall matter towards them, and paid the reſt out of the public treaſury. To the curule ædiles he committed the care of extinguiſhing fires, allowing them for that ſervice ſix hundred ſlaves, who were bought and maintained at the public expence. He ordered, that none ſhould exhibit ſhews of gladiators without leave from the ſenate, and then only twice a year, and with no more than one hundred and twenty combatants: and, as many perſons of rank, women as well as men, had of late debaſed themſelves to act and dance upon the ſtage, *Auguſtus* reſtrained ſuch ſcandalous practices, by forbidding, under ſevere penalties, any of the ſenatorial or equeſtrian order to appear on the ſtage, and extending this prohibition to the children and grand-children of the ſenators. *Auguſtus* enacts ſeveral good laws.

In theſe regulations, *Auguſtus* acted with the authority of an abſolute prince and legiſlator; but in other things he uſed great condeſcenſion, affecting to appear in the courts of judicature like a private perſon, and even to plead for his friends, or attend them when cited before the prætors, or other judges. This complaiſance often expoſed him to affronts from the adverſe parties, as it happened in the caſe of *M. Primus*, governor of *Macedonia*, who, being accuſed of having made an irruption into the country of the *Odryſii*, and being aſked, *What authority he had for ſo doing?* alledged, *That he had* Auguſtus's *orders:* whereupon *Auguſtus*, appearing ſoon after in court, was aſked by the prætor, *Whether* Primus's *plea was true or no?* The emperor anſwered, *That* Primus *was certainly miſtaken, for that he had given no ſuch orders.* Upon which, *L. Muræna*, who pleaded for *Primus*, addreſſing himſelf to *Auguſtus*, with great boldneſs and anger, aſked him, *What buſineſs he had there*; and, *what had brought him to a place where he was neither expected nor wanted? The public good*; replied the emperor, with as much calmneſs and moderation.

This conduct gained *Auguſtus* the love and eſteem of many; but others, who were enemies to him in their hearts, and wiſhed to ſee the antient government reſtored, entered into a conſpiracy againſt him. *Murena*, a man of an unblemiſhed character, and *Cæpio*, the greateſt debauchee in *Rome*, took upon them the management of the plot, for the execution of which a day and place were already appointed: but, in the mean time, *Murena* diſcloſed the whole to his ſiſter *Terentilla*, and ſhe to her huſband *Mæcenas*, who gave notice A plot againſt *Auguſtus*.

of

Auguſtus. of it to the emperor, after adviſing the conſpirators to abſcond, whilſt he ſhould endeavour to procure their pardon. *Auguſtus* proved inflexible, and the conſpirators, not appearing to take their trials, were interdicted fire and water throughout the whole extent of the *Roman* empire. *Cæpio* made his eſcape to *Cumæ*, where one of his ſlaves betrayed him to a centurion, who cut off his head and carried it to *Rome*; and *Muræna* was diſcovered in *Rome*, and killed by order of the emperor, who, immediately after this, enacted two new laws: the one, that all guilty perſons, who refuſed to appear, ſhould be condemned to the ſame puniſhments which would have been inflicted upon them if they had been regularly convicted; and the other, that, for the future, the judges, in criminal caſes, ſhould give their opinions, not in writing, but openly, and by word of mouth. At that time *Auguſtus*, of his own accord, delivered to the ſenate the provinces of *Cyprus* and *Narbonneſe Gaul*, which, from henceforth, began to be governed by proconſuls. The ſame year the *Cantabrians* and *Aſturians* revolted a-new, but were ſoon quelled by *C. Furnius*.

The conſpirators puniſhed.

Year of *Rome* 733. *Italy*, and all the weſt, being now in a ſtate of perfect tranquility, *Auguſtus* reſolved to viſit the provinces of the eaſt: but before he had got farther than *Sicily*, the people of *Rome* fell into ſuch violent conteſts about the electing of conſuls, that he found it neceſſary for him to return, to appeaſe the diſturbances by his preſence; and, to prevent the like for the future, as he could not always be at *Rome* himſelf, to create a new magiſtrate, whoſe province ſhould be to maintain good order in the metropolis. *Agrippa* ſeemed to him the moſt proper perſon for ſo great an office. He therefore ordered him back from *Leſbos*, and, to procure him the more reſpect and authority in his new employment of governor of *Rome*, commanded him to divorce *Marcella*, though the daughter of his ſiſter *Octavia*, and to marry his daughter *Julia*, the widow of *Marcellus*. Some ſay that *Mecænas* promoted this match, by ſuggeſting to *Auguſtus*, that ſince he had made *Agrippa* ſo great and powerful, he muſt of neceſſity either cut him off, or attach him inviolably to his intereſt, by marrying him to his daughter.

Agrippa made governor of *Rome*, and ſon in law to *Auguſtus*.

Auguſtus, after ſettling the affairs of *Sicily*, paſſed over into *Greece*, where he ſhewed the *Lacedemonians* particular marks of his favour, giving them the iſland of *Cythera* and five cities, as a reward for their kind reception of *Livia*, when ſhe fled from *Italy* with her huſband and ſon. The *Athenians* he puniſhed, for having erected ſtatues to *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, and afterwards ſided with *Anthony*. From *Greece* he ſailed to *Samos*, and there wintered. The nex ſpring, *Apuleius* and *Silius* being conſuls, he croſſed over into *Aſia*, and ſettled the affairs of the provinces through which he paſſed. Upon his drawing near the borders of *Parthia*, *Phraates*, king of that country, dreading a foreign war, as he was univerſally

Auguſtus paſſes into *Greece*, and from thence into the eaſt.

verſally hated by his ſubjects, ſent him all the enſigns and priſoners which the *Parthians* had taken from *Craſſus* and *Anthony*, and yielded to all the conditions which *Auguſtus* required, giving four of his ſons, with their wives and children, as hoſtages for the performance of them. *Auguſtus* received the *Roman* eagles and captives with as much joy, as if he had given the *Parthians* a total overthrow. He ſent orders to the ſenate to ſhut the temple of *Janus*, to offer ſacrifices of thankſgiving to the gods, and, to perpetuate the memory of this action, which he looked upon as the moſt glorious of his whole reign, he built a temple in the capitol to *Mars the avenger*, in imitation of that to *Jupiter Feretrius*, in which the enſigns now reſtored were hung up, as monuments of the homage paid to *Auguſtus* by the haughty monarch of the *Parthians*. This year *Julia* brought *Agrippa* a ſon, who was named *Caius*, and on whoſe birth-day a perpetual ſacrifice was decreed, with other ſolemnities. Towards the end of the ſummer, *Auguſtus* returned to *Samos*, where he was met by ambaſſadors from the king of *India*, who came from that vaſt diſtance to ſollicit an alliance with him ;. ſo great was the fame of his name. Early the next ſpring *Auguſtus* returned to *Rome*, where he was received with all poſſible marks of honour.

Auguſtus.

Caius Cæſar born.

Auguſtus returns to *Rome*.

The conſular year expiring whilſt *Auguſtus* was at *Samos*, dangerous tumults broke out at *Rome*, by the violent practices of *Egnatius Rufus*, who endeavoured by force to get himſelf choſen conſul in the place of *Auguſtus*, who declined that office this year, after having been named to it by the aſſembly of the people, together with *C. Sentius Saturninus*. The factions ran ſo high, that many perſons were killed : upon which, *Auguſtus*, to put a ſtop to the diſorder, of his own authority, appointed *Q. Lucretius Veſpillo*, a man formerly proſcribed by the triumvirs, but now one of his lieutenants, to be collegue to *Sentius*. *Rufus*, incenſed at this, formed a conſpiracy with *M. Genutius* and *Plautius Rufus*, to aſſaſſinate the emperor at his return ; but, before that time, their practices being diſcovered, they were put to death by order of the ſenate.

Diſturbances on account of the election of conſuls.

Auguſtus, on his return to *Rome*, was met at *Athens* by the poet *Virgil*, who had retired to *Greece* to finiſh his *Æneid*. The emperor, who had a great regard for him, received him with uncommon marks of kindneſs and eſteem : but he, leaving *Athens* ſoon after, to viſit the antiquities of *Megara*, in the hot ſeaſon of the year, fell ſick there. In that condition he embarked for *Italy* ; but the fatigue of the voyage increaſing his diſtemper, he died at *Brunduſium*, a few days after his arrival there, in the fifty-firſt year of his age, leaving the greateſt part of his wealth, which was very conſiderable, to his two chief patrons and benefactors, *Auguſtus* and *Mæcenas*. As he had not yet put the laſt hand to his *Æneid*, he ordered, by his will, that inimitable poem to be burnt ;

Death of *Virgil*.

Auguſtus. burnt; but *Auguſtus*, ſays an ancient poet, ſaved *Troy* from a ſecond conflagration, and, by that means, preſerved for all future ages a moſt perfect pattern of epic poetry.

The general depravation of manners which now reigned in *Rome*, and the enormous height to which its inhabitants carried every kind of vice, induced *Auguſtus*, at the earneſt requeſt of the ſenate, to accept the office of cenſor for five years. At the ſame time they conferred upon him the conſular power for life; ordaining, that he ſhould always have twelve axes and faſces carried before him, and ſhould ſit in a curule chair between the two conſuls. They likewiſe intreated him to make new laws, offering to ſwear to obey them. He did ſo, but refuſed their oaths, ſaying, that if his laws were good, they would obſerve them without that tie; if not, their oaths would be ineffectual.

Year of *Rome* 736. *Agrippa*'s preſence being now no longer neceſſary in *Rome*, *Auguſtus* ſent him into *Gaul*, to ſtop the incurſions of the *Germans*, who had paſſed the *Rhine*, and committed horrible diſorders. Upon his approach, they immediately retired to their woods. *Agrippa* then proceeded to *Spain*, where the *Cantabrians* were again in motion, and had aſſembled in great numbers. In this expedition he met with extreme difficulties, but at length totally overcame the enemy, and thereby compleated the final reduction of that country, which had kept the *Roman* arms employed for two hundred years. The victor modeſtly refuſed a triumph for his great ſucceſs, giving *Auguſtus* the honour of all he did.

Agrippa finally reduces *Spain.*

Agrippa, on his return to *Rome*, embelliſhed the city with new edifices, and built, at his own expence, ſuperb aqueducts, by which it was moſt plentifully ſupplied with excellent water. Towards the end of this year, *L. Cornelius Balbus* ſubdued the *Garamanti*, a people of *Africa*, till then unknown to the *Romans*, and extended the limits of the *Roman* empire as far as the river *Niger*. So important a conqueſt well deſerved a triumph, which was accordingly granted to *Balbus*, who was the firſt foreigner that was ever honoured with that diſtinction. He was a native of *Gades* in *Spain*, and had not been long admitted to the rights of a *Roman* citizen.

Embelliſhes *Rome.*

C. Balbus ſubdues the *Garamanti.*

Year of *Rome* 737. The firſt ten years of *Auguſtus*'s ſovereign power being now almoſt expired, he took the government upon him for five years more, which were ſoon after enlarged to ten; and at the ſame time *Agrippa*'s authority was likewiſe increaſed, by his being joined with *Auguſtus* in the cenſorſhip, and made tribune of the people for five years. *Auguſtus*'s firſt ſtep after this, was, to reform the ſenate, into which a great many unworthy members had crept during the civil wars. Theſe he expelled, and reduced the number of ſenators to ſix hundred. He then corrected ſeveral abuſes in the city, regulated the order of knights, the public ſpectacles and plays, and, to aboliſh bribery in elections as much as he could,

Auguſtus renews his ſovereign authority.

Reforms the ſtate.

could, he ordained, that whoever ſhould be convicted of having purchaſed the ſuffrages of the people with money, ſhould be excluded from all public offices for five years; and that thoſe who had long been uſed to ſell their votes, might not be ſufferers by this law, he cauſed large ſums of money to be diſtributed among them, on condition that they ſhould not require any thing of the candidates. The looſe behaviour of the married women having deterred the young *Romans* from marriage, he laid heavy taxes upon ſuch as continued ſingle after a certain age, and encouraged with great rewards the procreation of lawful children. He allowed the patricians and plebeians to intermarry, excepting only the ſenators, whom he would not ſuffer to match beneath their rank. He made it lawful for any one to kill an adulterer taken in the fact, though he himſelf had debauched many women, not excepting even the wife of his great friend *Mæcenas*. Virgins were not allowed to marry till they were twelve years of age. His regulations with reſpect to military diſcipline were very ſtrict. He likewiſe took care that the aſſemblies of the ſenate ſhould always be held with great reverence, and ordered, that no decree ſhould paſs, but in the preſence of four hundred ſenators, if it was poſſible to collect ſo many. He alſo ordained, that no man ſhould be admitted to ſo great a privilege and honour as the freedom of *Rome*, till after his merits had been ſtrictly examined and approved. This was a point he was always extremely tenacious of. Having thus reformed many abuſes in the ſtate, he applied his thoughts to matters of religion, calling in a great many prophetic books then in vogue, and cauſing about two thouſand volumes of them to be burnt as ſpurious; reſerving only thoſe which were commonly aſcribed to the ſybils. Theſe too he ſubjected to a ſtrict examination, and retained only ſuch as were judged genuine, which he cauſed to be copied by the pontifices, and lodged them in two golden cabinets in the temple of *Apollo*. Theſe ſybiline oracles were in great repute among the gentiles, and often appealed to by the ancient Chriſtian writers. He augmented the number, dignity, and revenues of the prieſts, eſpecially of the veſtal virgins, for which order he had a particular eſteem. This year *Julia* brought *Agrippa* a ſecond ſon, who was called *Lucius*.

Auguſtus.

Subjects the *Sybiline* books to a ſtrict examination.

Lucius Cæſar born.

The following year, *Furnius* and *Silanus* being conſuls, *Auguſtus Auguſtus* and *Agrippa* gave the people the great ſecular games, which had not been ſeen for an hundred years before, and were now celebrated with extraordinary pomp and magnificence. In theſe games, one of the players calling *Auguſtus Dominus*, *Lord*, he was greatly diſpleaſed, and the next morning publiſhed an edict, ſtrictly forbidding all perſons to give him that title for the future. Upon the finiſhing of theſe games he adopted *Agrippa*'s two ſons *Caius* and *Lucius*, and declared them his ſucceſſors. It was on the occaſion

Auguſtus rejects the title of *Lord*.

Adopts *Agrippa*'s ſons *Caius* and *Lucius*

Auguſtus. occaſion of theſe games, that *Horace* wrote the hymn intitled *Carmen Seculare*, which was ſung at the ſacrifice that was offered to *Pluto* and *Proſerpine* before the ſhews and ſpectacles of the *circus*, the theatre, and amphitheatre. Great part of this year was ſpent in public games and diverſions, of which *Auguſtus* was very fond, particularly of the tournaments, or warlike exerciſe, called the game of *Troy*, which he thought becoming the education of the young nobility. He was likewiſe a great encourager of wreſtling; but would not allow women to be preſent at theſe games, juſtly accounting it indecent for them to gaze on naked men. All good actors and pantomimes were ſure of his protection; but at the ſame time he ſeverely examined their morals, and would not allow the leaſt licentiouſneſs in their lives, or indecency in their actions. Being informed, that one *Stephanio*, a comedian, was attended by a woman in the habit of a boy, he ordered him to be whipped through the three theatres, and baniſhed the city. He likewiſe drove out of *Rome Pylades*, a famous actor, for having behaved diſreſpectfully towards a *Roman* citizen; and when he ſoon after recalled him, to gratify the people, the comedian, inſtead of thanking the emperor, told him, *It was his intereſt that the people ſhould be diverted by men of his profeſſion, leſt they ſhould watch his actions too narrowly, or reflect too much on their own condition.*

Auguſtus goes into *Gaul.* The next year *Auguſtus*, having got *L. Domitius Ahenobarbus* and *P. Cornelius Scipio*, two perſons on whom he could depend, raiſed to the conſulate, reſolved to leave *Rome* for a while, and march with an army into *Gaul*, to quell ſome diſturbances there, occaſioned by the avarice of *Licinius Enceladus*, who, being appointed by the emperor to collect the taxes in thoſe parts, had obliged the people to pay them monthly, and, by a deceitful account, reckoned fourteen months in the year. *Auguſtus* had no ſooner paſſed the *Alps*, than the *Gauls* returned to their duty; but the *Sicambi*, *Uſipetes*, and *Tencteri*, people of *Germany*, having paſſed the *Rhine*, defeated *M. Lollius*, proconſul of *Gaul*, and took one of his ſtandards. *Lollius*, though no great commander, ſoon retrieved his honour by falling upon the *Germans* unawares, and driving them home with conſiderable loſs. At the ſame time, *C. Lentulus* made war with ſucceſs againſt the *Dacians* beyond the *Danube*, killed three of their commanders, and left garriſons to ſtop their devaſtations. Though all was now quiet in *Gaul*, *Auguſtus* choſe to ſpend the remainder of this, and all the following year, in that province; perhaps, as much with a view of making the *Romans* ſenſible of the benefit of his preſence among them, as for any real buſineſs that he had in *Gaul*. During his ſtay there, the inhabitants of the country flocked to him from all parts, with complaints againſt *Enceladus*, whom he determined to puniſh in an exemplary manner. But the crafty delinquent found means to eſcape him, by delivering up to him the vaſt

ſums

Auguſtus.

ſums he had amaſſed, and aſſuring him, that his only deſign in ſtripping the *Gauls* of their money was, to take from them their beſt means of rebellion. *Auguſtus* was ſo pleaſed with this anſwer, and with the money he got at the ſame time, that he not only acquitted the iniquitous extortioner, but, deaf to the intreaties of the oppreſſed *Gauls*, continued him in his office.

Druſus defeats the *Rhæti*, *Vindelici*, and *Norici*

During theſe tranſactions, the *Rhæti*, a fierce and ſavage people, who inhabited ſome parts of the *Alps*, on the ſide of *Germany*, made an irruption into *Italy*, and committed dreadful devaſtations, putting all the males they met with to the ſword, without diſtinction of rank or age: nay, we are told, that when they happened to take women with child, they conſulted their augurs whether the child was male or female, and if they pronounced it male, the mother was immediately killed. *Druſus*, the ſecond ſon of *Livia*, a youth of extraordinary valour and great accompliſhments, was ſent againſt theſe cruel enemies, and in a ſhort time drew them to a battle, defeated them with great ſlaughter, and drove them out of *Italy*. Thoſe that eſcaped, being joined by their neighbours the *Vindelici*, attempted to enter *Gaul*, but were repelled by *Druſus*'s brother *Tiberius*, and at length their whole nation was forced to ſubmit. The *Norici*, another barbarous nation of *Germany*, bordering upon the *Vindelici*, met with the ſame fate. In the mean time, *Agrippa* was ſo ſucceſsful in ſettling the affairs of the eaſt, that a triumph was decreed him for his great ſervices. But he, out of a peculiar greatneſs of mind, again declined it; and, in imitation of his example, the *Romans*, from this time, generally deferred that honour to their emperor, and contented themſelves with only the ornaments of triumph. The triumvir *Lepidus*, who had lived a private life ever ſince his diſgrace, dying about this time, *Auguſtus* took upon him the office of *Pontifex Maximus*, or high prieſt, vacant by his death.

Auguſtus. *Pontifex Maximus.*

Year of *Rome* 741.

Auguſtus having now ſettled the affairs of *Gaul*, ſtopped the incurſions of the *Germans*, ſuppreſſed the rebellion of *Spain*, and reduced moſt of the nations inhabiting the *Alps*; left *Druſus* with an army upon the *Rhine*, and returned to *Rome*, after he had been abſent near three years. He was received with univerſal joy and ſatisfaction, but refuſed ſeveral new honours that were offered him: neither would he ſuffer the people to come out to meet him, as they deſired, but, according to his uſual cuſtom, to ſave both them and himſelf the trouble of that ceremony, he entered the city by night. The next morning the whole city waited on him at his palace, for ſo his houſe was called, becauſe it was ſituated on the *Palatium*, or *Palatine* hill. He received them with great courteſy, and went with them to the capitol, where he took the laurel from about his faſces, and laid it at the feet of the ſtatue of *Jupiter Capitolinus*.

He returns to *Rome*.

He

Auguſtus.

He now made ſeveral excellent new laws, which were long after obſerved by his ſucceſſors. Among other things, he enacted, to the great ſatisfaction of the inhabitants of *Italy*, that, for the future, the ſervice of the veterans ſhould not be rewarded with lands, but money. By the ſame law, the time was fixed which each corps was to ſerve, and the pay they were to receive, both during their ſervice, and if they continued to ſerve longer than was required of them. The emperor's own guards, called the *prætorian cohorts*, were to ſerve twelve years before they could demand their diſmiſſion, and the reſt ſixteen: the former were to be allowed about twelve-pence of our money a day, and the latter five-pence. If they choſe to continue in the army after the time of their ſervice was expired, they were accounted veterans, and, as ſuch, exempted from all drudgeries, and obliged only to fight, and that for no more than five years, after which they were intitled to the rewards due to veterans, which were, by this law, five thouſand drachmas for the prætorian cohorts, and three thouſand for the common legionaries: but, ſome years after, *Auguſtus* extended the time of ſervice of the former to ſixteen years, and that of the latter to twenty.

Makes ſeveral excellent laws, particularly with regard to the ſoldiery.

Towards the end of this year, *Agrippa* returned to *Rome* from his eaſtern expedition, but, as we before ſaid, refuſed entering the city in triumph. *Auguſtus* confirmed to him the tribunitial power for five years more, the former term being near expired, and then ſent him at the head of a powerful army into *Pannonia*, where freſh diſturbances were breaking out. He ſoon quieted them, diſarmed the *Pannonians*, and made them give him hoſtages for their peaceable behaviour; after which he returned to *Italy*, but fell ſick in *Campania*, and died before *Auguſtus* could poſſibly arrive to ſee him, though he ſet out the very inſtant he was informed of his illneſs. *Auguſtus* juſtly lamented, in the illuſtrious deceaſed, the loſs of the greateſt general of his age, the wiſeſt miniſter, and the moſt faithful, conſtant, and diſintereſted friend he had in the world. The ſenate decreed him a monument in the *Campus Martius*, ; but *Auguſtus* inſiſted, that his remains ſhould be depoſited in his own *mauſoleum*, near thoſe of *Marcellus*, declaring that he would not be ſeparated, even after his death, from two perſons he had ſo tenderly loved. The emperor himſelf pronounced his funeral oration.

Death of *Agrippa.*

Thus long did *Auguſtus* reign, in ſome meaſure with a partner, though not a rival, in the empire. Upon his death the emperor, ſtill judging it neceſſary to have ſome one ſuperior to all others in power and dignity, to aſſiſt him in the cares of government, choſe, much againſt his will, *Tiberius*, his grandſons *Lucius* and *Caius Cæſars* being yet too young to bear any public offices. But before he inveſted *Tiberius* with the power *Agrippa* had enjoyed, he obliged him to divorce his wife *Agrippina*, and marry *Julia*, whoſe infamous

Tiberius choſen in his ſtead, and married to *Julia.*

conduct

conduct was well known to every one in *Rome*, except her father *Auguſtus*. *Auguſtus.*

The nuptial ceremonies were no ſooner over, than *Auguſtus* ſent his new ſon-in-law againſt the *Pannonians*, who, upon the news of *Agrippa*'s death, had again revolted. *Tiberius* ſoon ſubdued them, forced them to deliver up their arms, and to give hoſtages, laid waſte their fields, plundered their cities, and, after ſending the beſt part of their youth into other countries, returned to *Rome* the ſame year. The ſenate decreed him great honours, and, among the reſt, a triumph: but *Auguſtus* obliged him to content himſelf with the marks of diſtinction which were granted for life to thoſe who had triumphed; namely, to have a particular place at the public ſhews, and to appear with the triumphal robes and a crown of laurel. His younger brother *Druſus* was not leſs ſucceſsful againſt the *Gauls* and *Germans*, for which he was honoured with the prætorſhip on his return to *Rome*, and afterwards with the proconſular power. Both *Tiberius* and *Druſus* were ſaluted with the title of *Imperator* by the ſoldiers; but *Auguſtus* would not allow it them. Neither would he ſuffer any ſtatues to be erected, which the ſenate and people had contributed money for, except to *Public Safety*, *Concord*, and *Peace*. *Auguſtus*'s ſiſter *Octavia* died this year, univerſally lamented. Defeats the *Pannonians.*

Druſus was ſcarce returned to *Rome*, when the *Uſipetes*, *Tencteri*, *Sicambi*, *Cheruſci*, *Catti*, and ſeveral other *German* nations, aſſembled a very powerful army, in order to invade *Gaul*. He thereupon returned immediately to his army, which he had left in *Friſia*, or *Frieſland*, and marched from thence into the country of the *Tencteri*, whom he eaſily ſubdued, and afterwards brought into ſubjection the *Sicambri*, *Cheruſci*, and *Catti*, whom he defeated in a very bloody battle, and extended his conqueſts to the banks of the *Weſer*, which he would have paſſed, had he not been obliged to return for want of proviſions. He found in the camp of the enemies a prodigious quantity of iron chains, which they had prepared for the *Romans*; and ſo great was their confidence, that they had agreed beforehand about the diviſion of the booty: the *Tencteri* were to have the horſe, the *Cheruſci* and *Sicambri* the baggage, and the *Uſipetes* and *Catti* the captives. *Druſus* was ſaluted *Imperator* by his troops on the field of battle; after which, to ſecure his conqueſts, he built two forts, the one at the confluence of the *Lupias* and the *Aliſo*, (now the *Lippe* and the *Alme*), the other in the country of the *Catti*, upon the *Rhine*, and made that famous canal, long known by the name of *Druſus*'s *Dyke*. For theſe exploits he was honoured with the triumphal ornaments, on his return to *Rome*. This ſame year *Tiberius*, being ſent againſt the *Pannonians* and *Dalmatians*, who had again rebelled, reduced them a-new. *Druſus*'s exploits in *Germany*. *Tiberius* reduces the *Pannonians.*

Auguſtus. The following year, *Druſus* and *Q. Criſpinus* being conſuls, *Auguſtus*, bent upon the total reduction of *Germany*, left the capital, attended by *Tiberius* and *Druſus*, and advanced to the banks of the *Rhine*, from whence he ſent *Tiberius* againſt the *Dacians*, and *Druſus* to complete the conqueſt of the reſt of *Germany*. *Tiberius* eaſily ſucceeded in his expedition; and *Druſus*, paſſing the *Rhine*, and afterwards the *Weſer*, brought under ſubjection all the nations from the *Rhine* to the *Elbe*. Having attempted in vain to paſs the river, he erected ſeveral trophies in that neighbourhood, and began his march back to the *Rhine*; but before he could reach it, he was ſeized with a violent fever, which carried him off in a few days, in the thirtieth year of his age. His body was conveyed to *Rome*, attended the whole way by *Tiberius*, the chief officers and magiſtrates of the *Roman* colonies and *Municipia*, through which it paſſed, meeting it on the road, and following it with the utmoſt pomp from one city to another. *Auguſtus* himſelf received it at *Rome*, and pronounced a funeral oration, in honour of the deceaſed, in the *Flaminian circus*, in which he begged with tears, that the gods would grant him a death as glorious as that of the young hero, and make the grandchildren they had given him tread in his footſteps. *Tiberius* made another funeral oration in the *forum*, from whence the body was carried on the ſhoulders of the *Roman* knights to the *Campus Martius*, where it was burnt with great ſolemnity. The aſhes were afterwards depoſited in *Auguſtus*'s *mauſoleum*.

Death of *Druſus*.

In military ſkill and courage *Druſus* was not inferior to the greateſt commanders of his age: his character was unblemiſhed, his integrity incorruptible, and his heart open and ſincere: the public good was his only aim in all his actions; and it is agreed on all hands, that he would have re-eſtabliſhed the republic, and reſigned with joy the ſovereign power, had it ever devolved to him. He left three children, *Druſus*, ſurnamed *Germanicus*, *Livilla*, and *Claudius*, who ſucceeded *Caligula* in the empire.

Year of *Rome* 747. *Auguſtus*'s ſecond ten years being expired, he pretended a great deſire to lay down his authority, but was eaſily perſuaded to keep it ten years longer. This limitation of time was what contributed more than any thing elſe to his ſecurity on the throne; becauſe, by receiving his power from the ſenate and people, he openly acknowledged the ſovereignty to be lodged in them; ſo that they were not quite deſtitute of all hopes of recovering it. This year died that great patron of learning, and able ſtateſman, *Mæcenas*. His talents qualified him for the higheſt poſts, but his love of eaſe would not ſuffer him to accept of any; reſting ſatisfied with the equeſtrian rank. *Auguſtus* loſt in him a friend for whom he had a great value, though he had not of late honoured him with the ſame intimacy as formerly, on account

Death of *Mæcenas*

of

of his too great intimacy with his wife *Terentilla*. Though he slighted preferments himself, as capable of disturbing his quiet, yet his good nature often made him employ his credit with the emperor in behalf of his friends, and seldom without success. Of the ascendant which he had gained over *Augustus*, and the freedom with which he corrected his faults, and curbed his cruel temper, *Dion Cassius* gives us the following remarkable instance. *Augustus* was one day judging some criminals, *Mæcenas*, perceiving him to be in a bad humour, and inclined to give too great a loose to his revenge, attempted to approach his tribunal; but not being able to break through the crowd, he wrote the following note, *Come down from the tribunal, butcher*, and threw it into his lap. *Augustus* no sooner read it, than he rose up, and quitted the tribunal, without sentencing any of the criminals to death. *Horace*, the prince of the *Latin* lyric poets, did not long survive his great patron and benefactor; for *Mæcenas* died about the beginning of *September*, and *Horace* on the twenty-seventh of the following *November*. This same year died also one *Caius Cæcilius Isidorus*, so immensely rich, that he left his heirs 4116 slaves, 3600 yoke of oxen, 230,057 head of other cattle, and above three millions of our money in specie. About this time, *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus* began to write his books of the *Roman* history and antiquities.

Augustus.

Death of *Horace.*

On the calends of *January* of the ensuing year, *Tiberius*, who was now come to *Rome*, entered upon his second consulship, with *Cn. Calpurnius Piso*, and was the same day honoured with a triumph for his advantage over the *Germans*, a sight the *Romans* had not seen for some time. Before he left *Rome*, he dedicated a temple, which the senate had erected to his mother *Livia*, she herself being present at the ceremony. In the beginning of the spring he left the capital, and returned to *Germany*; but did nothing remarkable there in this expedition. This year a dreadful fire broke out in *Rome*, which consumed many fine buildings, and was thought to have been occasioned by the debtors, with a design to make their escape; in that confusion, from the houses of their creditors. This occasioned the creation of new officers, called *Curatores Vicorum*, who were permitted, on certain days, to wear, within the verge of their jurisdiction, the robe peculiar to magistrates, and to have two lictors to attend them. At the same time, the six hundred slaves, formerly allowed the ædiles for the extinguishing of fires, were assigned to them; and the city, by *Augustus*'s particular order, was divided into fourteen regions or wards, and these into inferior precincts, the government of which was committed to the abovementioned officers, the tribunes of the people, and the prætors.

Tiberius, consul a second time triumphs.

Curatores Vicorum.

The following year, *Lucius Cæsar*, elated by his high birth, and many flattering compliments imprudently

Auguſtus. made him, boldly demanded of *Auguſtus*, in the public theatre, the conſulſhip for his brother *Caius*, though then but a boy. The emperor, no leſs ſurprized than offended at this unſeaſonable demand, anſwered, *That he hoped he ſhould never lie under the neceſſity of raiſing any one to the conſular dignity under twenty years of age.* And on the youth's urging him ſtill further, he told him, with a grave air, *That an office of ſuch importance ought to be diſcharged only by a man who could bridle his own paſſions, and reſiſt the extravagant deſires of the giddy and headſtrong multitude.* However, his affection for the two brothers, in ſome degree, got the better of his reaſon, ſo far, that he granted *Caius* the prieſthood, a place in the ſenate, and the privilege of ſitting among the ſenators at all public ſhews; but, at the ſame time, to curb their ambitious temper, he made *Tiberius* tribune of the people for five years, and gave him the government of *Armenia*.

Bold demand of *Lucius Cæſar.*

Tiberius had ſcarce received this new addition of power, when, jealous of the favour *Auguſtus* ſhewed to his grandſons, or, as ſome think, to avoid being an eye-witneſs of the ſcandalous debaucheries of his wife *Julia*, to the great ſurprize of every one, he deſired leave to retire to *Rhodes*, under pretence of proſecuting his ſtudies there. The emperor did all he could to divert him from this deſign; but *Tiberius*, obſtinately bent upon departing, and finding all other means to prevail upon the emperor ineffectual, ſhut himſelf up in his apartment, and abſtained four whole days from all kind of nouriſhment. *Auguſtus* thereupon complied with his requeſt, and *Tiberius* immediately departed for *Rhodes*, where he lived ſome years like a private man. At length, growing weary of his retirement, he wrote to the emperor, begging leave to return home, and viſit his friends. But this was abſolutely denied him, and a meſſenger ſent, bidding him lay aſide all thoughts of his friends, ſince he had been ſo impatient to abandon them; nor was it till ſeven years after that *Auguſtus* would conſent to his coming back to *Rome*.

Tiberius deſires leave to retire.

He goes to *Rhodes.*

Year of *Rome* 749. This year *Auguſtus*, after having declined the conſular dignity for ſeventeen years together, reſumed the faſces; purpoſely, as it is thought, to render the ceremony of giving the manly robe to his grandſon *Caius* more ſolemn; for he gave it him with his own hand, preſented him to the ſenate, and deſigned him conſul for the fifth year after, *Caius* being then but fifteen years of age. The next year he again reſerved the conſular dignity for himſelf, and conferred the ſame honours on his other grandſon *Lucius*. Thus were the two ſons highly favoured and honoured by *Auguſtus*; but their mother *Julia* met with a very different treatment ſhortly after. Her infamous debaucheries, hardly to be matched in hiſtory, had for ſome years been the talk of the whole town; but *Auguſtus* had the misfortune of moſt princes, who are, generally ſpeaking, the leaſt acquainted with their

Caius and *Lucius Cæſars* receive the manly robe.

their neareſt concerns. He believed, indeed, that ſhe did not lead a very ſtrict life, but never imagined her capable of thoſe monſtrous exceſſes, of which he now found her guilty. Upon a full diſcovery of her behaviour, he was ſo violently afflicted, that, not able to conceal the tranſports of his grief and anger, he communicated his misfortune, and the diſgrace of his family, by letter, to the ſenate; an indiſcretion, which he afterwards ſaid he ſhould never have been guilty of, had *Agrippa* or *Mæcenas* been living. Overcome with ſhame and rage, he firſt thought of putting his daughter to death; but, after calmer conſideration, he baniſhed her to *Pandataria*, (now *Santa Maria*) a deſart iſland on the coaſt of *Campania*, where ſhe was forbid the uſe of wine, and of any kind of delicacy either in diet or cloaths, and no perſon whatever was permitted to go near her without his leave. Her mother *Scribonia*, whom *Auguſtus* had divorced the ſame day that ſhe was born, voluntarily accompanied her in her baniſhment. Not long after, her eldeſt daughter by *Agrippa*, named alſo *Julia*, being convicted of the ſame crimes as her mother, was baniſhed to the iſland of *Tremera*, (now *Tremiti*), in the *Adriatic* ſea. Incredible numbers of perſons of great diſtinction were baniſhed, or put to death, for having been acceſſary to her debaucheries. Some writers tell us, that *Auguſtus* laid hold of this opportunity to get rid of many who gave him umbrage, though they were in fact innocent of *Julia*'s crimes.

Auguſtus

Julia baniſhed.

Auguſtus, to divert his thoughts from theſe demeſtic troubles, gave the *Romans* the moſt magnificent and expenſive ſhews that had ever been ſeen; but, in the midſt of them, news was brought him, that the *Armenians*, aſſiſted by the *Parthians*, had driven out *Artabazes*, whom he had appointed king of that country, and raiſed *Tigranes* to the throne in his ſtead. Being now too far advanced in years to undertake ſo diſtant a war, and not caring to recall *Tiberius* from *Rhodes*, he reſolved to ſend into the eaſt his grandſon *Caius*, who was then entered into his nineteenth year: but firſt he made him proconſul, and married him to *Lollia Paulina*, the daughter or niece of *M. Lollius*, who had been his governor, and whom he now appointed to command under him. *Caius* had various ſucceſs in this war; but at length the *Armenians* ſubmitted, and the *Parthians* returned home.

Caius Cæſar ſent into the eaſt,

Auguſtus, being now in his thirteenth conſulſhip, with *Plautius Silanus*, the temple of *Janus* being ſhut, and all the provinces of the *Roman* empire, perhaps all the nations of the world, enjoying a profound tranquility; *the Prince of Peace, the Lord of Heaven*, and *Saviour of the World*, after an ineffable manner, joined himſelf to human nature, and appeared on earth.

Year of *Rome* 752.

Birth of CHRIST.

The following year, *Caſſius Cornelius Lentulus* and *L. Calpurnius Piſo* were raiſed to the conſulſhip; and the year after they were ſucceeded in that dignity by *Caius Cæſar*, tho' then

Augustus. then absent in *Syria*, and *L. Æmilius Paulus*. During their administration nothing remarkable happened in *Italy*, or in the countries subject to the *Romans*, except the death of *Herod*, king of *Judæa*, whose end was as miserable as his life had been detestable. The next year *Tiberius* was at length allowed to return to *Rome*; *Caius*, to whom *Augustus* had referred that matter, to deliver himself from the importunities of *Livia*, consenting to it; but upon condition that he should not bear any office in the commonwealth. He retired to *Maecenas*'s gardens, and there lived like a private man, doing friendly offices for some of his friends, but not meddling with public affairs. He was soon rid of both the objects of his envy; for *Lucius Cæsar* died suddenly at *Marseilles*, not without some suspicion of his having been poisoned by *Livia*; and, in less than two years after, his brother *Caius* died at *Limyra*, a city of *Lycia*, of a wound which he received in *Armenia*. Their bodies were brought to *Rome* by the military tribunes, and their ashes deposited in *Augustus*'s *mausoleum*.

Tiberius returns to *Rome.*

Death of *Caius* and *Lucius Cæsars.*

Augustus's grief for the loss of his two grandsons was inexpressible. *Livia* and *Tiberius* endeavoured to comfort him; and on this occasion it was, that the artful *Livia* prevailed upon him to adopt her son *Tiberius*. But in return he obliged *Tiberius* to adopt *Germanicus*, the son of his brother *Drusus*, though he had a son of his own: and it is remarkable, that *Augustus*, in adopting *Tiberius*, solemnly swore before the people, *That he adopted him for the sake of the commonwealth*. At the same time, he conferred on him the tribunitial power for five, or some say, ten years. Thus was *Tiberius* loaded with honours, and, in a manner, the candidate for the succession, by the artful management of his mother *Livia*.

Tiberius adopted by *Augustus*, and *Germanicus* by *Tiberius.*

In the mean time, a dangerous conspiracy against the emperor was discovered, at the head of which was *Cornelius Cinna*, grandson to *Pompey*. As several persons of the highest rank were engaged in the plot, *Augustus* was greatly at a loss what measures to take in so nice an affair. If he used rigour, he was afraid their friends and relations, who were very powerful, might raise dangerous disturbances to revenge their death; and if he pardoned them, it might encourage others to the like attempts. *Livia*, perceiving that something disturbed him greatly, extorted the secret from him, and convinced him, that, in so critical a juncture, clemency was preferable to rigour. *Augustus* thereupon sent for *Cinna*, and taking him into his closet, charged him with the conspiracy, named to him all his accomplices, the time and place they had agreed on, and many other circumstances, which shewed that he was perfectly acquainted with their design. *Cinna* was thunder-struck; but his surprize was still greater, when *Augustus*, instead of treating him as a traitor, only reminded him of his ingratitude, saying, *I have*

The conspiracy of *Cinna.*

twice

twice given you your life, Cinna; *first as an enemy, and next as a rebel; and now I give you the conſulſhip. Let us therefore be friends for the future, and ſtrive to ſhew, whether my confidence in you, or your fidelity to me, will be the greateſt.* At the ſame time he pardoned all his accomplices. This generous behaviour made ſuch an impreſſion upon *Cinna*, that he was ever after inviolably attached to the intereſt of *Auguſtus* and his family. About this time, and perhaps on this occaſion, the people offered him the title of *Dominus*, *Lord*, an appellative peculiar to maſters with reſpect to their ſlaves: but he not only refuſed it, but publiſhed an edict, forbidding any one to addreſs him by that name. Towards the end of this year, the people, whether out of love to the emperor, or reſpect to his family, earneſtly intreated him to recall his daughter *Julia*; but he anſwered them, *That fire and water ſhould ſooner meet than they two.* His reſentment in this matter was ſo great, that, being informed that *Phœbe*, one of his daughter's confidants, had hanged herſelf, he proteſted openly, *That he would rather have been* Phœbe's *father than* Julia's: and when the people grew very preſſing with him, he could not help telling them, in a violent paſſion, *That he wiſhed they might have ſuch daughters and ſuch wives.* However, he was at length prevailed upon to change her place of confinement, where ſhe had now been five years, and to remove her to the continent; but he would never conſent to her return to *Rome*.

Auguſtus.

Auguſtus pardons him.

In the beginning of the next year, *Cinna*, who had conſpired againſt *Auguſtus*, being conſul with *Meſſala*, *Tiberius* was ſent into *Germany*, to complete the conqueſts his brother *Druſus* had begun. *Velleius Paterculus*, the hiſtorian, and his great panegyriſt, attended him in this expedition, in quality of *præfectus equitum*, or commander of horſe. From him we learn, that *Tiberius* over-ran the country of the *Caninefates*, now the province of *Utrecht*; that he reduced the *Attuati* and *Bructeri*, who inhabited the preſent territory of *Munſter*; together with the *Churuſci*, who poſſeſſed the duchies of *Brunſwick* and *Lunenburgh*, and made himſelf maſter of all the countries on the *Viſurgis* and the *Lupias*, (now the *Weſer* and the *Lyppe*); after which he returned to *Rome*, where, in this and the following year, ſo dreadful a famine reigned, that all foreigners, gladiators, wreſtlers, and ſlaves, except phyſicians and ſchoolmaſters, were ordered to eighty miles diſtance from the city, *Auguſtus* himſelf ſending away moſt of his own attendants. On this occaſion he doubled his uſual largeſſes to the poor, and ordered proviſions to be brought from *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, and the neighbouring countries, at the public expence, and to be ſold at a low rate. This gained him ſtill more than ever the affections of the people, who were for decreeing him new honours, which he abſolutely refuſed.

Tiberius ſent into *Germany*.

A famine in *Rome*.

Auguſtus. About this time, the *Parthians*, tired of the troubles that were daily raiſed in their country by pretenders to the crown, ſent a ſolemn embaſſy to *Auguſtus*, begging of him, in the name of their whole country, to give them a king. The emperor, as much pleaſed with this mark of ſubmiſſion, as if he had ſubdued that warlike nation, named *Vonones*, one of the ſons of *Phraates*, who was received with great joy, and immediately placed on the throne.

Tiberius returns to Germany. The next year *Tiberius*, returning into *Germany*, purſued his conqueſts there with great rapidity, and ſubdued the *Cauci* and the *Langobardi*, and brought under ſubjection all the countries between the *Rhine* and the *Elbe*, whilſt his fleet ſtruck terror into the nations bordering on the ocean. Whilſt *Tiberius* was carrying on this war, the *Getuli*, in *Mauritania*, revolted, but were ſubdued by *Cornelius Coſſus*. The following year *Rome* had three important wars to manage; one in *Germany*, another in *Pannonia*, and the third in *Dalmatia*. In *Germany*, *Maroboduus*, king of the *Marcomanni*, who inhabited that country which lies between the *Rhine*, the *Danube*, the *Cochera*, and the *Necker*, threatened to invade the counties lately ſubdued by *Tibertus*, and even *Italy* itſelf. *Tiberius* was ſent againſt them, but was in no hurry to join the enemy, againſt whom he detached *C. Sentius Saturninus* with a great part of his army, whilſt he himſelf ſtaid in *Illyricum*. But the moſt dangerous war was that with the *Dalmatians* and *Pannonians*, who, joining with all their neighbouring nations, had raiſed an army of two hundred thouſand foot and nine thouſand horſe, with which they threatened *Italy* and *Rome* itſelf. They were commanded by two chiefs, of the name of *Bato*. Great levies were made with all poſſible expedition; the veterans were ordered to return to their colours, and not only freed men, but numbers of ſlaves, were admitted into the legions. The command of this army was given to *Tiberius*'s nephew *Germanicus*, a youth of extraordinary accompliſhments; and, for the ſake of greater conveniency and diſpatch during the campaign, *Auguſtus* left *Rome*, and went to reſide at *Ariminum*. *Tiberius* no ſooner heard that *Germanicus* was appointed to command in this expedition, than, jealous of the glory he might acquire by it, he left *Illyricum*, and marched againſt theſe numerous enemies. The war laſted near three years, with great dangers and difficulties: but at laſt, the *Dalmatian Bato*, preſſed by *Germanicus*, and reduced to the utmoſt diſtreſs by famine, ſubmitted; and, upon his being aſked by *Tiberius*, *What had induced him to revolt*; he boldly anſwered, *You yourſelves*; *who, inſtead of ſhepherds to defend us, ſend wolves to devour us*. *Tiberius* treated him with great kindneſs; which made ſuch an impreſſion on him, that he was eaſily prevailed upon to turn his arms againſt his nameſake and ally, whom he defeated, and afterwards murdered. *Germanicus* gained great honour in this war.

The *Dalmatians* and *Pannonians* revolt, but are reduced by *Germanicus*.

Upon

Upon the submission of one *Bato*, and the death of the other, the emperor left *Ariminum*, and returned to *Rome*; where great complaints were made to him, particularly by the knights, against the law he had made some years before, concerning unmarried persons, and such as had no children. The looseness of their lives was what made them averse to marriage, and what now induced them to endeavour to get that law abolished. Upon this, the emperor summoned the whole body of the equestrian order, and commanded the married and the unmarried to be placed separately: then, observing the former to be much inferior to the latter in number, after highly applauding the married ones, he told the others, *That their behaviour had been so peculiar, that he knew not by what name to call them: not by that of men, for they had performed nothing that was manly; not by that of citizens, for the city might perish for them; nor by that of* Romans, *for they seemed determined to extirpate the* Roman *race: but by what name soever he called them, their crime*, he said, *equalled all other crimes put together; for they were guilty of murder in not suffering those to be born who should proceed from them; of impiety, in abolishing the names and honours of their ancestors; of sacrilege, in destroying their species and human nature, which owed its origin to the gods, and was consecrated to them: that they dissolved the government, by disobeying its laws; betrayed their country, by making it barren and waste; and demolished their city, by depriving it of inhabitants.* He added, *That he was well apprised, their leading a single life did not proceed from any sentiments of virtue, but from a looseness and wantonness, which ought not to be suffered in any civil government.* Having finished his speech, he doubled the rewards of such as had children, and laid heavy fines on all unmarried persons, if they did not alter their condition within a year. This was called the *Papia-Popæan* law, because it was enacted in the consulship of *M. Papius Mutilus* and *Q. Popeus Secundus*. It was also called the *Julian* law, from its being published by *Augustus*, who was of the *Julian* family. At the same time, that he might not seem to discourage any thing that had the appearance of virtue, he bestowed upon such women as had vowed perpetual virginity the same rewards and privileges as upon mothers. This year the poet *Ovid* was banished to *Tomos* in *Pontus*, an inhospitable climate, from which all his intreaties, and those of his friends, could not prevail upon the emperor to remove him. The cause of his disgrace has been variously accounted for; but he himself gives us pretty plainly to understand, that it was owing to his having accidentally overseen a loose action of the emperor's, ill becoming his years; for his amorous disposition seems never to have quitted him *.

Augustus.

Augustus encourages marriage.

His reproof to the unmarried knights.

The *Papia-Popæan*, or *Julian* law.

Ovid banished.

* Trist. l. iii. Eleg. 9.

Upon

Auguſtus. Upon the finiſhing of the wars in *Dalmatia* and *Pannonia*, *Tiberius* and *Germanicus* returned to *Rome*, where they were decreed triumphal honours. The title of *Imperator* was conferred on *Auguſtus*, and *Germanicus* was allowed to ſtand for the conſulſhip, though he was but twenty-four years of age. But this joy was ſoon changed into the deepeſt melancholy, by the diſmal news of the entire defeat of *Quintilius Varus*, by the *Germans* under the conduct of *Arminius*, which was brought to *Rome* five days after the arrival of *Tiberius* and *Germanicus*. *Varus* had been governor of *Syria*; which province he found rich, and was himſelf poor; *but when he left it*, ſays *Velleius he was rich, and the province poor*. From *Syria* he was removed to *Germany*, where he ſtill purſued the ſame method of filling his own coffers, and by his rapines and extortions rouſed the *Germans* from the peaceful temper they had lately been lulled into, and inſpired them with an eager deſire to ſhake off the *Roman* yoke. *Arminius*, a young nobleman of great parts and extraordinary valour, put himſelf at their head, and, after artfully drawing *Varus* from the borders of the *Rhine* farther up into their country, by ſuggeſting to him the neceſſity of ſhewing himſelf to the inhabitants of the more diſtant provinces, he fell upon him unawares, at a time when he was ſurrounded on all ſides with woods, ſteep hills, and marſhy grounds, where, unable to eſcape, and giving up all for loſt, *Varus*, after being dangerouſly wounded, killed himſelf. Moſt of his chief officers followed his example. Three complete legions, and ſix cohorts, were almoſt intirely cut off in this fatal action; the greateſt overthrow the *Romans* had ever received ſince the defeat of *Craſſus* by the *Parthians*. The legions that periſhed upon this occaſion, were the beſt of the whole empire for valour, diſcipline, and experience; ſo that the news of this loſs threw the whole city into the utmoſt conſternation, there being few families that had not a ſhare in the common misfortune. As for *Auguſtus*, he ſet no bounds to his grief, but tore his garment, let his beard and hair grow for ſeveral months, and, like one diſtracted, knocked his head againſt the wall, crying out, *Reſtore the legions*, Varus! He vowed the great games to *Jupiter*, as had formerly been done in the wars with the *Marſi* and *Cimbri*; and ever after obſerved the day of this defeat as a day of mourning. The *Romans* were ſtruck with apprehenſions of the enemy's advancing, and attacking them even in the capital: but learning ſhortly after that the *Germans* had neither paſſed the *Rhine*, nor made the other advantages they might have done of their victory, their fears abated, and levies were raiſed, and diſpatched as quick as poſſible under the command of *Tiberius*, who, with *Germanicus*, obliged the rebels to retire.

Year of *Rome* 762. of *Chriſt* 10.

Quintilius Varus provokes the *Germans*, by whom he is intirely defeated.

Several laws pub- The next year, *Auguſtus* publiſhed an edict, forbidding all augurs, aſtrologers, and fortune-tellers, to utter, either in publi

public or in private, predictions concerning the death of any man: not that he was under any apprehensions himself, for he had caused his nativity to be calculated and publicly exposed; but on account of the disturbances which these impostors had occasioned in many families. He likewise revived the edict, forbidding any of the equestrian order to fight in the *arena*, threatening with infamy, and even death, such as should dare to transgress it. Extending his care to the distant provinces, he also commanded, *that no public honours should be bestowed on the governors of them, during the time of their administration, nor within sixty days after their departure; because those honours had often made them behave with an insolent haughtiness towards those over whom they were placed.* After this, he named *Germanicus* consul for the ensuing year; and, being now in his seventy-fourth year, and finding the whole burden of public affairs too much for him to bear alone, he shared the sovereign power with *Tiberius*, investing him with a far greater authority than he had ever granted to *Agrippa*. The decree which the senate passed on this occasion, at the emperor's request, was couched in the following terms: *At the request of the people of* Rome, *we grant to* Caius Julius Cæsar Tiberius *the same authority over the provinces, and all the armies of the* Roman *state, which* Augustus *has held, which he still holds, and which we pray the gods he may long enjoy.* This decree put *Tiberius*, in a manner, upon a level with *Augustus*. The next year, *Augustus*, by a special edict, declared the authors of all lampoons and satirical writings, attacking or blackening the reputation of any person whatsoever, guilty of high-treason, and punishable with death. Towards the end of this year, he wrote two letters; one to the senate, recommending *Germanicus* to the conscript fathers; and the other to *Tiberius*, recommending the senate to him; which was generally looked upon as a plain declaration that he designed to leave *Tiberius* the same authority over the senate as he himself had enjoyed; but that he would have all others, those of his own family excepted, pay an intire obedience to that venerable body. He desired the senate no longer to take the trouble of waiting upon him at his house, as they had used to do, such attendance being inconvenient to him by reason of his age; and to excuse his not going to them as formerly; and that they would appoint his twenty counsellors out of their body, with whom he might advise in matters relating to the state. The senate readily granted his request: and moreover decreed, *that whatever he should resolve upon with the twenty senators assigned him, the consuls for the year, the consuls elect, and his adopted son and nephew, should have the same force as if voted and passed in the senate.*

Augustus established by *Augustus*.

He makes *Tiberius* his colleague in the sovereignty.

The following year, *Augustus*'s fourth term of five years being near expired, he accepted, *Dion Cassius* says *unwillingly*, the government for ten years longer. At the same time he renewed the tribunitial power, in favour of *Tiberius*, for the like

Augustus renews his decennial power the fifth time.

Auguſtus. like term of years, and impowered *Druſus* to ſtand for the conſulſhip at the end of two years, though he had not yet diſcharged the office of prætor. After this, he made his will, which he delivered to the veſtal virgins.

Year of *Rome* 766.

Auguſtus having thus ſettled matters at home, reſolved once more to attempt the reduction of *Germany*, and the revenging of the death of *Varus*, and the loſs of his legions. To this end, he raiſed two numerous armies, one of which was to be commanded by *Tiberius*, and the other by *Germanicus*. This laſt was ordered immediately to *Gaul*, from thence to invade the countries, which, at the inſtigation of *Arminius*, had withdrawn their obedience to *Rome*. *Tiberius* was appointed to lead his army into *Illyricum*, and penetrate on that ſide into the kingdom of *Marobduus*, which the *Romans* had not yet ſubdued. *Auguſtus*, taking *Tiberius* for his collegue in the cenſorſhip, now made a third *cenſus* of the *Roman* people; by which it appeared, that their number amounted to four million, one hundred and thirty-ſeven thouſand, including women and children, according to *Suetonius*. While the ceremony was performing in the field of *Mars*, an eagle was obſerved to fly ſeveral times round *Auguſtus*, and then alight on a neighbouring temple over the firſt letter of *Agrippa*'s name. This was looked upon, not only by the multitude but *Auguſtus* himſelf, as an omen of his approaching end.

Germanicus ſent into *Germany*.

Auguſtus makes a 3d cenſus.

Shortly after, *Tiberius* ſet out for *Illyricum*, and *Auguſtus* accompanied him as far as *Beneventum*, from whence he proceeded to *Naples*, partly to aſſiſt at the games which were to be exhibited there on his birth-day, but chiefly in hopes that the air of that city, to which the *Romans* uſed to reſort, even in thoſe days, for the recovery of their health, would be of ſervice to him. He performed the journey with uncommon chearfulneſs, attended by *Livia*, who, as we may imagine, was very aſſiduous about him in ſo critical a juncture. After he had ſpent ſome time at *Naples*, he was ſeized with a diarrhæa; upon which he reſolved to return to *Rome*: but in his way back, his diſorder increaſing, he was obliged to ſtop at *Nola* in *Campania*, and there take to his bed. He then ſent for *Tiberius*, and ſome of his moſt intimate friends; and after converſing with them ſome time, and giving them many wiſe and uſeful inſtructions relating to the management of their own affairs, as well as thoſe of the public, he called for a looking-glaſs; and, having cauſed his hair to be ſet in order, and his wrinkled cheeks to be ſmoothed up, as was cuſtomary among the ſtage-players, he aſked his friends, *Whether he had acted his part well?* and, on their anſwering, *He had*; *Then clap me*, ſaid he, *for I have ended it.* He then fixed his eyes on *Livia*, who held him in her arms, and, deſiring her to remember their marriage, and the ties which had kept their hearts ſo long united, quietly expired.

He goes to *Naples*, is taken ill there, and dies at *Nola*.

Year of *Rome* 767. of *Chriſt* 15.

Such was the end of the great *Auguſtus*, in the ſeventy-ſixth year of his age. *Livia* was ſuſpected of having haſtened his death

death, for fear of his being reconciled to his grandſon *Agrippa Poſthumus*, whom he had baniſhed ſome years before to the iſland of *Planaſia*, and to whom he had lately made a private viſit. *Auguſtus.*

The body of the deceaſed emperor was carried to *Rome* with great pomp and ſolemnity. *Tiberius*, in virtue of the tribunitial power with which he was inveſted, appointed the ſenate to meet the next day; when *Auguſtus*'s will was brought by the veſtal virgins, and read aloud by *Polybius*, one of his freed-men. It began thus: *Since the gods have been pleaſed to deprive me of my grandchildren*, Caius *and* Lucius, *I declare* Tiberius *my heir*, &c. A preamble which plainly ſhews, that he would never have adopted *Tiberius*, nor appointed him his ſucceſſor, had thoſe two young princes, or either of them, lived. *Tiberius* and *Livia* were appointed his firſt heirs; his grandchildren, and their children, his ſecond; and the great men of *Rome* his third heirs. *Livia* was adopted into the *Julian* family, and honoured with the title of *Auguſta*. To the *Roman* people he left four hundred thouſand great ſeſterces; to the populace thirty-five thouſand; to every common ſoldier of the prætorian guard, a thouſand ſmall ſeſterces; and to every ſoldier of the *Roman* legions, three hundred. The funeral honours, which were next conſidered, were performed with the greateſt magnificence that had ever been ſeen in *Rome*. *Druſus* read a ſhort elogium of the deceaſed emperor, and *Tiberius* pronounced his funeral oration. When fire was ſet to the pile, an eagle was let looſe from the top of it, as if it were to carry his ſoul to heaven. *Livia* afterwards depoſited his aſhes, in an urn of gold, in the fine mauſoleum he had long before built for himſelf in a grove between the *Tiber* and the *Flaminian* way. The men were ordered to mourn for him three weeks, according to cuſtom; but the women a whole year; probably out of compliment to *Livia*. As ſoon as the funeral was over, divine worſhip was decreed him, with a temple and prieſts. The houſe in which he was born, that in which he died, and moſt of the houſes in which he had lived, were converted into ſanctuaries.

His will.

His funeral.

Divine honours decreed him.

Auguſtus was a man of ſound judgment, great penetration, and ſingular ſagacity in improving opportunities, and in applying the abilities of others to his own ends. In the times of the republic, when valour and eloquence were the only means of riſing, he would have made but a middling figure; for he was quite deſtitute of the former; and the latter, tho' it was eaſy and flowing, was by no means fit to move and controul the ſpirit of republicans. He found his way to the throne already made by his great uncle *Julius*; or he would never have thought of attempting it. He had, it is true, powerful enemies to contend with, whom he overcame; but his victories were owing to others, and not to himſelf. By the bravery of *Anthony*, he conquered *Brutus* and *Caſſius*; and by

His character.

Auguſtus. by the valour of *Agrippa*, he conquered *Anthony*. Nor did it require extraordinary abilities to hold the empire, when he had once acquired it; the *Roman* ſpirit being entirely broken, and all thoſe cut off, either in the battles of *Philippi* and *Actium*, or by bloody proſcriptions, who had courage enough to ſtand up in defence of their liberties. He was naturally of a cruel and vindictive temper, and did many mean things to ſatisfy his revenge, which the great ſoul of *Cæſar* would have ſcorned. We meet with no inſtances of his ſo much boaſted clemency and moderation, till he had ſacrificed to his jealouſy all thoſe whom he either feared or ſuſpected. When he had thoroughly maſtered the ſtate, utterly extinguiſhed all notions of liberty, and inhumanly maſſacred ſuch as he thought capable of thwarting his deſigns, or diſturbing him in the poſſeſſion of his uſurped power, he then governed with great mildneſs, and diſcharged all the duties of an excellent prince: which gave riſe to the ſaying, that *he ſhould never have been born, or never have died.* When he had no longer any heirs of his own blood, whom he liked, he adopted the ſons of his wife, and their ſons; which plainly ſhews, that his former feints to reſign the ſovereignty were mere artifice, and that he was determined to intail ſlavery upon his country, and extend his uſurpation even beyond the grave. Whether the mild laws he eſtabliſhed, and the mildneſs with which he governed, after his ſovereignty was thoroughly eſtabliſhed, ſufficiently atoned for his uſurpation, and the many crimes attending it, we leave to our readers to determine.

TIBERIUS.

Tiberius. THE firſt act of *Tiberius*'s reign was the murder of young *Agrippa*, whom he cauſed to be killed by a military tribune, in whoſe cuſtody he then was, before he ſuffered *Auguſtus*'s death to be made public. He avoided mentioning this tranſaction in the ſenate; and gave out, that it was done by the particular command of *Auguſtus*, who had charged the centurion that guarded the youth, to diſpatch him upon the firſt news of his death. The better to ſupport this ſtory, when the tribune acquainted *Tiberius* that he had executed his commands, he immediately anſwered, *That he had given no ſuch command, and that he ſhould be anſwerable to the ſenate for what he had done.* *Criſpus Salluſtius*, who was privy to all the ſecret counſels of *Tiberius*, and had ſent the tribune the warrant for the death of *Agrippa*, alarmed at this, ran directly to *Livia*, and adviſed her, by no means to divulge the ſecrets

Agrippa Poſthumus killed by *Tiberius*'s order.

secrets of the palace, the counsels of the ministers, and the services of the soldiery; adding, *That* Tiberius *should beware of weakening the sovereign authority, by referring all things to the senate; the nature of absolute power being such as would not be preserved entire but in one person.* His advice was followed, and no farther mention was made of this cruel affair. *Tiberius.*

As soon as the death of *Augustus* was made known at *Rome*, the consuls, senators, and knights, ran headlong into slavery; as *Tacitus* expresses it: and that complaisance and esteem which they had for *Augustus*, degenerated into base fawnings and vile flatterings to *Tiberius*. All suits and petitions were now made to him; and being offered the government in the senate, though he had already secured it to himself, he, with much artifice, began to talk of the greatness of the *Roman* empire, his own insufficiency for such a charge, *which* he said *he thought nothing less than the care and wisdom of* Augustus *capable of bearing: that, as to him, he had learned sufficiently, since* Augustus's *making him an associate and partner in the state, the difficulties and dangers inseparably annexed to rule and sovereignty; and that, as the city was filled with men of high rank and great abilities, it would be more advantageous, that many, by joining their cares and counsels, should undertake the charge, than to lay the whole burden upon one man.* After this, he expressed himself in more ambiguous terms, till the whole body of the senate, in the lowest and most abject manner, begged of him to accept the government. Pretending then to yield to their importunities, he said *he would undertake the government of any single part of the state that they might think fit to intrust him with, but that he was unequal to the weight of the whole.* Upon this, *Asinius Gallus asked* him, *What part he was willing to accept of?* This unexpected demand startled *Tiberius*; but, soon recovering himself, he answered, *That it would ill become him to chuse or reject any one part of that from the whole of which he desired to be excused. Gallus*, perceiving him offended, as readily replied, *That he did not ask that question, as if he designed to divide what was in itself indivisible; but to convince him, by his own confession, that the commonwealth was but one body, and consequently could be actuated only by one soul.* Then, continuing his speech, he made a long descant upon the great merits and accomplishments of *Tiberius*, his many victories and conquests, and the several offices he had borne with distinguished honour. *Lucius Arruntius*, *Quintus Haterius*, *Mamercus Scaurus*, and several other senators, spoke nearly in the same stile as *Gallus*'s home question to *Tiberius*; and some went even farther, *bidding him either accept if the empire, or declare in plain terms that he rejected it*; and sarcastically telling him, *That other men were slow to perform what they promised readily; but that he was slow to promise what he had already performed.* None of these speeches were lost upon *Tiberius*, who took care to remember, and severely revenge them. At length, *Tiberius*'s feigned modesty.

Tiberius. length, pretending to be overcome by the importunities of the conſcript fathers, and complaining of the heavy burden they laid upon him, he yielded by degrees to their requeſt, and in the end accepted the government, telling them, that they might ſtill have hopes he would one day reſign it; *that he would accept and hold it till ſuch time as they, in their great prudence, ſhould think fit to give repoſe to his old age.* Thus was a crafty diſſimulation on one ſide, and an abject flattery on the other, carried to a length deſtructive to the *Roman* ſtate and people; and *Tiberius Claudius Druſus Nero*, in the fifty-ſixth year of his age, was inveſted by the ſenate and people with the ſame unbounded power which *Auguſtus* had enjoyed.

He takes upon him the empire with feigned reluctance

The ſenate, ſetting no bounds to their ſervile adulation, were for immediately heaping extraordinary honours on the mother of their new emperor: but *Tiberius* abſolutely forbid any ſuch thing, not ſuffering even a lictor to be decreed her, though every veſtal enjoyed that mark of diſtinction. Such, from the very beginning of his reign, was his ingratitude to his mother, to whom he chiefly owed his elevation to the throne. He was a no leſs cruel huſband, than an undutiful ſon; for he was no ſooner declared emperor, than he ſtopped the ſmall penſion which *Auguſtus* had always allowed *Julia* for her ſupport in her baniſhment; ſo that this unhappy princeſs, after a long ſeries of miſeries, died of want in the fifteenth year of her exile. At the ſame time *Sempronius Gracchus*, one of her chief favourites, was, by *Tiberius*'s order, put to death in the iſland of *Cercina*, to which he had been confined by *Auguſtus*. But his principal care in the beginning of his reign, was, to engage in his intereſt his nephew *Germanicus*, whoſe extraordinary parts and ſweet temper made him be adored by the ſoldiery and people. In order to this, though he hated *Germanicus* in his heart, he aſked, and obtained for him, the proconſular power, and immediately diſpatched into *Germany* perſons of the firſt rank to acquaint him therewith, and condole with him, in his name, for the death of *Auguſtus*. He then named twelve candidates for the prætorſhip; among whom were *Velleius Paterculus*, the hiſtorian, and his brother. The people had hitherto enjoyed the privilege of creating magiſtrates, or, at leaſt, ſhared it with the emperor; one half of the magiſtrates being named by him, and the other by the tribes, aſſembled in the field of *Mars*; but *Tiberius*, in the firſt elections, deprived them of their antient rights, and transferred them to the ſenate. The people complained of this innovation, but no diſturbances enſued; and the ſenators were pleaſed with it, becauſe it freed them from the charge of buying votes, and the ſhame of begging them.

Julia dies of want.

The privilege of creating magiſtrates inveſted in the ſenate.

The army in *Pannonia* mutinies,

Tiberius had ſcarce taken poſſeſſion of the ſovereign power, when he was informed that the army in *Pannonia*, wanting to take advantage of the death of *Auguſtus* to procure themſelves unreaſonable indulgences, and being inſtigated by one *Percennius*,

Percennius, a common ſoldier, had mutinied againſt their commander *Julius Blæſus*. *Julius* was immediately ſent to pacify them, and *Tiberius* himſelf wrote them a letter, wherein he promiſed to ſpeak to the ſenate in their favour. But promiſes would not ſatisfy them: their fury was worked up to ſuch a pitch, that they were deaf to all reaſon, and would probably have proceeded to the greateſt violences againſt *Druſus*, and ſeveral other of their chief officers, had not ignorance and ſuperſtition unexpectedly reſtored a calm, which no intreaties could effect. One night, which ſeemed to be fixed upon by the mutineers for the execution of ſome horrid deſign, the moon, on a ſudden began to darken in the midſt of a clear ſky, and by degrees was totally eclipſed. The ſoldiery, ignorant of the natural cauſes of this phœnomenon, and imputing it to the anger of the gods on account of their revolt, were ſtruck with ſuch terror, that they quietly returned to their duty. *Percennius*, and the other ringleaders of the ſedition were put to death. *Tiberius*. but ſo terrified by an eclipſe that it returns to its duty.

Almoſt at the ſame time, and for the ſame cauſe, the legions in *Germany*, which were much more numerous, revolted with greater fury, in the abſence of *Germanicus*. They boldly aſſerted, *That, as the principal grandeur of the* Roman *empire was owing to their arms, they had a right to diſpoſe of it as they thought proper:* and accordingly, when *Germanicus*, who was adored by the troops, arrived at their camp, they unanimouſly reſolved to chuſe him emperor; but his unbounded greatneſs of mind and generoſity would not ſuffer him to accept of any ſuch offer, though his refuſal endangered his life. At laſt, by giving money to ſome, and promiſes to others, by unexpectedly cutting off many of the chief mutineers, and immediately turning his forces againſt the reſt, he quieted this dangerous diſturbance, to the great joy of *Tiberius*, who, nevertheleſs, amidſt all the praiſes he was forced to give *Germanicus* in the ſenate, for this, and other great ſucceſſes againſt the *Germans*, could not help betraying a ſecret envy and jealouſy of his proſperity. The legions in *Germany* many reboldly volt, but are quelled by *Germanicus*.

Theſe diſorders among the troops, together with the great veneration which they and all the people had for *Germanicus*, were a ſevere reſtraint upon *Tiberius*, who now, with wonderful diſſimulation, concealed thoſe vices and enormities which afterwards diſplayed themſelves ſo openly; and acted, in moſt things, like a truly generous and clement prince. Of the many extraordinary honours that were offered him, he accepted but few, and thoſe of the loweſt ſort. He forbid any prieſts or temples to be decreed him, or ſtatues to be erected but by his own permiſſion; which he granted ſometimes, but upon condition that they ſhould not be placed among images of the gods. He refuſed the title of *Father of his country*, and never took upon him the name of *Auguſtus*, tho' it was hereditary, except in his letters to foreign princes. He had an averſion to flattery, and never would hear any The beginning of *Tiberius's* reign very promiſing.

Tiberius. thing that bordered upon it; nor would he permit the ſenate to ſwear to the obſervation of his ordinances, ſaying, *That all mortal things were mutable and uncertain; and, that the higher he was raiſed the more he was expoſed to danger.* If any in the ſenate happened to differ from him in opinion, the oppoſition did not ſeem to give him the leaſt offence. If libels, or ſlanderous reports, were thrown out againſt him, he bore them with extraordinary patience, ſaying, *That in a free city, the tongues of men ought alſo to be free.* His carriage towards the ſenate was very reſpectful, nothing of moment being tranſacted without their advice and approbation. He never entered into the ſenate-houſe with any attendants, but once, when he was brought in, on account of an indiſpoſition, in a litter; and then he immediately ordered thoſe that were with him to withdraw. He allowed every ſenator to ſpeak his mind freely; and happening one day to differ in opinion from *Q. Haterius*, *Pardon me, I beſeech you,* ſaid he, *if, as a ſenator, I ſpeak againſt you with more freedom than ordinary.* Then, turning to the whole aſſembly, he ſaid, *Moſt venerable fathers, I but repeat what I have often ſaid before; that a good and moderate prince, to whom you have given ſo great and abſolute power, ought to be ſerviceable not only to the ſenate, and the body of the city, but to every particular citizen; nor do I repent of any thing I have ſaid of this nature, having always accounted you, as I ſtill do, my good, juſt, and gracious lords.* The ſenate, on their ſide, continually returned him the moſt extravagant praiſes and commendations, as did likewiſe many of the nobility; ſo that no prince ever had more ſervile flatterers, or knew better how to uſe them, to enſlave and weaken the ſtate. Upon his firſt coming to the throne, the *Romans* ſeemed more diſpoſed to ſerve than he to command; and gave themſelves up to ſlavery at a time when he could ſcarcely have hoped for their ſubjection. He ſhewed as much reſpect to the conſuls, always riſing up to them when they came into any place where he was, and giving way to them if he met them in the ſtreets. The power he allowed them was ſo great, that certain ambaſſadors from *Africa* had recourſe to them, deſiring they would return them a ſpeedy anſwer, ſince *Cæſar*, to whom they had been ſent, put them off from day to day.

His reſpect for the ſenate

and conſuls.

He applied himſelf, with great care, to the reformation of manners, and made many excellent regulations, by which he reſtrained the immoderate expences of plays and ſhews, the vaſt ſums that were given for *Corinthian* vaſes and other rich furniture, and the luxury of entertainments, which was ſuch, that thirty thouſand ſeſterces had been paid for three mullets. To put a ſtop to this, he ordered, that the prices of proviſions in the markets ſhould be annually regulated by the ſenate. All eating-houſes and taverns, of which there were at this time prodigious numbers in *Rome*, were, by his order, ſuppreſſed, as places of extravagance, debauchery, and riot;

He reforms the manners of the people.

riot: and, that he might, by his own example, countenance frugality in others, he had, even in his greateſt entertainments, meat ſerved up which had been dreſſed and cut up the day before, ſaying, *That every part had the ſame taſte as the whole.* To check the progreſs of vice, he drove out of *Rome* a great number of young people, of both ſexes, who were noted for their debaucheries; and at the ſame time revived an ancient law, impowering all parents to puniſh their daughters, even after they were married, if, by their looſe conduct, they brought diſgrace upon their families. In this particular he was ſo ſtrict, that he forbid the cuſtom of kiſſing by way of ſalutation. He ſeemed intirely averſe to loading the people with any new taxes; and when ſome governors of provinces ſhewed him by what means he might increaſe his revenues from thence, he anſwered, That *a good ſhepherd ought to ſhear, but not to flea, his flock.* Such was the behaviour of *Tiberius*; while his authority was yet wavering: but we ſhall ſoon ſee him throw off the maſk, and abandon himſelf, without controul, to thoſe vices, of which he now ſo artfully affected the appearance of the oppoſite virtues. *Tiberius.*

The following year, *Germanicus* purſued the war againſt the *Germans*, and defeated them in ſeveral battles; ſubduing the *Angrivarii*, the *Cheruſci*, the *Catti*, with ſeveral other fierce nations beyond the *Rhine*, and recovering the enſigns loſt by *Varus*, whoſe remains, and thoſe of his unfortunate legions, he buried with great ſolemnity. For theſe advantages he erected ſeveral trophies and monuments in honour of the *Roman* ſtate and emperor; upon one of which he put this modeſt inſcription: *The people between the* Rhine *and the* Elbe *being vanquiſhed*, Tiberius Cæſar's *army dedicates this monument to* Mars, Jupiter, *and* Auguſtus; not ſo much as mentioning his own name, to avoid all envy, or becauſe the memory of the action was a ſufficient teſtimony of him, as *Tacitus* obſerves. But all his caution could not ſcreen him from the jealouſy of the ſuſpicious *Tiberius*, who, envying his ſucceſſes, and hating him the more for them, uſed every artifice he could think of to draw him from the *German* legions, whoſe attachment to him he knew to be extreme. A domeſtic inſurrection ſuſpended for a while the execution of this deſign of *Tiberius*. One *Clemens*, a ſlave to that *Agrippa* who was killed immediately after the death of *Auguſtus*, being about the ſame age, and in his perſon very like his late lord, aſſumed his name, and cauſed it to be reported in all parts, *That* Agrippa, *by the peculiar providence of the gods, was ſtill alive.* Numbers of looſe and ſeditious people flocked to him from all parts of *Italy*, and he, at the head of this rabble, boldly pretended a right to the empire. He was ſoon defeated, taken, and brought before *Tiberius*, upon whoſe aſking him, *How he came to be* Agrippa? he anſwered, *As you came to be* Cæſar. *Tiberius*, either through fear or policy, did not puniſh him pub- Year of *Rome* 769. *Germanicus*'s ſucceſs againſt the *Germans*. *Tiberius* jealous of him.

Tiberius. licly, but ordered him to be privately executed in his palace; and though many of his own houſhold, and ſeveral people of conſequence, were thought to have aſſiſted him with their purſes, no enquiry was made after them.

The quelling of this diſturbance left *Tiberius* at liberty to indulge his diſlike to *Germanicus*, whoſe noble exploits daily increaſed his jealous fears, The affairs of this year preſented him with the faireſt opportunity he could wiſh, to recall him; for the *Parthians*, having killed two of their kings, and refuſed their lawful ſucceſſor, whom *Tiberius* had freed from being his hoſtage, broke the peace they had made with *Auguſtus*, and entered *Armenia*, whoſe king was a tributary of the *Romans*. *Tiberius*, that he might proceed more by policy than authority, cauſed a triumph to be decreed *Germanicus* for his exploits in *Germany*, and then wrote to him to return to *Rome*, and there enjoy the triumph he had ſo juſtly deſerved; adding, *That he was truly ſenſible of the dangers and difficulties he had gone through, and that he had now reduced theſe barbarous nations low enough, to leave them to purſue their own domeſtic feuds and to deſtroy one another.* In anſwer to this, *Germanicus* begged for one year more, to com-

Germanicus recalled. plete his conqueſt. *Tiberius* was inflexible; and in order to intice him home, he offered him a ſecond conſulſhip, which he was to execute in perſon. Though *Germanicus* ſaw plainly that theſe were but ſpecious pretences, ſuggeſted by envy, to rob him of the glory he was likely to acquire by another campaign; yet, finding it was in vain to perſiſt any longer, he at length complied, and ſet out for *Rome* with his wife and children.

His arrival at *Rome*, and triumph. *Tiberius* received him with the greateſt ſeeming friendſhip and affection, and, with the deepeſt diſſimulation, commended him to the ſenate, as well deſerving the higheſt honours they could poſſibly beſtow upon him. His triumph was exceedingly magnificent; and what added to the beauty of the ſhew, and the ſatisfaction of the ſpectators, was the extraordinary gracefulneſs of *Germanicus*'s perſon, and his chariot filled with his three ſons, *Nero*, *Druſus*, and *Caius*; and his two daughters, *Agrippina* and *Druſilla*. To render the ſolemnity ſtill more complete, and the joy of the people more univerſal, *Tiberius* diſtributed among them, in the name of *Germanicus*, a large ſum of money, and named himſelf his collegue in the conſulſhip for the enſuing year. But, notwithſtanding all theſe demonſtrations of regard, the people ſtill ſuſpected his ſincerity; and what confirmed their apprehenſions, was, among ſeveral other proofs he now gave of his treacherous diſpoſition, his behaviour to *Archelaus*, king of *Cappadocia*, who had incurred his diſpleaſure many years before, by neglecting to pay his court to him during his retirement at *Rhodes*, and whom, after inticing him to *Rome* by means of letters from his mother *Livia*, promiſing him pardon,

pardon, provided he came in perſon to aſk it, he cauſed to be accuſed as a criminal, and made him die miſerably. *Tiberius.*

At the ſame time *Antiochus*, king of *Commagene*, and *Philopater*, king of *Cilicia*, dying, and ſome diſturbances ariſing in thoſe countries, to the prejudice of the *Romans*; and *Syria* and *Judæa* likewiſe petitioning to be eaſed of part of their taxes; all theſe accidents, together with the *Parthian* and *Armenian* wars, ſeconded the wicked deſigns of *Tiberius*, who repreſented to the ſenate, *That the affairs of the Eaſt could not well be ſettled but by the preſence of* Germanicus *in thoſe parts.* Accordingly, all the provinces of *Aſia* were readily decreed him, with a greater power than had been given to any governor ſince the time of *Pompey* the Great. But to balance and reſtrain this extraordinary power, *Tiberius* removed from the government of *Syria C. Silanus*, who was *Germanicus*'s friend, and put in his place *Cn. Piſo*, a man of a moſt violent and untractable temper, and in every reſpect fit to execute the fatal purpoſes for which he was chiefly choſen. His wife, *Plancina*, who was ſtill more imperious than himſelf, had likewiſe ſecret inſtructions from *Tiberius* and *Livia* to offer *Agrippina* all ſorts of inſults, and to aſſiſt her huſband even in procuring the death of *Germanicus* if there ſhould be occaſion.

The provinces of the Eaſt decreed to *Germanicus*.

Germanicus ſet out for his eaſtern expedition, taking with him his children and his wife *Agrippina*, who, upon their arrival at *Leſbos*, was delivered of a third daughter, named *Julia*. In the mean time, *Piſo*, in purſuance of his inſtructions, began to court the ſoldiers by bounties and careſſes, to form factions among them, to remove the ancient centurions and tribunes, and place creatures of his own in their room, and to abuſe and vilify *Germanicus*. Though theſe proceedings, and the cauſe of them, were well known to the young prince, yet, overlooking them all, as foreign to the buſineſs he was going upon, he haſtened into *Armenia*, where, with the approbation of the nobility of that country, he placed the diadem upon the head of *Zeno*, the ſon of *Polemen*, king of *Pontus*, a friend and ally of the *Romans*. From *Armenia* he proceeded to *Capadocia*, and from thence to *Commagene*, both which kingdoms, being vacant by the death of their ſovereigns, he reduced to *Roman* provinces. Soon after this, he renewed the ancient alliance between the *Romans* and *Parthians*; and having thus put an end to the diſturbances of the eaſt, he took a journey into *Egypt*, to view the curioſities and antiquities of that famous country. His journey proved very beneficial to the inhabitants, whom he relieved from a great famine, by cauſing the grainaries to be every where opened, and the price of corn to be abated. The jealous emperor, laying hold of this opportunity, wrote him a letter, wherein he cenſured him very ſeverely for preſuming to enter into that province, when *Auguſtus*, among other ſecrets of ſtate, had ſtrictly forbidden

His noble behaviour

He reduces *Cappadocia* and *Armenia*.

Tiberius. all ſenators and *Roman* knights of any figure, to travel thither, without ſpecial licence.

Germanicus, having ſatisfied his curioſity in *Egypt*, returned to *Syria*, where he found all the regulations he had made utterly aboliſhed, and the orders he had left with the legions wholly neglected. Unable to bear this inſult he reproached *Piſo* in very ſharp and ſevere terms, which, notwithſtanding his natural boldneſs, and his confidence in the protection of *Tiberius*, ſo frightened him, that he reſolved to leave *Syria*, and abandon his government. While he was

Falls ſick, preparing for his departure, *Germanicus* was taken ill, but ſoon recovered, to the great joy of the people of *Antioch*, where he then was, who teſtified their gladneſs with public vows and ſacrifices. *Piſo*, enraged at this, ordered his lictors to drive away the victims, throw down the altars, and diſperſe the people aſſembled to celebrate the feſtival; immediately after which, he withdrew to *Seleucia*. Soon after his departure *Germanicus* relapſed, lingered ſome time, and

and dies. died, firmly perſuaded that *Piſo* had poiſoned him, at the inſtigation of *Tiberius* and *Livia*, the only two perſons in the whole *Roman* empire, ſays *Dion Caſſius*, who were not affect-

Year of *Rome* 772. of *Chriſt*, 20. ed with ſo great a loſs. When the news of his death arrived at *Rome*, the courts of juſtice, ſhops, and houſes, were immediately ſhut up, without any edict of the magiſtrates, or decree of the ſenate, and nothing but ſighs and lamentations was heard in every ſtreet. The people, in a violent fury, murmured loudly, not only againſt *Piſo*, but againſt the emperor himſelf, and his mother *Livia*. Their complaints increaſed ſhortly after, upon the arrival of *Germanicus*'s widow *Agrippina*, with the aſhes of her huſband. She was received at her landing, with tokens of the deepeſt ſorrow, by infinite multitudes, who had flocked to *Brundiſium* to condole with her on ſo melancholy an occaſion. At ſome diſtance from *Rome* ſhe was met by the ſenate, and the whole people of that city, all drowned in tears, and expreſſing the utmoſt grief. Neither *Tiberius* nor *Livia* appeared abroad; either becauſe they thought it beneath their grandeur to lament publicly, or through fear of betraying in their countenances ſome marks of joy amidſt the public lamentations. The remains of the deceaſed were depoſited in the tomb of *Auguſtus*, the whole city attending them to the field of *Mars*, where that ſtately monument was erected.

Piſo arrives at *Rome*, and is arraigned. Not long after, *Piſo* and his wife *Plancina*, arriving at *Rome*, were arraigned before the ſenate. He, in particular, was accuſed of many crimes beſides the death of *Germanicus*, ſuch as, that he had corrupted the ſoldiery with licentiouſneſs and debauchery; that he had done great injuries to the *Roman* allies; that he had ſuffered himſelf to be called the *father of the legions* by the ſoldiers he had debauched; that he had been barbarous and cruel to all good men; and that he had borne arms againſt the ſtate. His defence was poor

and

and weak: only the poiſoning of *Germanicus* could not be proved ſo evidently as ſome other things. However, the anger and ſeverity of the judges, the cries and threats of the people, and, above all, the artifices and diſſimulations of *Tiberius*, drove him to ſuch extremities, that, before his cauſe could be finally determined, he was found dead in his bed, with his throat cut, and his ſword lying by him. His wife *Plancina*, who was ſuppoſed to have been more guilty than himſelf, found means to eſcape public puniſhment, thro' the interceſſion of *Livia*. *Tiberius.* His death

Tiberius, having now got free from all his troubles and jealouſies, began to throw off the maſk, and to ſhew his vicious inclinations and tyrannical diſpoſition. Notwithſtanding his fine profeſſions in the beginning of his reign, it was evident to many, that he had already deviated greatly from the wiſe maxims of *Auguſtus*, all whoſe public actions tended manifeſtly to the general happineſs of the *Roman* people and empire: whereas this emperor made a falſe and myſterious intereſt of the prince, ſeparate from that of the ſtate, and almoſt always contrary to the public good. Judgment, capacity, and the wiſe ſecrets of ſtate, were now converted into ſlyneſs, artifice, and dangerous diſſimulation. *Tiberius* begins to ſhew his wicked diſpoſition,

A little before *Germanicus*'s departure for the eaſt, he revived the law of leſe-majeſty, or high treaſon, to which numbers of the nobility ſoon fell victims. The firſt of theſe was *Libo Druſus*, deſcended of the *Scribonian* family, one of the moſt illuſtrious in *Rome*, and no way inferior in nobility to the reigning houſe. His high quality rendered him obnoxious to *Tiberius*: which a ſenator, by name *Firmius Catus*, perceiving, reſolved to gain the emperor's favour, by giving him a plauſible pretence to deliver himſelf from the perſon he diſliked. With this view, having inſinuated himſelf into the favour of the unwary youth, by flattering his hopes and ambition, and magnifying the nobility of his family, he prevailed upon him to conſult the Chaldeans and magicians, whether he ſhould not be one day inveſted with the ſovereign power, to which he had as good a claim, ſaid the treacherous *Firmius*, as the family that enjoyed it. This was ſufficient matter for a charge of high treaſon. *Libo* was tried and condemned, and his eſtate divided amongſt his accuſers; which, to uſe the expreſſion of *Ammianus Marcellinus*, was *ſounding the trumpet to informations and arraignments*. *Libo*, driven to deſpair, killed himſelf. *Libo Druſus* condemned for high treaſon.

Apuleia Varilia, grand niece to *Auguſtus*, by his ſiſter, was accuſed, by one of that infamous profeſſion, of having reviled the deified *Auguſtus*, *Tiberius*, and his mother *Livia*, and of having diſhonoured with adultery the blood of the *Cæſars*, which was high treaſon. *Tiberius* admitted the accuſation, but ſhewed great moderation in the proſecution of the accuſed, pardoning her invectives, and mitigating her puniſhment for the adultery, of which ſhe was found guil- *Apuleia Varilia* accuſed of treaſon.

Tiberius. ty, into exile two hundred miles from *Rome*; but *Manlius*, who had debauched her, was baniſhed *Italy* and *Africa*.

Trial of *Æmilia Lepida.*

Æmilia Lepida, great grand-daughter to *Sylla* and *Pompey*, and once deſigned for the wife of *Lucius Cæſar*, and for the daughter in law of *Auguſtus*, was charged with impoſing upon her huſband *Publius Quirinus* a ſuppoſititious child, with adultery, and with conſulting the Chaldæans about the fate of the imperial family, which was a capital crime. Her brother *Manius Lepidus* undertook her defence; and *Tiberius* behaved on this occaſion with ſuch ſubtilty, that it was impoſſible to diſcover his real ſentiments. At firſt, he begged the ſenators not to meddle with the article of treaſon, and ſoon after charged *M. Servilius* to produce thoſe very proofs which he pretended to ſuppreſs. Nor would he ſuffer *Lepida*'s ſlaves to be examined by torture, as to the articles of treaſon, nor his ſon *Druſus*, though conſul elect, to vote firſt, leſt the reſt ſhould think themſelves obliged to follow his example. However, the ſlaves of *Lepida* confeſſing upon the rack, that ſhe had impoſed upon her huſband a ſuppoſititious child, and even attempted to poiſon him, ſhe was condemned to perpetual baniſhment; but her eſtate was not confiſcated. After her condemnation, *Tiberius* told the ſenators, that he had likewiſe learnt from her huſband's ſlaves, that ſhe had attempted to poiſon him.

Germanicus's eldeſt ſon *Nero* favoured by *Tiberius.*

Towards the latter end of this year, *Tiberius* recommended to the ſenate *Germanicus*'s eldeſt ſon *Nero*, that he might ſtand for the quæſtorſhip five years ſooner than the law directed; which, with a place in the college of pontiffs, was readily granted. The firſt day he entered the *forum* in his virile robes, a donation of corn and money was diſtributed by *Tiberius* to the people, overjoyed to ſee a ſon of *Germanicus* now of age. Their joy was doubled by his marriage with *Julia*, the daughter of *Druſus*: but ſoon after they ſaw, with the utmoſt concern and indignation, the daughter of *Sejanus* betrothed to young *Druſus*, the nephew of *Germanicus*, and ſon of *Claudius*, who reigned after *Caligula*. By this match, the *Claudian* family ſeemed in a manner degraded, and *Sejanus*, whoſe power and credit with the emperor was already too great, raiſed ſtill higher. Within a few days after, *Druſus* died at *Pompeii* by a very ſtrange accident, being choaked by a pear, which ſtuck in his throat, as he threw it up in the air, in play, and caught it in his mouth.

Death of *Germanicus*'s nephew *Druſus.*

Death of *Ovid* and of *Livy.*

This year died the poet *Ovid*, at *Tomos* in *Pontus*; and the famous hiſtorian *Livy*, at *Padua*, his native city. He was the laſt of thoſe illuſtrious writers who once adorned the court of *Auguſtus*.

Tiberius goes into *Campania*

The following year *Tiberius* held his fourth conſulſhip, in which his ſon *Druſus* was his collegue; but ſoon after he had aſſumed the faſces, he retired to *Campania*, under pretence of his health, but, in reality, either with a deſign to

accuſtom

accuſtom himſelf to live out of *Rome*, or to leave *Druſus* the honour of diſcharging that office alone, and that his government might facilitate his ſettlement in the empire after his deceaſe. The moderation and mildneſs with which *Druſus* governed during his father's abſence, encouraged ſome ſenators to apply to him for redreſs to an evil which was by degrees grown inſupportable. The ſtatues of the emperor were become ſanctuaries to profligates, who, laying hold of them, might with impunity threaten and inſult whom they pleaſed; not even a maſter being allowed to puniſh a ſlave for the invectives he had uttered againſt him, while he held the emperor's ſtatue. *Druſus* put a ſtop to this abuſe, and thereby gained the affection of the people ſo much, that they overlooked his love of pleaſure, and the luxury in which he lived. *Tiberius.*

The *Gauls*, no longer able to bear the heavy tributes with which they were loaded, and the pride and cruelty of their governors, attempted this year to ſhake off the *Roman* yoke, being ſtirred up by *Julius Florus*, a native of *Treves*, and *Julius Sacrovir*, a leading man among the *Æduans*, or people of *Autun*. They were both defeated by *Caius Silius*, and both of them killed themſelves. The next year, *Tiberius* gave *Druſus* the tribunitial power; and *Tacfarinas*, a great and powerful man in *Numidia*, who had rebelled, and been defeated by *L. Aſtronicus* two years before, was now again overthrown by *Junius Blæſus*, who, in return for this ſervice, was, with *Tiberius*'s conſent, ſaluted *Imperator* by his troops, according to the ancient cuſtom. The *Gauls* revolt, but are ſubdued.

Towards the end of this year, *Druſus* falling ſick, *C. Luterius Priſcus*, a *Roman* knight, thinking the diſtemper would prove mortal, wrote a poem bewailing his death, and, out of vanity, read it to ſome of his acquaintance. As *Rome* ſwarmed with informers, he was accuſed of this before the ſenate; and *Haterius Agrippa*, who, as conſul elect, voted firſt, declared, that in his opinion he ought to be puniſhed with death. The whole ſenate, except two, who were for condemning him to perpetual baniſhment, and confiſcating his eſtate, agreed to this motion, and *Priſcus* was carried back to priſon, and immediately put to death. To ſo deplorable a ſtate of ſlavery was *Rome* already reduced! But *Priſcus*'s real crime, as we learn from *Tacitus*, was, his having compoſed a poem on the death of *Germanicus*, which had been ſo well received, that *Tiberius* could not help rewarding him for it. The emperor, who was ſtill in *Campania*, behaved on this occaſion with his uſual ambiguity, commending the ſenate, in a letter which he wrote them, for their zeal in thus puniſhing the ſlighteſt injuries done to the prince; but at the ſame time intreating them not to be ſo haſty in puniſhing words. His ſeeming to diſapprove of this haſty execution gave riſe to a new decree of the ſenate, viz. That their orders ſhould not be carried to *Priſcus* condemned and executed for writing a poem.

the

Tiberius. the treasury to be inrolled, (till which they had not the force of laws, and were called only the *orders* or *authority* of the senate), nor the condemned person executed, in less than ten days after sentence had been given. But no criminals reaped any benefit from this respite in *Tiberius*'s reign; his cruel and revengeful temper being never softened by time. *Caligula* always observed it, even with respect to those whom he himself sentenced to death; and so did all the succeeding emperors down to *Theodosius the Great*, who granted twenty days more to all that were condemned.

The luxury of the *Romans*, notwithstanding their sumptuary laws, was grown to so monstrous an excess, in the expence of entertainments, number of domestics, quantity of gold and silver plate, jewels, furniture, &c. that the ædiles thought it necessary, the following year, to move for some further regulation in that respect. The senate referred the matter to *Tiberius*, who thereupon wrote them a letter, in which, after commending the zeal of the ædiles, he owned,

Tiberius refuses to take upon him the correcting of luxury.

that the excesses they complained of ought to be checked by the severest laws: *But*, added he, *if such laws were enacted, even those who now censure this extravagance, would be the first to complain, that the state was utterly undone, that snares were laid for every noble and wealthy family, and that all men would become the prey of informers.* He ended his letter with telling them, *That if any of the magistrates would undertake to put a stop to so great an evil, he should have both his praises and thanks for easing him of part of his burthen; but that, as to himself, he would not take upon him that odious task.* The senate, upon reading his letter, ordered the ædiles to proceed no farther in that matter. *Tiberius*, by thus rejecting the proposal for reforming luxury, which would have proved an inexhaustible fund of impeachments and confiscations, gained the fame of moderation among the nobility, with whose wealth the informers would not have failed to enrich themselves, had he either enforced the old, or established new sumptuary laws.

Soon after, *Tiberius* wrote another letter to the senate, desiring the tribunitial power for *Drusus*, which was immediately granted, and statues were decreed both to the emperor and his son. *M. Silanus* moved, that, for the future, not the names of the consuls, but of those who exercised the tribunitial power, should be prefixed to all records; and *Haterius Agrippa*, that the decrees of that day should be written in letters of gold, and hung up in the senate. Thus were those once mighty senators, the arbiters of kings and emperors, now changed into mean slaves, and become, by their infamous flattery, an object of derision and contempt to all foreign nations, and to that very prince, whose favour they strove to gain by disgracing themselves; *Tiberius* being, more than once, overheard to say to himself, as he was going out of the senate, *O men prepared for bondage!* So much did he abhor flattery, though he was an enemy to public liberty.

Meanness of the senate.

berty. *Druſus*, who was then in *Campania*, wrote the ſe- *Tiberius.*
nate a letter of thanks for their giving him the tribunitial power, but did not condeſcend to come to *Rome* to receive it.

Not long after this, *Livia* being taken dangerouſly ill, *Tiberius* returns to *Rome*, the mother and ſon ſtill living in perfect amity, or artfully diſguiſing their mutual hatred, which laſt was generally believed to be the caſe. The ſenate, on this occaſion, decreed ſupplications to the gods, with the celebration of the great games, for her recovery, and betrayed ſuch a mean ſpirit of ſervitude, that even *Tiberius* himſelf was aſhamed of their behaviour.

Though *Tiberius* had gained an abſolute command over the perſons of others, he himſelf was almoſt as much ruled by his favourite *Sejanus*, a *Roman* knight, bold and aſpiring in his attempts, cloſe and crafty in his deſigns, but modeſt in outward ſhew and appearance. By his inſinuations and artifices he gained ſuch an aſcendant over the emperor, that he made him extremely reſerved to others, but free and open to him. *Tiberius* made him captain of the prætorian guards, raiſed him to the higheſt dignities in the ſtate, extolled him in the ſenate as the partner of his labours, and permitted his ſtatues to be ſet up in the theatres and other public places. The ambitious *Sejanus*, thus lifted up above his condition, aimed at nothing leſs than the ſovereign power, as a ſtep towards which, he reſolved to get rid of *Druſus*. In order to this, he addreſſed himſelf to *Druſus*'s wife *Livia*, ſiſter to *Germanicus*, and having firſt, by pretending a violent paſſion for her, induced her to comply with his criminal deſires; he afterwards, without much difficulty, prevailed upon her to concur with him in deſtroying her huſband, by giving her hopes of marriage, and making her his partner in the empire; to confirm which, he divorced his wife *Apicata*, though he had three children by her. *Eudemus*, *Livia*'s phyſician, was made privy to the deſign, and, by their direction, prepared a ſlow-working poiſon, that the death of the young prince might be aſcribed to a caſual diſtemper. The fatal potion was adminiſtred to *Druſus* by the eunuch *Lygdus*, one of his freedmen, as was learnt eight years after, when *Sejanus*, being diſgraced, and puniſhed as he deſerved, the whole ſcene of iniquity was diſcovered by his wife *Apicata*, and the confeſſions of *Eudemus* and *Lygdus* upon the rack. *Druſus* fell into a lingering diſtemper, pined away, and died.

Riſe of *Sejanus.*

He debauches the wife of *Druſus*, and poiſons him.

Tiberius ſhewed but little concern during the illneſs, or after the death of his ſon; nor indeed did the people, whoſe hopes now were, that *Germanicus*'s children, whom they reſpected and eſteemed for their father's ſake, would ſucceed to the empire: whereas *Druſus* was in general diſliked, and even hated, for his cruelty and debaucheries. The ſenate, however, decreed to his memory the the ſame honours as

they

Tiberius. they had before given to that of *Germanicus*. *Tiberius* then presented *Nero* and *Druſus*, the ſons of *Germanicus*, to the ſenate, with words to this effect. *Conſcript fathers, Theſe fatherleſs children I commended to their uncle, and beſought him, tho' he had iſſue of his own, to bring them up and cheriſh them, as if they were immediately deſcended from him.* Druſus *being ſnatched from us, I addreſs my prayers to you, and, in the preſence of the gods and our country, conjure you to receive into your protection the great grandchildren of* Auguſtus: *fulfil your own duty towards them; fulfil mine.* Then turning to the youths, *To you*, Nero, (ſaid he) *to you*, Druſus, *theſe are in the ſtead of a father. Your condition is ſuch, that whatever good or evil befalls you, muſt befall the commonwealth.* Had he ſtopped here, he would have left the ſenators full of compaſſion and admiration; but his repeating anew what he had often ſaid before, and what had been ſo often ridiculed, *that he deſigned to reſtore the republic*, made every one doubt the ſincerity of what he had been ſaying.

Tiberius recommends the ſons of *Germanicus* to the ſenate.

Tacfarinas defeated and killed.

This and the following year put an end to the war with *Tacfarinas* the *Numidian*, who was defeated and killed by *P. Dolabella*, proconſul of *Africa*, with the aſſiſtance of *Ptolemy*, who had ſucceeded his father *Juba* in the kingdom of *Mauritania*.

Vibius Serenus accuſed by his own ſon.

Rome was at this this time witneſs to ſuch an example of horror and unnatural cruelty, as might alone be ſufficient to render the reign and memory of *Tiberius* execrable to the lateſt poſterity. *Vibius Serenus*, proconſul of the *Farther Spain*, had, ſome time before, been condemned for mal-adminiſtration, and baniſhed to the iſland of *Amorgos*. He was now dragged from that place of exile to a freſh trial, being accuſed by his own ſon of treaſonable practices againſt the majeſty of the emperor. The father appeared before the ſenate, bound in chains, with a dejected countenance, and in the diſmal habit of a criminal, while his ſon, in the gayeſt attire, alledged a plot framed by his father againſt the emperor; at the ſame time accuſing him of having ſent emiſſaries into *Gaul*, to ſtir up a rebellion there. He likewiſe charged *C. Cornutus*, formerly prætor, with having ſupplied the conſpirators with money. *Cornutus*, though innocent, no ſooner heard himſelf accuſed, than, looking on his accuſation as a ſure ſignal of deſtruction, he killed himſelf. But *Serenus*, turning full upon his ſon, and ſhaking his chains, begged of the gods that they would reſtore him to the place of his exile, where he might paſs his days far from ſuch objects of horror. He then urged that *Cornutus* was innocent, and only frightened with a falſe accuſation, and challenged his ſon to produce other witneſſes, and name other confederates, ſince it was not probable, that, with one accomplice only, he ſhould have thought of murdering the prince, and changing the government. The accuſer then named *C. Lentulus* and *S. Tubero*, both men of the firſt rank

in *Rome*, and the emperor's intimate friends; the former ſo old, and the latter ſo broken with infirmities, that *Tiberius* himſelf could not help bluſhing when he heard them named, and immediately acquitted them. The ſlaves of the pretended criminal were then examined, and their teſtimony proved favourable to their maſter. Upon this, the populace, provoked at ſuch monſtrous proceedings, began to threaten the unnatural ſon with the puniſhment inflicted by the laws on parricides, which ſo terrified him, that he fled privately to *Ravenna*. But *Tiberius*, ſtill remembering ſome expreſſions a little too free, which *Serenus* had uſed in a letter written to him eight years before, obliged the ſon to return and purſue the proſecution againſt his father: and though nothing could be proved againſt him, he was, by a majority of votes, ſentenced to death as a traitor. *Tiberius*, indeed, to mitigate the odium accruing to him from ſuch a crying piece of injuſtice, afterwards granted him his life, and remanded him back to *Amorgos*. *Tiberius.*

So little notice had been taken of the death of *Druſus*, that *Sejanus*, emboldened in his villany, determined next to deſtroy the ſons of *Germanicus*, the now apparent heirs to the empire. But as he could not compaſs his wicked deſigns by poiſon, on account of the great vigilance of their mother, and the incorruptible fidelity of thoſe about them, he artfully rouzed in the breaſt of *Tiberius*'s mother *Livia* the hatred ſhe had long borne to *Agrippina*, and by her means raiſed jealouſies and ſuſpicions againſt her and her children in the mind of the emperor, which, as we ſhall ſoon ſee, proved the ruin of that unhappy family. In the mean time, intoxicated with his exceſſive power, and urged on by the importunities of *Livia*, the widow of *Druſus*, who was continually reminding him of his promiſe; he preſented a memorial to the emperor, begging, that if a huſband was thought of for *Livia*, he would remember his friend, to whom he had already given innumerable inſtances of his affection and benevolence. In anſwer to this, *Tiberius* commended the fidelity of *Sejanus*, curſorily recapitulated his own favours towards him, and ſaid, *He would conſider farther of his requeſt*; concluding, however, with telling him, *That there was nothing ſo high, but his abilities and zeal for him might juſtly claim; that he was meditating within himſelf by what ties to bind him, and that he would take a proper occaſion to declare his ſentiments, either in the ſenate, or the aſſembly of the people.* *Sejanus* aſksyoung *Livia* in marriage. *Tiberius*'s anſwer.

Sejanus, knowing the emperor's dark and diſtruſtful temper, was alarmed at this anſwer; upon which, laying aſide all thoughts of marrying *Livia*, he earneſtly intreated him not to give ear to the ſlanderous reports of his enemies, nor liſten to the malicious inſinuations of ſuch as hated him only on account of his unſhaken fidelity. The more he reflected on *Tiberius*'s anſwer, the more he was at a loſs how to behave, for fear of giving him umbrage. To refuſe admittance

Tiberius. mittance to the numerous crowds of persons of all ranks; who daily frequented his house, to court his favour, would be lessening his power; and to suffer them to continue coming, might furnish a handle for criminal accusations. In this perplexity he at length resolved to persuade the emperor to leave *Rome*, and retire to some pleasant place, remote from the noise and hurry of the city. His principal reasons for this were, that there could then be no access to the prince, but by him; that all letters and expresses would pass through his hands; and that *Tiberius*, declining in age, and growing slothful and effeminate through the solitude of the place, would more easily transfer upon him the whole charge of the government. His persuasions prevailed; and *Tiberius* left *Rome*, in the twelfth year of his reign, under pretence of going into *Campania*, only to dedicate a temple to *Jupiter* at *Capua*, and another to *Augustus* at *Nola*, but, in reality, determined never to return to *Rome*. Some writers ascribe this resolution of his to the artful insinuations of *Sejanus*: but as he continued in his retirement six years after the disgrace and execution of that minister, *Tacitus* thinks, that a more powerful motive which influenced him was, that of concealing in the obscurity of a solitary place, his natural inclination to cruelty, lewdness and debauchery. Some too have thought, that he was ashamed of his person in his old age; for he was very thin, tall, and stooped much; his head was bald, his face full of ulcers, and generally besmeared with ointments. He departed with a small retinue, having with him but one senator, *Cocceius Nerva*, formerly consul, and well versed in the knowledge of the laws; one *Roman* knight, besides *Sejanus*, by name *Curtius Atticus*, and some men of letters, chiefly *Greeks*, whose conversation pleased him. The astrologers gave out, that he left *Rome* under such a conjunction of the planets, that he would never return thither, and that his end was at hand. The former part of this prediction proved true, and indeed the latter was very near being fulfilled soon after his departure; for, as he was supping in a cave, or grotto, belonging to one of his villas, its mouth fell suddenly in, and buried some of his attendants, which so frightened the rest, that they all fled, except *Sejanus*, who, covering the emperor's body with his own, and stooping upon his knees and hands, received all the stones that fell from above; so that *Tiberius* escaped unhurt. From this time, the emperor, looking upon him as one quite regardless of his own safety, and only solicitous about his, reposed an intire confidence in him, and blindly followed all his counsels, however bloody and destructive.

He persuades the emperor to leave *Rome*.

Year of *Rome* 779. of *Christ*, 27.

Exposes his person for him.

The wicked minister, taking advantage of this confidence to destroy the family of *Germanicus*, which alone could thwart his ambitious designs, first attacked *Germanicus*'s eldest son *Nero*, a young prince, no way ambitious, but heedless of that circumspection which his present situation required;

Brings *Nero* into disgrace.

quired. *Sejanus* placed people about him, who, by continually telling him of his high birth, and that both the people and ſoldiers longed to ſee him ſhare the government with his grandfather, drew from him ſome unguarded expreſſions, which were immediately caught up, and, with many aggravations, carried to the emperor, who would not ſo much as allow him the privilege of clearing himſelf. Even his wife betrayed him, by acquainting her mother *Livia*, the widow of *Druſus*, and by her means *Sejanus*, not only with the words, but even with the ſighs and dreams of her huſband; and his brother *Druſus*, hoping to ſucceed *Tiberius*, if his eldeſt brother was quite ſet aſide, was likewiſe drawn into the combination. *Sejanus*, having thus ſet *Tiberius* againſt *Nero*, began next to conſider how he might inflame him, at the ſame time, againſt *Druſus* and *Agrippina*, that the whole family of *Germanicus* might be at once involved in the ſame ruin. *Tiberius.*

The ſame year that *Tiberius* left *Rome*, he appointed *Pontius Pilate* governor of *Judæa*. The following year was introduced by a fatal accident at *Fidenæ*, not far from *Rome*, where fifty thouſand perſons were wounded or killed by the fall of an amphitheatre. This was ſucceeded by another public calamity, a fire, which broke out on *Mount Cælius*, and burnt with ſuch violence, that it intirely conſumed that part of *Rome*. *Tiberius* did, on this occaſion, all that the beſt of princes could have done; for, of his own accord, and at his own expence, he made good the loſs of every ſufferer. Public calamities.

Though *Tiberius* had, by a public edict, forbid all perſons to diſturb him in *Campania*, and even poſted ſoldiers on the roads to prevent the concourſe of the people to the towns where he reſided; yet, wiſhing ſtill for greater privacy and retirement, he at length went to *Capreæ*, a delightful iſland about three miles from the continent, over againſt *Naples*. There he ſpent the laſt ten years of his life, giving himſelf entirely up to the moſt infamous lewdneſs and debaucheries, and throwing off all concern for the commonwealth, but not his ſuſpicious temper: on the contrary, it increaſed, if poſſible, and he gave more credit than ever to informers; *Sejanus* artfully inflaming his jealouſies, and fomenting his diſtruſts. Spies and informers were employed in every part of *Rome*; which cauſed daily diſturbances, and the ruin of many worthy families. If a perſon of merit expreſſed any concern for the glory of the empire, *Tiberius* immediately ſuſpected it was from a ſecret deſign of gaining it. If another had an innocent remembrance of liberty, he was looked upon as a dangerous perſon, and one who aimed at the re-eſtabliſhing the commonwealth. To praiſe any of the antient *Romans*, was a capital crime; to bewail *Auguſtus* was complaining of *Tiberius*: in ſhort, every action became liable to forced interpretations; the moſt innocent diſcourſes expreſſed evil deſigns; He retires to *Capreæ*

Tiberius. deſigns; a diſcreet ſilence concealed miſchievous intentions joy betrayed hopes of the prince's death; melancholy, env of his proſperity; and fear, the juſt apprehenſions of guilty conſcience: ſo that to ſpeak, to be ſilent, to be glac to be grieved, to be fearful, or aſſured, were all crimes fre quently puniſhed with death. But *Sejanus*'s wicked practi ces and contrivances were chiefly levelled againſt *Agrippin* and her ſon *Nero*. As there was now no acceſs to *Tiberiu* but thro' him, he no longer made his attempts upon them ſecret, but openly placed guards about them, to watch al their words and actions, and at the ſame time ſuborned ſom of their acquaintance to adviſe them, rather than ſuffer ſuc treatment, either to fly to the armies in *Germany*, or publich to implore the protection of the ſenate and *Roman* peo ple. Theſe counſels, though they rejected them, were lai to their charge, as if they had intended to put them in exe cution.

Titius Sabinus put to death.

The next year *Titius Sabinus*, an illuſtrious *Roman* knight was hurried to priſon for no other crime but his faithful at tachment to the family of *Germanicus*. He was immediatel after ſentenced to death, and executed the ſame day, with out being allowed time to make his defence. The city wa never ſeized with gr ater dread: one relation feared another a general diſtruſt reigned among all ranks of men; ſtranger and acquaintance were equally avoided; nay, even dumb and inanimate things, the very roofs and walls, occaſioned dread and circumſpection. *Tiberius* no ſooner heard of the execution of *Sabinus*, than he wrote to the ſenate, thanking them for having puniſhed an enemy to the commonwealth. He added in his letter, *That he led a life full of fear and anxiety, and was under continual apprehenſions of the ſnares of his enemies.* Though he named none, it was not doubted but he meant *Agrippina* and *Nero*, againſt whom *Sejanus* and his creatures were conſtantly endeavouring to inceniſe him.

The *Friſons* defeat the *Romans.*

This year, the *Friſons*, no longer able to bear the tyranny of their *Roman* governors, ſhook off the yoke, and defeated *L. Apronius*, who had been ſent againſt them with a conſiderable force. But *Tiberius* choſe rather to diſſemble the loſs the empire had ſuſtained, than truſt any able general with the command of the army.

Death of *Livia.*

This year died *Julia*, grand-daughter to *Auguſtus*, in the twentieth year of her exile, in the iſland of *Trimetus*; and in the following year died *Livia*, the mother of *Tiberius*, and widow of *Auguſtus*. In her were united the wiſdom of her huſband and the diſſimulation of her ſon. Though ſhe had ſacrificed every ſentiment of honour to raiſe *Tiberius* to the throne, his ingratitude to her was extreme. He avoided her converſation, eſpecially in private, as much as poſſible; never ſuffered her to meddle with ſtate affairs, which, he ſaid, were above the ſphere of a woman; ſaw her but once during the three years ſhe lived after his retirement, and

then only for a very ſhort time, and never came near her in her laſt ſickneſs. We are told, that he proſecuted all her friends, eſpecially thoſe to whom ſhe had committed the care of her funeral; that of the many honours decreed her, he allowed but very few; and that he ſuppreſſed her laſt will, which was not executed till after his death, by his ſucceſſor *Caligula*, who cauſed divine worſhip to be appointed her. She died in the eighty-ſixth year of her age. *Tiberius.*

The death of *Livia* having delivered both the prince and his favourite from all reſtraints, a letter was immediately diſpatched to the ſenate againſt *Agrippina* and *Nero*, couched in terms remarkably bitter, though they charged *Nero* with no crimes againſt the ſtate, but only with unnatural luſt, and other impure pleaſures. *Agrippina*'s known virtue ſcreened her from any imputation of this nature; but her haughty looks, and her violent and imperious temper, were alledged againſt her. The whole aſſembly was ſtruck with terror at the reading of this letter; but as the expreſſions in it, their bitterneſs excepted, were quite ambiguous, nothing was concluded then. *Tiberius* thereupon wrote a ſecond letter to the ſenate, repeating his reproaches againſt his grandſon and daughter in law, and complaining of the ſenators for making no account of his reſentment. The ſenate heſitated no longer: *Agrippina* was baniſhed to the iſland of *Pandataria*, and *Nero*, her eldeſt ſon, to the iſland of *Pontia*, where he died ſoon after of want. Her ſecond ſon *Druſus* was declared an enemy to the ſtate, and kept under cloſe confinement in the lower part of the palace. We ſhall ſpeak hereafter of the tragical end of *Agrippina* and *Druſus*, who lived four years in exile. *Agrippina* and *Nero* baniſhed.

The next year the ſenate decreed many extravagant honours to *Sejanus*; among others, that his birth-day ſhould be celebrated yearly; that his ſtatues ſhould be adored, and that vows and ſacrifices ſhould be offered for his ſafety. In ſhort, he was more reſpected and dreaded than *Tiberius* himſelf, who, at laſt, began now to ſuſpect him. *Antonia*, the widow of his brother *Druſus*, having received private intelligence of his deep deſigns, wrote a detail of them to the emperor, and ſent her letter to *Capreæ* by one of her moſt truſty domeſtics. The emperor, thus warned of his danger, conſidered with himſelf what method he had beſt to take in ſo dangerous a ſituation, and found it more adviſeable to employ addreſs than force. The firſt ſtep he took was to remove him from *Capreæ* by naming him his collegue in the conſulſhip for the next year; an honour which *Sejanus* looked upon as the higheſt mark of his ſovereign's affection; and towards the end of the year he ſent him to *Rome*, to take poſſeſſion of his new dignity. The ſenate, thinking him in greater favour than ever, loaded him with new honours. After this, *Tiberius*, to ſound the ſenators and people, and try the ſtrength of *Sejanus*'s party, wrote frequent *Tiberius* begins to ſuſpect *Sejanus*.

Tiberius. letters, acquainting the fathers, at one time, that he was very ill; at another, that he was perfectly recovered, and intended ſpeedily to return to *Rome*; ſometimes commending, and ſometimes blaming *Sejanus*. This conduct ſurpriſed the miniſter, and his friends, who, ſeeing his credit with the prince ſomewhat diminiſhed, began to forſake him. The ſenate, however, conferred on him the proconſular power, on his reſigning the conſulſhip; and at the ſame time *Tiberius* honoured both him and his ſon with a place among the pontiffs, but could not, by any means whatever, be prevailed upon to let him return to *Capreæ*.

Caius Caligula begins to be diſtinguiſhed.

At the ſame time that *Tiberius* granted theſe marks of diſtinction to *Sejanus*, he began to heap honours upon *Caius*, ſurnamed *Caligula*, the only ſurviving ſon of *Germanicus* and *Agrippina*. He had accompanied his grandfather to *Capreæ*, and artfully concealed, under an appearance of modeſty, a temper ſo ſavage and inhuman, that not the leaſt ſigh or complaint eſcaped him, when his mother and both his brothers were condemned. *Tiberius* made him this year augur, and pontiff of *Auguſtus*, beſtowing upon him the higheſt encomiums, as if he had deſigned to appoint him his ſucceſſor. This awaked the jealouſy of *Sejanus*, who now could not forgive himſelf the many opportunities he had neglected to ſecure the perſon of the prince, and ſeize the empire: but what mortified him moſt of all was, a letter from *Tiberius* to the ſenate, concerning the death of *Nero*, wherein he named *Sejanus*, without any of the epithets of praiſe which he had been uſed to give him. Neither did he doubt but the emperor had him in view, when he deſired the ſenate to put in execution the decree forbidding divine worſhip to be paid to any mortal; for vows were every where made, and victims ſlain, before the ſtatues of *Sejanus*; nay, he was arrived at ſuch an height of arrogance, that he had the impudence to join his adorers, and offer ſacrifices to himſelf.

Impudence of *Sejanus*.

His credit diminiſhes.

The crowds that had uſed conſtantly to attend *Sejanus*, perceiving that the emperor grew cool towards him, diminiſhed daily; few perſons, and thoſe not of the firſt quality, eſcorted him abroad, and no farther mention was made of him in the ſenate. *Tiberius*, who waited only for this, reſolved now to ſtrike the blow. To this end he gave out, that he deſigned to inveſt *Sejanus* with the tribunitial power; but, in the mean time, he privately gave the command of the prætorian guards to *Nervius Sertorius Macro*, in whom he knew he could confide, and ſent him to *Rome*, with a letter to the ſenate, after having communicated to him the contents of it, and inſtructed him how to behave. *Macro* entered the city late in the night, and immediately imparted his orders to the conſul *Regulus*, the other conſul being a friend to *Sejanus*. Early the next morning *Regulus* aſſembled the ſenate, and *Sejanus* attended, eſcorted, according to his cuſtom, by a detachment of the prætorian guards. As ſoon

as

as he was entered, *Macro*, ſtepping out to the prætorians, ſhewed them his commiſſion from the emperor, appointing him to command them, in the room of *Sejanus*; aſſured them that *Tiberius* had ordered a conſiderable ſum to be diſtributed among them, and ordered them back to their camp without the walls of the city. In their ſtead, *Graeinus Laco*, who was privy to the ſecret, and commanded the city guards, placed a ſtrong detachment of his men at the gates of the ſenate-houſe. *Macro* then went into the aſſembly, with the emperor's letter in his hand, which he had no ſooner preſented to the conſuls, than he haſtened to the camp, to prevent any diſturbances there. The letter was read aloud, and, in conſequence of it, *Sejanus* was immediately ſecured, carried to priſon, condemned for high treaſon, and executed the ſame day. His body was expoſed like thoſe of other malefactors, on the *Scalæ Gemoniæ*, and afterwards abandoned to the rage of the populace, who dragged it for three days together through the ſtreets of *Rome*, and mangled it to ſuch a degree, that the executioner could ſcarce find a limb intire, to throw, according to cuſtom, into the *Tiber*. The death of *Sejanus* was followed by a general ſlaughter of all his friends and relations, not excepting even two harmleſs infants, his children.

Tiberius.

He is arreſted by *Tiberius*'s order, condemned, and executed the ſame day.

Every one hoped that *Tiberius* would prove more mild, now that *Sejanus* was dead, the many late executions being chiefly imputed to that ambitious miniſter. But they ſoon found themſelves involved in greater calamities than ever, the emperor proving daily more cruel, and, which he had never been before, covetous and rapacious. No rank, age, or innocence, could ſcreen his unhappy ſubjects from the dreadful effects of the very ſlighteſt ſuſpicions; and, at laſt, even his friends and counſellors fell victims to his furious diſtruſts. He was ſo much afraid to truſt any one with the leaſt authority, that great provinces were, for ſeveral years, abandoned to the mercy of barbarous nations, whoſe inſults he bore, rather than he would ſuffer their governors to go thither with the power of avenging the ſtate, and repelling the public foe. *Apicana*, whom *Sejanus* had divorced in hopes of marrying *Livia*, the widow of *Druſus*, ſeeing her children put to death, and their bodies publicly expoſed, now wrote *Tiberius* a letter, acquainting him with the manner of his ſon *Druſus*'s death, with no other intent but to torment him, and then laid violent hands on herſelf. *Tiberius* was ſo tranſported with rage, when he found that his ſon had been poiſoned by a conſpiracy of *Livia* and *Sejanus*, that he reſolved to exterminate all that had ever ſhewn the leaſt token of friendſhip to either: but before he would ſuffer them to be executed, he made them undergo the moſt exquiſite tortments cruelty itſelf could invent; for he looked upon death as ſo ſlight a puniſhment, that when he heard one of his priſoners, named *Carnulius*, had killed himſelf, he cried

Tiberius grows more cruel than ever.

Tiberius. out, *Carnulius has eſcaped me.* Another of his priſoners begging him to haſten his execution, he anſwered, *You and I are not yet ſo good friends.* *Livia* was ſtarved to death.

Among the numbers of people of great diſtinction who periſhed by *Tiberius*'s cruelties, were three of the moſt illuſtrious perſons of the empire, *Aſinius Gallus*, *Druſus* the ſon of *Germanicus*, and his widow *Agrippina*. *Aſinius Gallus* was allied to the family of the *Cæſars*. *Tiberius* had long hated him, on account of his marrying *Vipſania*, whom he had divorced, but, with his uſual diſſimulation, concealed it till this year, when *Gallus* being ſent to him by the ſenate, he received him with the utmoſt ſeeming cordiality, but, at the ſame time, wrote to the ſenate, requiring his condemnation: ſo that the very day he was entertained as a friend at the emperor's table at *Capreæ*, he was condemned as a traitor at *Rome*, and a prætor was ſent to ſee the ſentence put in execution. Even this laſt mercy, of a ſpeedy death, was denied him; the tyrant keeping him three years longer under cloſe confinement, and making him die at laſt of famine.

Death of *Aſinius Gallus.*

Death of *Druſus*, and of *Agrippina.*

Druſus, whom he condemned to be ſtarved, protracted his life nine days, by feeding on the flocks of his bed. *Agrippina*, diſappointed in her hope that *Tiberius* would prove leſs inhuman to her and her ſon, after the death of *Sejanus*, put an end to her miſeries by abſtaining from all food. Whilſt *Agrippina* lived, *Tiberius*, out of ſpite to her, protected the infamous *Plancina*, who being now tried and condemned, executed with her own hand that vengeance which was rather too late, than too ſevere.

Plancina kills herſelf.

Year of *Rome* 785. of *Chriſt* 33.

This year the *Saviour of the World* was crucified.

Though it was now three years ſince the death of *Sejanus*; *Tiberius*, no way appeaſed, either by time, or the innumerable victims he had already ſacrificed to his jealouſy, ſtill purſued, with freſh rage, old, trifling and dubious imputations, puniſhing them as recent, heinous, and proved crimes. Executions, even of the greateſt men, were now become ſo frequent and familiar, that they were hardly taken notice of: but that of *Vibulenus Agrippa*, a *Roman* knight, ſtruck all with terror and amazement. After his accuſers had finiſhed their pleading againſt him, he pulled out poiſon, which he had concealed under his gown, and ſwallowed it in the preſence of the ſenate. It was ſo potent, that he dropped down immediately; but nevertheleſs, the lictors dragged him to a dungeon, where, though he was expiring, he was ſtrangled by the common executioner. *Caius Galba*, a conſular brother to the emperor of that name, and the two *Blaſi*, fell by their own hands. *Tigranes*, grandſon to *Herod* king of *Judæa*, by his father *Alexander*, and to *Archelaus* king of *Cappadocia*, by his mother *Glaphyra*, and who had himſelf reigned ſome time in *Armenia*, was accuſed like a private man, and, without any regard to the royal dignity, condemned and executed with the other pretended criminals. His

Death of *Vibulenus Agrippa*, and others

cousin-german *Agrippa* was dragged to prison, loaded with chains, and kept there in close confinement till the death of *Tiberius*. *Tiberius*.

Tiberius was now in the 78th year of his age, without having been ever once indisposed since he came to the empire; but at length he was taken ill at *Astura*, between *Antium* and *Circeii*, as he was returning to *Capreæ* from the neighbourhood of *Rome*, whither he often went, without entering the city. Dissembling his indisposition, he went on to *Misenum*, where, finding his strength begin to fail him, he staid in a villa near the promontory, which once belonged to the celebrated *Lucullus*. The course of executions was not interrupted by his illness: numbers of illustrious persons still continued to be sacrificed to his rage; and on his reading in the journal of the senate, that some prisoners had been discharged, because he had only written, that informations were lodged against them, without mentioning witnesses; transported with fury, he resolved to return to *Capreæ*, and there revenge the affront that had been offered him. But the bad weather, and his distemper, prevented the execution of this design, and kept him at *Misenum*, where he died a few days after, having reigned twenty-two years, seven months, and seven days. Some say, that *Caligula* and *Marco* either smothered or poisoned him; but of that there seems to be no certainty. *Tiberius* is taken ill. His death Year of *Rome* 790. of *Christ* 38.

Though *Tiberius* had highly obliged the city by a generous donation towards the damages occasioned by a fire the preceding year, yet the news of his death was received at *Rome* with the greatest demonstrations of joy, the populace running up and down the streets, crying *Throw the tyrant into the Tiber*; or beseeching their mother earth and the infernal gods to grant him no place but among the impious; whilst others threatened to drag his vile carcase to the *Gemoniæ*, and there expose it to the rage and fury of the multitude. However, the body was carried by the soldiery from *Misenum* to *Rome*, and burnt with the usual solemnity; *Caligula*, who came all the way with it, pronouncing the funeral oration, in which he spoke little of *Tiberius*, but much of *Augustus*, *Germanicus*, and himself. His character is thus summed up by *Tacitus*. *Tiberius*, says he, *was deservedly esteemed by all, while he was a private man, or commanded under* Augustus: *with great cunning and address he feigned virtue, while* Germanicus *and* Drusus *lived: he bore a mixt character of good and evil till the death of his mother: he did not disguise his execrable cruelty, but concealed his lewdness, whilst he loved and feared* Sejanus; *and at last he abandoned himself to all wickedness, being no longer restrained by shame or fear, but following the bent of his own disposition.* His character.

Velleius Paterculus, *Valerius Maximus*, *Strabo*, *Phædrus*, and several other eminent writers flourished in the reign of *Tiberius*.

CALIGULA.

Caligula.

THE death of *Tiberius* proved a double satisfaction to the *Romans*, by freeing them from a merciless tyrant, and by making way for *Caius Caligula*, who was greatly beloved and respected, on account of the extraordinary merit of his father *Germanicus*, and the injuries done to him and his family. The news of his advancing from *Misenum* with the corps of the deceased emperor, was no sooner brought to *Rome*, than persons of all ranks and ages crouded out to meet him. The senate immediately assembled, and the people thronging into the hall with the senators, he was unanimously declared emperor, with full power, contrary to the express will of *Tiberius*, who had left him only co-heir with his grandson *Tiberius*, then under age. The joy for this new emperor was not confined to *Rome* and *Italy* alone, but extended over the whole empire, insomuch that 160,000 victims were sacrificed on that occasion within the space of three months.

Caius Caligula declared emperor.

As soon as the funeral solemnities of *Tiberius* were over, he hastened to the islands of *Pandataria* and *Pontia*, to remove the ashes of his mother and brother, which he brought to *Rome*, and deposited in the *mausoleum* of *Augustus*. He then ordered all the decrees made against them and his other brother *Drusus*, who died at *Rome*, to be annulled, and instituted public sacrifices in honour of their memory. After this, by an act of the senate, he conferred upon his grandmother *Antonia* the name of *Augusta*, and all the honours which *Livia* had enjoyed. To his sisters *Agrippina*, *Drusilla*, and *Livilla*, or *Julia*, were granted all the privileges of the vestals; and it was ordained, that their names should be added to his in all solemn oaths, with these words: *Neither am I dearer to myself, nor are my children dearer to me, than* Caius Cæsar *and his sisters*: and to all the public acts the following form was ordered to be prefixed. *May it prove fortunate and happy to* Caius Cæsar *and his sisters!* To remove all fears in those who had been the occasion of the misfortunes of his mother and brothers, he ordered all the records and papers relating to those matters to be brought publicly into the *forum*, and there burnt in his presence, after solemnly calling the gods to witness, that he had never read them. But as they were all afterwards, to a man, cut off, it was generally believed, that he had burnt only the copies, and preserved the originals. As a farther discouragement to informers, he declared that he would not suffer any one to be accused of treason; and of this he gave soon after a remarkable instance, when a note being offered him, tending to the discovery of a conspiracy against his life, he

Honours the memory of his mother and brothers.

rejected

rejected it, saying, *He was not conscious of any action that could deserve the hatred of any man, and therefore had no ears for informers*: and, a few days after his entry into *Rome*, he set at liberty *Agrippa*, the grandson of *Herod*, and all the other state prisoners, and recalled all those who had been banished by *Tiberius*. He also paid all the legacies left by *Tiberius* and *Livia*, and added to them large sums of his own, to be divided among the people and soldiery. *Caligula.* He sets at liberty all state prisoners.

Caius was not much above twenty-five years of age when he came to the empire. In his first speech to the senate he promised to govern with justice and moderation, and to do nothing without their advice. In consequence of this, he gave free jurisdiction to all the magistrates, without reserving any appeal to himself, and even attempted to restore the ancient method of elections by the suffrages of the people. He reformed several abuses in the state, punished severely many corrupt governors, and gave back to some princes, who had been unjustly dispossessed by *Tiberius*, their kingdoms, and all the arrears of their revenues. The senate, in return for these worthy actions, among other expressions of their gratitude, ordered a shield of gold, bearing his image, to be carried annually to the capitol by the college of priests, followed by all the senate, with the children of the nobility singing his praises. Promising beginning of his reign.

Thus did *Caligula* reign for about eight months, when he was seized with a violent fit of illness, which plunged the whole empire into as much grief, as his recovery filled every one with joy. But whether his distemper affected his brain, and altered his nature, or whether he had hitherto artfully disguised his real temper, and now gave an intire loose to it; he, who had so lately been looked upon as the author of all the happiness of his subjects, from this time to the hour of his death, became such a tyrant, that the rest of his reign was an uninterrupted series of the most execrable vices and monstrous extravagancies. He is taken ill.

On his accession to the throne, he would not take any titles of honour; but now he assumed them all in one day, with the addition of several new ones, and particularly that of *Lord*, which *Augustus* and *Tiberius* had constantly refused. Assumes all the titles of honour.

Tiberius, the son of *Drusus*, having now completed his eighteenth year, took the virile robe; on which occasion *Caligula* adopted him, and declared him prince of the *Roman* youth: but immediately after, he sent some tribunes of the guards to tell him, *That he must, with his own hand, put an end to his life; thinking it unlawful for any inferior person to shed the blood of one of the imperial family.* The young prince, whose mildness of temper had never suffered him to see an execution, nor even a fight of gladiators, presented his throat, first to the officer who stood next to him, and then to all the rest, begging of them to execute the cruel order they had brought him: but as they all declined it, he desired they would at least Adopts young *Tiberius*, and orders him to kill himself.

Caligula. shew him where to ſtab himſelf ſo that the wound might prove mortal, and put a ſpeedy end to his life and miſery. They did ſo, and the unfortunate youth expired in their preſence. Thus he rid himſelf of the only prince to whom thoſe could apply who might, at any time after, be diſſatisfied with his government; for, as to his uncle *Claudius*, he looked upon him as a perſon utterly unfit for any office in the empire, or even in private life, as he really was, and therefore ſaved him for a laughing ſtock, as he openly declared.

Becomes a monſter of cruelty.

Being thus freed from all reſtraints, he gave a full looſe to his furious paſſions, and became, as *Suetonius* calls him, a moſt outrageous monſter. His grandmother *Antonia*, venerable for her age, and highly reputable for her quality, (for ſhe was the daughter of *Mark Anthony*, the niece of *Auguſtus*, ſiſter-in-law of *Tiberius*, and mother of *Druſus*), having taken upon her to admoniſh him, he reſented that freedom to ſuch a degrece, that he reduced her to the neceſſity of laying violent hands on herſelf. The accounts which *Dion Caſſius* and *Suetonius* give us of his cruelties in the ſecond year of his reign, are almoſt incredible. Among the reſt, they tell us, that one day, finding there were no criminals condemned to fight with the wild beaſts, according to the barbarous cuſtom of thoſe days, he condemned ſuch of the people as were already come to ſee the ſhews, to be thrown to them, having firſt ordered their tongues to be cut out, that their cries might not diſturb his horrid diverſion. At other times, finding the keeping of theſe wild beaſts very expenſive, he would viſit the priſons, order the priſoners to be ranged before him, and at once command numbers of them to be thrown to the beaſts, without minding whether they were innocent or guilty. A great many old, infirm, and poor people, met with the ſame fate, the inhuman tyrant ſaying, *That he thereby delivered the ſtate from ſo many burdens to it.* He always cauſed the mouths of thoſe who ſuffered in public to be ſtopped, that they might not be able to upbraid him with his wickedneſs: and he ſeldom ſuffered them to be diſpatched at once, but would have them, as he uſually ſaid, *feel themſelves die.* He would frequently have criminals, and ſometimes innocent perſons, racked, or beheaded, while he was at table; and being once miſtaken in the name of a perſon, whom he cauſed to be executed inſtead of another, when he found his error, he only ſaid, *'Tis no matter; he deſerved it as well as the other.*

Some inſtances of it.

Nero, to whom he owed his empire and his life, and to whom he had promiſed the government of *Egypt*, the higheſt poſt to which a *Roman* knight could aſpire, inſtead of receiving that reward, was, with his wife, ordered by him to put themſelves to death with their own hands; and with them were killed all their children, and even their ſlaves; ſo that not one of the whole family was left alive. The cauſe of this inhuman cruelty, if we may credit *Dion*, was, his

avarice,

availing himself of his past services more than the tyrant could endure. *M. Silanus*, a person universally esteemed for his great experience, prudence, and probity, and whose daughter *Caligula* had married in *Tiberius*'s reign; for daring to disapprove his wild measures, and to suggest others to him by which he would have answered the expectations of the public, was compelled to cut his own throat. *Julius Græcinus*, father of the famous *Agricola*, had, some time before, been ordered by *Caligula* to accuse *Silanus*, and was put to death for declining that infamous office. A recital of the cruelties of this monster would be endless: but the intrepid behaviour of one of his victims deserves particular notice. *Caninius Julus* having, in a private conversation, very freely advised *Caligula* to alter his conduct, as he was departing, *That you may not flatter yourself*, Caninius, *with vain hopes*, said the emperor to him, *I have already signed the warrant for your death*. *Caninius*, without shewing the least concern, turning about, replied, *I return you thanks, most gracious prince, for this favour*. During the ten days respite which the law allowed, and which *Caligula* observed in this instance, *Caninius* never betrayed the least uneasiness; and when that time was expired, the centurions who came to see the sentence put in execution, found him playing with his usual calmness at chess. The executioner appearing immediately after, *Caninius* embraced his friends, telling them, *he should soon know whether the soul was immortal*; *that he would particularly be mindful in what manner it abandoned the body, and return to let them know the state of souls after their separation*. He then offered his neck to the executioner without the least symptom of fear. *Caligula*.

Towards the middle of the second year of *Caligula*'s reign, died his sister *Drusilla*, whom he had taken from her husband, and lived with publicly, as if she had been his own wife. He had maintained, if *Suetonius* is to be credited, a criminal conversation not only with her, before her marriage, but also with his other sisters. *Drusilla* was immediately deified. *Drusilla* dies.

Caligula had now been a widower some time; but *C. Piso* marrying one *Livia Orestilla*, and inviting him to his wedding, as soon as the solemnity was over, he commanded the bride to be carried to his palace, and there married her: but he divorced her in a few days, and soon after married *Lollia Paulina*, whom he likewise forced from her husband *Memmius Regulus*, governor of *Macedon*, and also put away in a short time, threatening her with death if she returned to her former husband, or married any other man. *Orestilla* and *Piso* were banished, under pretence that they lived together. Some time after this, he banished his two sisters, *Agrippina* and *Livilla*, to the island of *Pontia*, for having been privy, said he, to a conspiracy against his life; and then he married *Milonia Cæsonia*, who was neither handsome nor young, but who preserved his affections by her monstrous lewdness. *Caligula*'s marriages and divorces.

The

Caligula.

The bloody monſter, finding that no one dared to oppoſe his will, began now to look upon himſelf as more than man. A diſpute ariſing between ſome kings who came to pay him homage, about rank and precedency, *Caligula*, ſtarting up, repeated a line of *Homer* in the perſon of *Ulyſſes*; *Be there one king alone, one lord, below*; and was for aſſuming immediately the diadem, and changing the government into a monarchy: but being told that he was already above all the kings of the earth, he from that time began to claim the honours paid to the demi-gods, and aſſumed the dreſs in which they were repreſented; appearing ſometimes with a lion's ſkin about his ſhoulders, and a club in his hand, to perſonate *Hercules*; and at other times with wings at his feet, and a caduceus in his hand, like *Mercury*. Soon after, thinking it beneath him to be honoured only as a demi-god, he claimed the ſame worſhip that was paid to *Apollo*, *Mars*, and *Jupiter* himſelf; and even cauſed the heads to be taken off their ſtatues and his own to be put in their ſtead. He often placed himſelf in the temple of *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, between the ſtatues of thoſe brothers, to be worſhipped by all who came to offer their vows to them; and he joined one of the wings of his palace to that temple, *that the gods*, ſaid he, *might be his porters*. He frequently changed his godhead, and was one day a male deity, and another a female: but, above all, he liked to be called *Jupiter*; had inventions to imitate thunder and lightning, and, when the thunder was ſuppoſed to fall, he uſed to throw a ſtone againſt heaven, with the impious defiance in *Homer*, *Do thou take me from hence, or I'll take thee*. He often went to the temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, and ſometimes whiſpered his ſtatue, then laid his ear cloſe to it, as if to receive an anſwer. At another time, he ſeemed very angry with *Jupiter*, and was once heard to threaten him, *That he would ſend him back into* Greece. At length, his pride, folly, and impiety, carried him ſo far as to build and dedicate a temple to his own divinity, and to place in it his ſtatue of gold, cloathed in the ſame manner as he was. He likewiſe inſtituted prieſts and prieſteſſes for his temple; the richeſt men in *Rome*, ſo great was their debaſement, purchaſing his prieſthood with vaſt ſums; for he ſold it at ſo great a price, that his uncle *Claudius*, not having wherewith to diſcharge the debt contracted on that occaſion, was obliged to ſurrender all his effects to his creditors, who ſold them by public auction. The ſacrifices daily offered to him, were peacocks, pheaſants, *Numidian* hens, and other, the moſt ſcarce and beautiful, birds: and, as if his follies were not yet ſufficiently extravagant, he at laſt made himſelf, his wife *Cæſonia*, and his horſe, prieſts to his own deity. Beſides the temple which he built himſelf, the ſenate decreed him another. This favourite horſe and prieſt of his, diſtinguiſhed by the name of *Incitatus*, had a marble ſtable, a manger

He claims divine honours.

Builds a temple, and inſtitutes prieſts and ſacrifices in honour of his own divinity.

manger of ivory, a collar of pearls, and coverings of rich purple. *Caligula* frequently invited him to his table, fed him with gilt oats, and preſented him with the fineſt wines in cups of gold; nay, we are told that he deſigned to make him conſul. *Caligula.*

On the other hand, this wretch, who pretended to make himſelf a god, could not help envying the honours of mortal men, defacing the images and ſtatues of many illuſtrious perſons, and hating the memory of his grandfather *Agrippa* to ſuch a degree, that, rather than be thought of his extraction, he gave out, that his mother was the inceſtuous offſpring of *Auguſtus* and his daughter *Julia*; and, not ſatisfied with this unjuſt aſperſion upon *Auguſtus*, he forbid the celebration of the feſtivals in commemoration of his victories in *Sicily* and at *Actiam*, *as prejudicial*, ſaid he, *to the commonwealth*. He alſo took from ſeveral of the patricians and nobles, the ancient ornaments and diſtinguiſhing marks of their families. His hatred to the people was ſuch, that he wiſhed all the *Romans* had but one neck, that he might diſpatch them at one blow.

Caligula was as lewd as he was cruel; even the loweſt proſtitutes not eſcaping his notice. His prodigality was as boundleſs as his other vices; and, at the ſame time, his avarice was inſatiable. In luxury and riotous expences, he exceeded the inventions of all the prodigals of that age; as uſing baths of the richeſt oils and moſt coſtly perfumes, and thinking no diſh expenſive enough for his table. He ordered large pillars and towers to be built in the bottom of the ſea; cut ways through rocks of prodigious bulk: levelled mountains, and raiſed plains and vallies; and all this for no ſort of uſe. But the moſt notorious inſtance of his prodigality and vanity, was the famous work he undertook at *Puteoli*, in the third year of his reign; a work, in which it would be difficult to determine, whether the folly or the extravagancy of the attempt was the greateſt. To ſhew his power and greatneſs, and that he was able to walk upon the ſea as well as the land, he ordered an infinite number of ſhips to be collected from all parts, and a great many new ones to be built; which were all brought into the bay of *Baiæ* and *Puteoli* in *Campania*, and there moored, in two rows, in the form of a creſcent, from the point of *Baiæ* to the oppoſite ſhore. Over theſe were laid vaſt quantities of large planks and boards, covered with ſo much earth that the whole looked like firm ground: and, to make this ſtupendous work ſtill more magnificent and ſurpriſing, he ſet an infinite number of artificers to work, to build houſes and inns upon this bridge for himſelf and his retinue; freſh water being conveyed into them from the land. When the work was completed, as it was in a very ſhort time, the leaſt delay in any of the workmen being puniſhed with immediate death, he and all his court repaired to it, with immenſe crowds of people,

His extravagant follies and vanity.

He builds a bridge upon the ſea.

Caligula. people, who flocked from every quarter to behold this fight, *Caligula* then, after offering facrifices to the gods, and particularly to *Envy*, leſt the other deities ſhould be jealous of his thus eclipſing their glory, proudly adorned with magnificent robes of gold, a civic crown, and *Alexander*'s breaſt-plate, and accompanied with all the officers of his army and all the nobility of *Rome*, rode over the bridge from *Baiæ* to *Puteoli*, where he ſtaid that night; during which, the whole building was illuminated with ſuch numbers of torches, lanterns, and other lights, that the ſea, and all the neighbouring ſhore, were ſo much enlightened, that he boaſted he had turned the night into day, as well as the ſea into land. The next day he rode back in the habit peculiar to the charioteers of the circus, and in a triumphal chariot, attended by young *Darius*, the *Parthian* hoſtage, a ſquadron of his guards in bright armour, and a prodigious train of his friends in their chariots. About the middle of the bridge he halted, and, aſcending a magnificent throne, made a ſolemn oration in praiſe of his own exploit in riding ſo many miles upon the ſea, and of the pains and care of his ſoldiers and workmen, among whom he diſtributed large rewards. Then, that he might perform ſome memorable action before he left his bridge, he cauſed great numbers of people to be thrown into the ſea, without diſtinction of age or quality; and when they endeavoured to ſave themſelves by laying hold of any part of the veſſels, he ordered them to be thruſt off, ſo that very many periſhed. He ſpent two days in theſe riots; during which, the ſea proving very ſmooth and calm, he ſaid, Neptune *took care of that out of fear and revence to him.*

His rapaciouſneſs. Having by theſe and many other extravagancies exhauſted his exchequer, in which *Tiberius* had left about eighteen millions of our money, he betook himſelf to all manner of rapine and extortion; inventing penalties, confiſcations, and impoſts, which had never before been heard of; and practiſing every kind of fraud. He obliged moſt of the *Roman* citizens to purchaſe their freedom anew; declared void the wills of all from the beginning of the reign of *Tiberius*, who had not named either that prince or himſelf among their heirs; and poiſoned, or put to death under falſe pretences, numbers of others who, he knew, had named him in their wills: nay, he even ſaid one day, *That it was a great preſumption in them to live and keep him out of his inheritance.* All ſorts of things, even the neceſſaries of life, were heavily taxed; all labourerers and artificers were obliged to pay into the exchequer the eighth part of their daily gains; and every proſtitute a certain portion of what ſhe earned: nay, he was not aſhamed to convert his own palace into a brothel, maintaining in it great numbers of proſtitutes, and receiving himſelf the money of ſuch as came, whoſe names were entered in a book as friends to *Ceſar*. He likewiſe made his palace a common gaming-houſe, and himſelf the chief gameſter,

Turns his own pa-

ſter. One day, in the midſt of his play, ſeeing two rich knights paſſing by, he immediately went down, cauſed them both to be apprehended, and their eſtates to be confiſcated; and returning to his game, boaſted, *That he had never had a better throw.* Another time, wanting money for his ſtake, he went down, and cauſed ſeveral noblemen to be put to death; then returning, told the company, *That, whilſt they ſet playing there for trifles, he had won ſix hundred thouſand ſeſterces at one caſt.* He uſed frequently to expoſe to ſale the effects of condemned perſons, and obliged the rich to buy them at whatever price he pleaſed to ſet upon them, which was ſo high, that many noble families were thereby reduced to poverty. Among theſe, he forced a wealthy citizen to pay nine millions of ſeſterces for thirteen gladiators, whom he expoſed to ſale with all the furniture of the amphitheatre. In like manner, he ſold all the jewels and effects of his ſiſters, and the royal robes and ornaments of *Anthony*, *Auguſtus*, *Julia*, *Antonia*, and others of the imperial family: and a daughter being born to him about this time, he complained publicly of his poverty, not only as an emperor, but as a father; and therefore iſſued an edict for a voluntary contribution, which he himſelf received ſtanding in the portico of his palace; and after rolling himſelf upon the vaſt heaps of money collected by this means, he ſquandered away the whole in idle extravagancies.

Caligula.

Lace into a brothel and a gaming-houſe.

Sells the jewels and robes of the imperial family

He revived the law of leſe-majeſty, which proved an inexhauſtible fund for increaſing his revenues. Numbers of worthy citizens were put to death for no other crime but their great wealth. Among theſe was a prætor named *Junius Priſcus*, whoſe eſtate proving but ſmall, after he had been condemned and executed, under colour of ſome crime or other; *Caligula* cried out, *I have been impoſed upon*; Junius was not guilty. We are told that *Seneca* about this time was in imminent danger of loſing his life, for no other crime than having pleaded a cauſe in the ſenate with great eloquence and applauſe. This, *Caligula*, who was preſent, and pretended to be the beſt orator of the age, (and indeed was not a bad one,) though he at other times deſpiſed the eloquence of *Seneca*, calling his writings *ſand without lime*, could not bear now, and would therefore have put him to death, had he not been aſſured by one of his courtezans, that *Seneca* was infected with a diſtemper which would ſoon corrupt his body, and put an end to his life. An eminent citizen, who had obtained leave to go to the iſland of *Anticyra*, for the benefit of his health, deſiring to have his ſtay prolonged, was ſo far from obtaining his petition, that *Caligula* ordered him to be killed, ſaying, *Bleeding muſt certainly do him good, who had taken hellebore ſo long without ſucceſs.* He invited to his court *Ptolomey*, king of *Mauritania*, and couſin-german to his father *Germanicus*; and, after receiving him with the greateſt demonſtrations of kindneſs,

Revives the law of majeſty.

Seneca in great danger.

Horrid cruelties of *Caligula.*

Caligula. kindneſs, baniſhed him, and privately ordered him to be maſſacred on his journey, only becauſe the luſtre of his purple had been taken notice of at one of the theatres. The *Mauritanians*, ſtirred up by *Edemon*, one of the deceaſed princes freedmen, revolted for this piece of cruelty. It was a frequent thing for him to put ſenators to death, then cite them to appear as if they had been alive, and at laſt pretend that they had died by their own hands. Numbers of perſons of the higheſt quality were condemned to dig in the mines, and repair the high-ways, for not ſhewing ſufficient reſpect to his gifts and public games. Parents were forced to be preſent at the execution of their children, and if they ſhewed the leaſt ſign of grief or ſorrow, were often put to death with them. All the priſoners whom he had releaſed upon his firſt acceſſion to the throne, were now ordered to be killed, whether innocent or guilty; and, aſking one day a perſon whom he had recalled from a former baniſhment, *How he had employed himſelf in his exile?* upon his anſwering, *That he had often prayed for the death of* Tiberius, *and that he might be emperor*; he immediately concluded, that all whom he had baniſhed, likewiſe prayed for his death; and therefore commanded every one of them to be killed.

His ſhocking ſayings.

Caligula was not leſs cruel in his words, than barbarous in his actions; often ſaying, *That he eſteemed nothing ſo commendable in his nature as his* adiatrepſian, or *unrelenting temper, at the ſight of executions.* Being blamed by his grandmother for his numerous cruelties, he bid her conſider, *That he could do what he pleaſed, and to whom he pleaſed.* When he kiſſed his wife, or miſtreſs, he generally laid his hand upon their necks, ſaying, *Fair and lovely as this is, I can take it off when I pleaſe:* and to *Cæſonia* he many times proteſted, *That he would rack her, to diſcover what made him love her ſo much.* All his ſayings had the genuine marks of tyranny and deſpotiſm. He declared, *That he would eſtabliſh the ſtate on ſuch a footing, that the lawyers ſhould have nothing to plead but what he thought juſt and equitable:* and, to ſhew how much he was a monſter, he uſed frequently to complain, *That his reign was not diſtinguiſhed by ſome remarkable calamity; ſuch as a plague, or a general famine, or an event like the defeat of* Varus *in the time of* Auguſtus, *or the fall of the great amphitheatre at* Fidenæ *in that of* Tiberius, *or an opening of the earth to ſwallow up his ſubjects.*

His mock expedition againſt the *Germans.*

The monſtrous proceedings of this execrable tyrant, made many reſolve his death: but the execution of their deſigns was ſuſpended for a while by his famous expedition againſt the *Germans* and *Britons*, in the third year of his reign. His pretext for the former, was, that the *Germans* had committed ſome acts of hoſtility: but the truth was, that he wanted to plunder *Spain*, after having quite exhauſted *Italy*. To this end, he cauſed vaſt numbers of men to be raiſed in all parts, with the utmoſt expedition, and prodigi-

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ous quantities of proviſions to be got ready. He then ſet out, marching ſometimes with ſuch haſte, that the prætorian cohorts were obliged to have their ſtandards brought after them on their ſumpter-horſes; and at other times he went as ſlowly, being carried in a litter on the ſhoulders of eight men, and ſending meſſengers before, to order the ways to be well ſwept and watered. He was attended in this expedition by a long train of gladiators, comedians, buffoons, looſe women, and other ſuch people, with whom he ſpent his time; and, after paſſing the *Rhine*, and not ſeeing a ſingle enemy, or doing one military act, he ordered ſome of his *German* guards to hide themſelves in a neighbouring foreſt, and word to be brought him of it, while he was at table: which being accordingly done, he ſtarted up from his dinner, put himſelf at the head of ſome of the prætorian horſe, haſtened to oppoſe the enemy; and, advancing to the foreſt, there ſpent the remainder of the day in cutting down trees to erect trophies for his victory. Upon his return, he reproached with cowardice thoſe who had not followed him, and rewarded his fellow-adventurers with a new ſort of crowns, to which he gave the name of *exploratoriæ*. Glorious and ſucceſsful as this expedition was, it did not yet ſatisfy his martial ardor. He therefore ordered ſome children, whom he kept as hoſtages, to be privately conveyed away, and word to be brought him that they had made their eſcape; upon which he immediately mounted on horſeback, purſued the ſuppoſed fugitives with a detachment of cavalry, and brought them back loaded with chains. After theſe noble atchievements, he wrote a letter to the ſenate, complaining, *That, while they and the people were indulging themſelves in pleaſure*; Cæſar *was fighting, and expoſed, for their ſafety, to many perils and hazards.* But the moſt glorious of all his exploits was, his receiving under his protection *Admintus*, who, being baniſhed by his father *Cinobelinus*, one of the kings of *Britain*, fled to him with a ſmall retinue. As proud of this as if he had ſubdued the whole iſland, he wrote boaſting letters to the ſenate, and ſtrictly commanded the meſſengers who carried them, to ride directly through the *forum* to the palace, and not deliver them to the conſuls, but in the temple of *Mars*, and in full ſenate.

Caligula.

The *Gauls* would have reckoned themſelves happy, had he done them no more harm than he did the *Germans*; but he harraſſed that unhappy nation with ſuch extortions, as reduced even the moſt wealthy to beggary; and having one day loſt an immenſe ſum at gaming, he ordered the regiſters, which ſerved for the cenſus, to be brought him, and drawing out a liſt of the richeſt people in the province, ordered them to be immediately put to death, and ſeized all their effects.

His raand pine and cruelties in *Gaul.*

Before he left *Gaul*, he gave out, that he deſigned to invade *Britain*; accordingly, he ordered all his troops to the ſea-

Caligula.

sea-shore; drew them up along the coast; ordered the warlike engines to be properly disposed; went a little way out to sea in a galley, and immediately returning, commanded the trumpets to sound, and the signal of battle to be given. Then, on a sudden, he ordered all his men to gather up the cockle-shells on the shore, and fill their helmets with them, saying, *These are spoils of the conquered ocean, due to the palace and the capitol.* After this, calling his army together, in the manner that generals usually did after a victory, he made a pompous oration to them, highly extolling their renowned exploits; and distributed a very trifling sum of money among them, bidding them *Rejoyce and be rich.* In memory of this great victory, he caused a lofty tower to be erected by the sea-side. Some think it the tower which now stands at the entrance of the port of *Boulogne.*

His memorable expedition against *Britain.*

He orders himself a triumph.

He immediately sent orders to his officers at *Rome*, to get every thing ready for the most magnificent triumph that had ever been seen; at the same time warning them not to put him to any extraordinary expence, since every man's estate was at their disposal: and to grace this triumph, he chose some of the tallest *Gauls* he could find, without regarding their rank or condition, gave them *German* names, made them learn somewhat of that language, and obliged them to let their hair grow, and to colour it red, that they might pass for *Germans.* But before he left *Gaul*, he formed the horrid design of extirminating those legions which had formerly mutinied under his father *Germanicus*, when he was an infant in the camp; and after all that could be said to dissuade him from this inhuman deed, the most that could be obtained of him was, only to decimate them. This he was absolutely bent upon; and accordingly he ordered them to assemble without arms, to receive his commands. The legionaries, not suspecting his design, readily obeyed; and in the mean time the cavalry began to surround them. This gave them some umbrage, and many of them slipped away to fetch their arms; which he no sooner perceived, than he fled towards *Rome* as fast as he could, to vent his rage upon the senate for not having decreed him a triumph; though he had lately forbad them, upon pain of death, ever to presume to concern themselves with any of his honours. Being met on the way by deputies from the conscript fathers, with their humble request to him to come and partake of the honours designed for him, he laid his hand upon his sword, saying, *I will come, and bring this with me.* And also, by an edict, he declared, *That he would return; but it should only be to the gentry and commons; for that, as to the senate, he would be no more either prince or citizen to them.* He would not, however, enter the city in triumph, but contented himself with an ovation, making his entry on the last of *August*, which was his birth-day. From this time, he resolved utterly to extirpate the senate, and would have put his wicked design in execu-

His bloody design.

He sets out for *Rome.*

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tion had he not been prevented by death, about four months after. But, in the mean time, he caused several senators of distinction to be inhumanly murdered; in particular one, for no other crime than begging leave to shut his eyes, when commanded to assist at the execution of his son. However, he was somewhat reconciled to the senate, before his death, by means of *Protogenes*, one of his bloodiest executioners, who, coming into the senate-house, was saluted and fawned upon by all the senators, and particularly by *Scribonius Proculus*: upon which, *Protogenes*, looking sternly at him, said, with an angry tone, *How dare you salute me; you, who hate my emperor, my master.* At these words, the rest of the senators directly fell upon *Proculus*, stabbed him in several places, and delivered him over, as a public enemy, to the mob, who tore him to pieces, and dragged his mangled limbs about the streets; *Caligula* beholding, with great pleasure, this dismal spectacle, and declaring, *That the senate had now regained his favour.* *Caligula.* Farther cruelties of his.

Rome had now groaned almost four years under the oppression of this most inhuman tyrant; when, at length, *Cassius Chærea*, tribune of a prætorian cohort, undertook to deliver the world from this furious monster. He had imparted his design to a few of his intimate friends, and only wished for an opportunity to put it in execution; when an senator of great distinction, named *Propedius*, was accused of having spoken disrespectfully of the emperor. The only witness produced against him was one *Quintilia*, a celebrated comedian: but she declaring, that she had heard no such speeches, the accuser insisted on her being examined by torture, and *Caligula* ordered *Chærea* to see her put to the rack. His perplexity on this occasion was extreme; for he knew that *Quintilia* was privy to the conspiracy, and therefore feared she might discover it if tortured too much; and, on the other hand, to shew her the least mercy might cost him his life. But *Quintilia* herself delivered him from this uneasiness; for meeting, as she was led to the torture, one of the conspirators, she trod upon his foot; giving him thereby to understand, that she would not reveal the secret. Accordingly, not a single word escaped her, in prejudice either of *Propedius* or the conspirators, though she was reduced to so miserable a condition, that *Caligula* himself, when she was taken off the rack, and brought to him, was moved with pity. *Chærea* then divulged his design to *Papirius* and *Clemens*; the former, like himself, a tribune of one of the prætorian cohorts; and the latter the commander of their whole body. They both approved of the design: but *Clemens* desired to be excused from any share in the execution of it, on account of his great age. *Cornelius Salinus*, likewise tribune of a prætorian cohort, had himself formed the like design, and therefore readily joined *Chærea*. The number of the conspirators increased daily; but several accidents prevented, for a while, *Cassius Chærea* forms a conspiracy against him. The constancy of *Quintilia*.

Caligula. the execution of their design. At length, a favourable opportunity offering, as *Caligula* was passing through one of the galleries of his palace, preceeded by his uncle *Claudius*, and some other persons of great distinction, *Chærea* struck at him, and wounded him in the neck; and *Cornelius Sabinus* having pushed him down upon his knees, *Chærea*, with another blow, broke his jaw-bone; and the rest of the conspirators rushing in, dispatched him with thirty wounds; he, for some time, crying out, *That he was still alive*; and the conspirators, *Repeat the blow.*

Caligula assassinated.

Year of *Rome* 794. of *Christ* 42.

Such was the end of *Caius Cæsar Caligula*; a prince so monstrously wicked, *That Nature*, says *Seneca*, *seemed to have brought him forth, to shew what mischiefs could be effected by the greatest vices, supported by the greatest power.* His body was taken away in the night, and carried privately to the *Lamian* gardens, where, after being half burnt upon a pile erected in haste, it was, without any ceremony committed to the earth. *Chærea*, to extirpate the whole race of the tyrant, sent the next night an officer, who stabbed *Cæsonia*, and dashed her child's brains out against a wall. The senate would have decreed him infamous; but *Claudius*, who was raised to the empire, would not allow of that. However, all his statues were ordered to be pulled down and broken, most of his acts were annulled, and his money was melted down, that, if it were possible, both his name and features might be unknown to future ages.

CLAUDIUS.

Confusion occasioned by the death of *Caligula.*

AS soon as the death of *Caligula* was published in the city, it occasioned a general confusion. The conspirators took shelter in the houses of their friends, and there lay concealed: but as the act was committed in so private a place, many, imagining it an artifice to discover the affections of the people, suspended their belief of it till the *German* guards, by whom *Caligula* was greatly beloved on account of his prodigality, removed all doubts, by the murders they committed in the palace; venting their rage on all they met, without distinction. The senate was immediately assembled; and *Saturninus*, one of the consuls, after displaying the benefits of liberty, and the miseries of tyranny, strongly exhorted the fathers to resume their antient authority, and begin the exercise of that power, to which they alone had a just claim, by conferring such rewards on *Chærea* as his eminent service to the public well deserved. **The senators,** animated by this speech, resolved directly

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to reſtore *Rome* to her ancient liberty, and utterly to extinguiſh the name of the *Cæſars*. While they were deliberating how this change might beſt be brought about, ſome of the ſoldiers, running about the palace in queſt of plunder, diſcovered *Caligula*'s uncle, *Claudius*, behind the hangings in a dark corner, where he had hid himſelf out of fear; and, carrying him upon their ſhoulders to the camp, proclaimed him emperor. The people immediately joined the army; but the ſenate, ſtill perſiſting in their reſolution, ſent a deputation to *Claudius*, conjuring him not to diſturb the public peace, and likewiſe aſſuring him, *That they were determined, at all events, to attempt the recovery of their ancient privileges.* This meſſage had ſuch an effect upon *Claudius*, who was naturally very timid, that he was on the point of giving up his pretenſions. But *Herod Agrippa*, king of *Judæa*, who was then with him, exhorted him to lay hold of the preſent opportunity, and return the deputies an anſwer becoming an emperor. He did ſo; and ſuch confuſion immediately enſued, that the ſenate, fearing a civil-war, yielded, and declared him emperor. *Claudius* then diſtributed fifteen great ſeſterces to each of the ſoldiers in the camp who ſwore allegiance to him; which, as *Suetonius* obſerves, was the firſt time that any of the emperors gave money to the ſoldiers to bribe them to their duty. *Claudius* declared emperor.

Claudius was now fifty years of age, and till this time had led a retired life, employing himſelf chiefly in ſtudying and writing, particularly hiſtory, with which he was tolerably well acquainted. But, whether from his bodily infirmities, or the groſs ſtupidity of his nature, which rendered him unfit for public employments, he had never been able to riſe to any dignity in the ſtate, excepting a few months conſulſhip with *Caligula*. His mother *Antonia* uſed to call him, *a human monſter, juſt begun by Nature, but never finiſhed*: and, when ſhe upbraided any one with dulneſs and ſtupidity, her common expreſſion was, *You are as ſtupid as my ſon* Claudius. His grandmother *Livia*, *Auguſtus*, his ſiſter, and all his family, held him in great contempt; and, in ſhort, he was the object of the mirth and ridicule of the whole court. He pretended, after he came to the throne, that he had counterfeited folly during the reign of *Tiberius* and *Caligula*, to eſcape their cruelty: but his conduct plainly ſhewed, that it was not aſſumed, but real. *Suetonius* taxes him with being naturally cruel: but others aſcribe to his wives and freedmen the many executions we ſhall meet with in his reign. A deſcription of him.

The firſt thing he did, after being declared emperor, was, to paſs an act of oblivion with reſpect to the deliberations of the ſenate concerning the intended change of the government, and in behalf of all the conſpirators, except *Chærea*, and *Lupus* who had killed *Cæſonia* and her child. Theſe two, though in his heart he approved of *Chærea*'s action, he thought *Chærea* put to death.

Claudius. thought it neceſſary to condemn, for the ſake of example. They were both beheaded. *Chærea* met death with the conſtancy of a true hero, only deſiring to die by the ſame ſword he had uſed againſt *Caligula*; but *Lupus* betrayed a great deal of fear. The ſenate immediately decreed *Claudius* all the honours which they had conferred on other emperors; but he modeſtly refuſed moſt of them, and expreſly forbid paying him any divine worſhip, or ſtiling him a god. He ſuppreſſed the law of leſe-majeſty; recalled all the exiles; eaſed the people of many of their taxes; forbad ſuch as had any relations of their own, however diſtant, to name him among their heirs; and reſtored the eſtates which had been unjuſtly ſeized by *Tiberius* and *Caligula*, to the owners of them or their heirs. He was frequently preſent at the hearing of cauſes, and often adminiſtered juſtice in perſon; moderating the letter of the law, where he thought it too ſevere; and, on the contrary, enforcing it where the crime deſerved a greater puniſhment. By theſe, and many other acts of clemency and juſtice, he ſoon won the hearts of the people: but ſtill it was a long time before he could be prevailed on to excuſe thoſe who were admitted to his preſence, even women and children not excepted, from being narrowly ſearched, leſt they ſhould have ſome weapon concealed; ſuch was his natural timorouſneſs: nor would he be perſuaded to appear once in the ſenate during the firſt month of his reign, becauſe *Cæſar* the dictator had been murdered there.

Claudius's moderation and equity.

His timorouſneſs.

His great works. He was very careful to have *Rome* conſtantly ſupplied with all ſorts of proviſions, and undertook ſeveral great and uſeful works; among which were three equal to any the world could ſhew. The firſt of theſe was an aqueduct, called after his own name, far ſuperior to any other in *Rome*, both for the magnificence of the workmanſhip, and the quantity of water it conveyed, which was brought from 40 miles off. The ſecond was a haven of vaſt extent, dug into the main land at *Oſtia*, near the mouth of the *Tiber*: a work of ſuch charge, that his ſucceſſors were not able to maintain it. And the third was, the draining of the lake *Fucinus*, the largeſt in *Italy*, in the country of the *Marſi*, and conveying all its water into the *Tiber*, to ſtrengthen the current of that river. We are told that thirty thouſand men were employed for eleven years in this great undertaking.

He was not leſs careful of the provinces than of the city. To the kingdom of *Agrippa*, who had greatly contributed to his advancement, he added *Judæa* and *Samaria*, and gave his brother *Herod* the principality of *Lalchis*, at the foot of Mount *Libanus*. He alſo reſtored *Mithridates*, the *Iberian*, to his kingdom; *Mithridates*, the *Cilician*, to the kingdom of *Boſporus*; and *Antiochus* to that of *Comagene*; they having been unjuſtly deprived of their dominions by *Caligula*. But he deprived the *Lycians* and *Rhodians* of their liberty: the former,

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for raiſing a ſedition, and killing ſeveral *Romans*; and the latter, for crucifying ſome of that nation. *Claudius.*

Soon after his acceſſion to the empire, he recalled his two nieces, *Agrippina* and *Julia*, from their baniſhment; but ſoon after, through the perſuaſion of his wife *Meſſalina*, who governed him with an abſolute ſway, *Julia* was ſent back again; and at the ſame time *Seneca* was baniſhed to *Corſica*, under pretence of a criminal commerce between them. *Seneca* baniſhed.

About the beginning of this emperor's reign, ſome of the *Britons*, harraſſed with civil-wars, ſought the protection of the *Romans*. *A. Plantius* was thereupon ordered to paſs over from *Gaul*: but his ſoldiers firſt mutinied, ſaying, *They would not make war beyond the limits of the world*: for ſo they judged *Britain* to lie. However, they were ſoon appeaſed by the aſſiſtance of the emperor's favourite freedman *Narciſſus*; and *Plantius*, and his lieutenant *Flavius Veſpaſian*, performed ſuch exploits, as not only procured *Claudius* a triumph, but determined him ſoon after to paſs over into that iſland in perſon. He ſoon ſubdued part of the country, and, among other places, *Camolodunum*, now *Maldon* in *Eſſex*, the royal ſeat of *Cynobelinus*: but whether he fought any battle, authors are not agreed. Among other ornaments of his triumph for this expedition, he placed a naval crown of gold, juſt by the civic crown, over the gate of the imperial palace, in token of his victory over the *Britiſh* ſea when he croſſed it: and for the ſame reaſon he gave his ſon *Germanicus*, whom he had by *Meſſalina*, the ſurname of *Britannicus*. *Plantius* remained in *Britain*, where he carried on the war with great ſucceſs: and *Veſpaſian*, who alſo continued there, fought thirty battles with the enewy, according to *Suetonius*, and ſubdued two of their nations, together with upwards of twenty towns, and the *iſle of Wight*, then called *Vectis*. *Titus* ſerved under *Veſpaſian* in quality of tribune, *Claudius*'s expedition to *Britain*.

Meſſalina, and *Claudius*'s freedmen *Narciſſus* and *Pallas*, ſoon began to abuſe the prince's weakneſs, and the too great power he had allowed them, to the deſtruction of ſuch of the nobility as gave them the leaſt diſpleaſure. By their advice, which he blindly followed, he committed the greateſt follies and injuſtice; pardoning the moſt heinous offences, and frequently, without any cauſe, exerciſing ſo many cruelties as would be too tedious to relate. Thoſe againſt his own blood will be ſufficient. The firſt that fell by their treachery was *Appius Silanus*, a perſon of great diſtinction and known integrity, who had been governor of *Spain*, and married to *Claudius*'s mother-in-law. The cauſe of his death, was his rejecting the infamous paſſion of *Meſſalina*. After him, he put to death both his ſons in law, *Silanus* and *Pompey*; and his nieces, the two *Livias*; one the daughter of *Druſus*, and the other of *Germanicus*; and all without allowing them to make any defence; nor could any one tell for what *Meſſalina* renders *Claudius* cruel,

Claudius. cauſe. What was ſtill more dangerous, was, that *Meſſalina* and the emperor's freedmen bore ſo great a ſway in the ſtate, that they ſold offices, governments, dignities, pardons and puniſhments, without his knowing any thing of it; ſo great was their power and authority, and ſo groſs his ignorance and ſtupidity. Theſe proceedings rendered *Claudius* ſo odious to many, and eſpecially to the nobility, that ſeveral of them entered into a conſpiracy againſt him; particularly *Statius Corvinus* and *Gallus Aſinius*: but their deſigns being diſcovered, they and all their aſſociates were put to death.

by which he becomes odious.

But a ſtill more dangerous conſpiracy was that of *Furius Camillus Scribonianus*, governor of *Dalmatia*, who, incited by many of the greateſt men of *Rome*, and backed by a powerful army, openly rebelled againſt *Claudius*, and threatened him a cruel death, if he did not immediately reſign the empire, and betake himſelf to a private and retired life. *Claudius* was ſo terrified with this letter, that he aſſembled his friends, to deliberate, whether, or not, he ſhould reſign the ſovereign power to *Camillus*. But he was ſoon delivered from his fear; for *Camillus*'s ſoldiers, altering their minds, and repenting their revolt, in hopes of obtaining pardon, fell upon their officers, and cut moſt of them in pieces. *Camillus* himſelf found means to eſcape to the iſland of *Iſſa*, on the coaſt of *Dalmatia*, where he was ſtabbed, in the arms of his wife, by a common ſoldier. Moſt of the conſpirators laid violent hands on themſelves: ſome were ſeized and executed; and others by bribing *Meſſalina* and the emperor's freedmen, were never more inquired after; whilſt numbers of innocent perſons were, under colour of being concerned in the plot, ſtripped of their eſtates by the rapacious *Meſſalina* and *Narciſſus*, and either baniſhed or put to death.

The re-bellion of *Camillus*,

whoſe ſoldiers repent, and kill him.

Heroic death of Arria.

The heroic death of *Arria*, which happened on this occaſion, is greatly celebrated by moſt of the ancient writers. She was wife to *Cæcina Pætus*, a conſular man, who, having joined *Camillus*, was taken in *Dalmatia*, and ſent to *Rome* to be tried. Being denied the ſatisfaction of attending her huſband in the ſame ſhip, ſhe followed him in another; and, arriving at *Rome*, publicly reproached *Meſſa*, the wife of *Crecilius*, with want of courage, and conjugal affection, in living after her huſband had been murdered in her arms. Her friends, concluding from this that ſhe was reſolved not to ſurvive her infamy, watched her day and night: but ſhe, to ſhew them that all their precautions were uſeleſs, beat her head againſt the wall with ſuch violence that ſhe was thought dead for ſome time. However, ſhe recovered; and, finding that all her intereſt, though ſhe was in great favour with *Meſſalina*, could not ſave her huſband, and that he had not the courage to fall by his own hand, ſhe took a dagger, plunged it into her own breaſt, and, pulling it out again, preſented it to him, ſaying, *It is not painful, Pætus.*

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In the ſeventh year of *Claudius*'s reign, the great *ſecular* games were celebrated: ſo called, becauſe they were exhibited but once in a century. *L. Vitellius*, a moſt abject flatterer, and *Claudius*'s collegue this year, firſt in the conſulſhip, and afterwards in the office of cenſor, paying his compliments to him on this occaſion, wiſhed he might *many times* exhibit thoſe games. Not only the weak prince, but his wife and freedmen, were ſo pleaſed with this fulſome adulation, that they raiſed him and his two ſons, (the eldeſt of whom was afterwards emperor) to the higheſt employments in the ſtate. Such was his ſervile meanneſs, that, another time, he begged of *Meſſalina*, as the greateſt of favours, *That ſhe would permit him the honour of pulling off her ſhoes*; one of which he carried away, wore it conſtantly in his boſom, and often took it out in public and kiſſed it. The golden images of *Pallas* and *Narciſſus*, the emperor's favourite freedmen, he worſhipped among his houſhold gods. *Claudius* made ſome good regulations during his cenſorſhip: ſuch as, forbidding any new ſtatues to be ſet up in *Rome*, without the conſent of the ſenate; and ordering all governors of provinces to return to *Rome* as ſoon as their command was expired, to anſwer there the complaints that might be brought againſt them for any miſbehaviour during their adminiſtration. But, on the other hand, ſeveral of his edicts, of which he once publiſhed above twenty in one day, were very trifling and ridiculous. Of this kind was, his warning the ſenate and people to take care that their wine veſſels were well pitched, becauſe there was plenty of grapes that year; and his acquainting them, that the juice of the yew-tree was the beſt remedy for the bite of a viper.

Claudius. Year of *Rome* 800. of *Chriſt* 48. *Claudius*, cenſor, makes ſome very good, and ſome very ſilly edicts

Meſſalina had now thrown off all ſenſe of ſhame, and gave an unbounded looſe to her lewd inclinations. *Claudius*'s brother-in-law, *M. Vinicius*, a man of a quiet temper and retired life, was poiſoned by her, for refuſing to liſten to her criminal paſſion. *Cn. Pompeius Magnus*, who had married the emperor's eldeſt daughter *Antonia*, having the misfortune to diſpleaſe her, was put to death, without ſo much as knowing that he was accuſed; as were likewiſe, at the ſame time, his father *Craſſus* and his mother *Scribonia*, together with numbers of knights and ſenators of great diſtinction. *Valerius Aſiaticus*, a native of *Gaul*, and very powerful in that province, by reaſon of his wealth and numerous dependents, was proſecuted without mercy, for no other crime but becauſe he poſſeſſed the fine gardens of *Lucullus*, which *Meſſalina* coveted. *Soſibius*, inſtigated by her, charged him with a deſign to ſtir up his countrymen to revolt; and eaſily prevailed upon the weak and timorous *Claudius* to ſecure his life and empire by the deſtruction of his pretended rival. He was tried, not in the ſenate, but in the emperor's chamber, in the preſence of *Meſſalina*; and pleaded his cauſe with ſuch eloquence and energy, that he forced tears both from her and

The unbounded luſt and cruelty of *Meſſalina*.

The trial of *Valerius Aſiaticus*.

Claudius. *Claudius*: upon which, ſhe, fearing leſt a ſentiment of tenderneſs ſhould get the better of her other paſſions, left the room; and, as ſhe was going out, whiſpered *Vitellius* not to let him eſcape. As *Valerius* declared, *That he had never before ſeen any of the witneſſes produced againſt him*, *Soſibius* at laſt brought in one who, he ſaid, was well acquainted with him. He had before inſtructed him what to ſay, and told him that *Valerius* was bald; and therefore, upon his entering the room, he deſired him, in the firſt place, to tell them which was *Valerius Aſiaticus*. *I have been long acquainted with him*, ſaid the witneſs, *and that is he*; pointing at another bald perſon who happened to be preſent. This convinced *Claudius* that *Valerius* was innocent: but whilſt he was thinking about clearing him, *Vitellius*, throwing himſelf at his feet, intreated him, with many tears, to remember the priſoner's good ſervices to the commonwealth; his ſtedfaſt attachment to *Antonia*, and his many gallant actions; and therefore to diſplay his mercy, by granting ſo worthy a citizen the free choice of his death. *Claudius* was ſo ſtupid, that, without farther conſideration, he complied with this requeſt; which was, in effect, condemning *Valerius*; who thereupon opened his veins and bled to death.

Meſſalina's intrigue with *Silius*

At length, *Claudius* was acquainted with the diſorders of his wife. Her chief favourite now was *Caius Silius*, the handſomeſt man in *Rome*, whom ſhe obliged to divorce his wife, that he might be wholly her's; and, far from endeavouring to conceal her crime, ſhe viſited him publicly every day, with a numerous train; accompanied him abroad, and loaded him with wealth and honours. After ſome time, *Silius*, ſenſible of the dangers that hung over him, told her, without diſguiſe, that deſperate attempts were the only ſecurity for glaring guilt; that they had gone too far to wait for the emperor's death; and that he was ready to marry her and adopt her ſon *Germanicus*. This propoſal, bold beyond all example, and almoſt all belief, ſhe readily agreed to; and a few days after, *Claudius* being gone to *Oſtia* to aſſiſt at a ſacrifice, ſhe married *Silius*, with all the uſual ſolemnities, in the face of the whole city. The tendency of this marriage was plain, and made all the prince's family and friends tremble for him: but no one dared to inform him of it, for fear of *Meſſalina*'s fury. At laſt, however, *Narciſſus* and *Pallas* diſcovered to him this infamous act. *Claudius* was ſo amazed and terrified, that he often aſked, *Whether he was ſtill emperor*.

whom ſhe publicly marries.

The emperor is informed of it,

Meſſalina, not imagining that any one would dare to diſcloſe her diſorders to the emperor, was indulging herſelf in revels with her new huſband, he perſonating *Bacchus*, and ſhe, with ſeveral others, the prieſts and prieſteſſes of that god; when, in the midſt of their jollity, news was brought to them, that *Claudius* was coming, apprized of all, and fully

fully bent on vengeance. Upon this, the company immediately diſperſed in the utmoſt conſternation. *Meſſalina* fled to *Lucullus*'s gardens, from whence ſhe ſent for her ſon and daughter *Britannicus* and *Octavia*, to meet the emperor and implore his mercy. She likewiſe beſought *Vibidia*, the oldeſt of the veſtals, of whom *Claudius* had an high opinion, to do the ſame: whilſt ſhe herſelf paſſed through the city on foot, attended only by three perſons, all others having already forſaken her; and was glad to get into a gardener's cart, in which ſhe took the road to *Oſtia*. *Narciſſus*, to whom *Claudius*, diſtruſting the chief officer of his guards, had transferred the command of the prætorian cohorts for that day, and who, in conſequence thereof, was in the ſame coach with the emperor, no ſooner perceived her endeavouring to approach *Claudius*, crying aloud, with many tears, *That he would hear the mother of* Octavia *and* Britannicus; than, to drown her cries, he began to exclaim and ſtorm againſt the audaciouſneſs of *Silius*, and the abomination of *Meſſalina*: and, at the ſame time, to divert the prince from ſeeing her, he delivered him a writing, containing a detail of her proſtitutions. As he was entering *Rome*, ſome attempted to preſent him his children by her; but *Narciſſus* prevented it. He could not, however, keep off *Vibidia*, who inſiſted, *That the emperor's wife ought not to be condemned without being heard.* He was therefore obliged to promiſe her, *That* Meſſalina *ſhould be heard, and have full liberty to clear herſelf.* *Claudius* was all this while ſtupified and ſilent. The firſt place *Narciſſus* carried him to was the houſe of the adulterer, where he ſhewed him quantities of the richeſt furniture of the imperial palace, monuments of his wife's proſtitution and his diſgrace. From thence he led him to the camp, where the ſoldiery, with loud cries, demanded the immediate death of the criminals: upon which, *Silius*, and ſeveral others, whom *Narciſſus* had cauſed to be arreſted, were brought before the imperial tribunal, convicted of being accomplices of *Meſſalina*'s proſtitutions, and dragged to execution.

Claudius then went to the palace, where he ſpent the greateſt part of the night in carouſing with his freedmen; and being warm with wine, of which he generally drank very plentifully, he ordered one of his attendants to go and acquaint *Meſſalina*, that he would hear her the next day. *Narciſſus*, alarmed at this, immediately ſtepped out, and ordered the tribune and centurions then upon duty, to put *Meſſalina* to death directly, telling them it was the emperor's expreſs command. They found her in the gardens ſhe had fled to, lying upon the ground, and her mother ſitting by her, who, upon their acquainting her with her doom, exhorted her not to wait death from the hands of the executioner. *Meſſalina*, trembling, took up a dagger, and pointed it firſt at her throat, and then at her breaſt, but had not courage enough to plunge it in; upon which, the tribune

Claudius.

whom *Narciſſus* prevents ſeeing her.

Silius and ſeveral others executed.

Meſſalina put to death.

Claudius. bune ran her through with his ſword. Such was the end of one of the lewdeſt women recorded in hiſtory.

Claudius's inſenſibility.

Claudius was ſtill at table, when word was brought him, that *Meſſalina* was dead. He neither aſked how ſhe died, nor ſhewed the leaſt mark of ſenſibility; but, calling for his bowl of wine, continued his banquet with the ſame gaiety as before: nor did the triumph of her enemies, or the tears of his children bewailing their mother, excite in him, either then, or in the following days, any ſymptom of hatred, joy, anger, ſorrow, or any other human paſſion or affection. Nay, *Suetonius* aſſures us, that, but a few days after, as he was ſupping with ſome of his friends, he aſked why *Meſſalina* did not come to ſupper. Such was his incredible forgetfulneſs, or rather ſtupidity.

He declares he will not marry again.

He now publicly declared, that ſince he had been ſo unfortunate in his marriages, he would live a ſingle life for the future; and that he gave his ſubjects leave to kill him, if he continued not in that reſolution. However, he ſoon forgot it, falling in love with his niece *Julia Agrippina*, the daughter of *Germanicus*, whoſe careſſes, allurements, and frequent viſits to him, under colour of conſanguinity, backed by the ſollicitations of his freedman *Pallas*, who employed all his intereſt in her behalf, made ſuch an impreſſion on him, that he determined to marry her. But as there had not yet been an inſtance among the *Romans* of a marriage between an uncle and a niece, and ſome ſcruples aroſe on that account, though they then lived publicly together; the ſycophant *Vitellius*, whom we have already ſpoken of, propoſed this match in the ſenate, and got a decree paſſed, declaring marriages between uncles and brothers daughters for ever lawful. The nuptials were celebrated the very next day.

But marries his niece *Agrippina.*

Her character.

From this time *Agrippina* governed without controul, rendering the whole ſtate ſubſervient, not only to her wanton and lewd amours, but to her inſatiable avarice, unbounded ambition, and unparalleled cruelty. She appeared with the emperor in the ſenate; placed herſelf by him on the ſame tribunal in all publiic ceremonies; gave audience with him to foreign princes and ambaſſadors, and even accompanied him in the courts of juſtice, which, to the *Romans*, was a ſight altogether new. To ſignalize the beginning, we may ſay, of her reign, with ſome plauſible action, ſhe prevailed upon *Claudius* to recall from exile, and honour with the praetorſhip, *L. Annæus Seneca.* But in this alſo ſhe had her private views, which were, the education of her ſon *Domitius*, afterwards *Nero*, under ſuch a maſter, and the uſe of his counſels in the purſuit of her ambitious deſigns. Soon after, *Domitius* was betrothed to *Claudius's* daughter *Octavia*, and by that means raiſed almoſt to an equality with his ſon *Britannicus*. The next year he adopted him,

Seneca recalled.

him, and this adoption was confirmed by a decree of the senate, which at the same time gave *Agrippina* the title of *Augusta*. The ambitious empress, not satisfied with thus advancing her own son, to the prejudice of *Britannicus*, carried her cruelty towards this unfortunate prince so far, as, under pretence of tenderness for him, to keep him locked up in a nursery, though he was now nine years old; and, by degrees, removed from him all his former attendants, and put in their places others entirely at her devotion. The next year *Nero*, though not yet fourteen, took the manly robe, which qualified him for honours and employments; and, at the same time, the senate, with *Claudius*'s approbation, decreed, that he should discharge the consulship in his twentieth year, and, in the mean while, as consul designed, be invested with proconsular power out of *Rome*, and be stiled *Prince of the* Roman *youth*. Many of the tribunes and centurions could not help pitying *Britannicus*; but they were all soon removed from the palace; and even those of his freedmen who were thought to be too much attached to him, were partly discharged, and partly put to death, under various pretences: so that he was now intirely under the government of people of *Agrippina*'s chusing. To rivet her authority, her next step was, to make the emperor give the command of the prætorian guards to *Burrhus Afranius*, an officer highly esteemed by the soldiery, but well apprized to whom he owed his preferment. *Claudius.*

This year, the tenth of *Claudius*'s reign, *Agrippina* caused a colony of veterans to be sent to the capital of the *Ubii*, where she was born, and to which she gave the name of *Colonia Agrippinensis*, now *Cologne*. About the same time, the *Catti* made incursions into the *Roman* territories, but were repulsed by *Pomponius Secundus*, to whom the senate decreed the ornaments of triumph; and, shortly after, *Ostorius Scapula* gained great advantages over several of the people of *Britain*.

The following year, the senate passed a decree against women of free condition who married slaves, ordaining, that she who thus debased herself, without the consent of the master of the slave, should herself become a slave; but if he consented, she should be deemed a manumitted slave. The emperor's freedman *Pallas* was the author of this regulation, as *Claudius* informed the senate, who thereupon decreed him the ornaments of prætor, a present of about an hundred thousand pounds of our money, and public thanks; for that, though descended from the ancient kings of *Arcadia*, he deigned to be reckoned among the emperor's ministers, and waved his great nobility for the service of the state. The haughty slave accepted the ornaments of the prætorship, and the privilege of wearing a gold ring; but declined the present, and prevailed with *Claudius* to acquaint **Decree against women who married slaves**

the

Claudius. the ſenate, in his name, that he was ſatisfied with the honours, and choſe to remain in his ancient poverty. Upon this, a decree paſſed, was engraved in braſs, and publicly hung up, in which this franchiſed ſlave, lately redeemed from the infamy of whips and fetters, but now worth near ſeven millions, was extolled for obſerving the venerable parſimony of the primitive ages. So mean and contemptible was that once great and reſpectable ſenate now grown.

Exploits of the *Romans* in *Germany.*

The *Mauritanians*, who had taken up arms to revenge the death of their king *Ptolomy*, murdered by *Caligula*'s order, were chaſtiſed by the *Romans* in the reign of this prince, whoſe lieutenants likewiſe overcame the *Catti*, *Marſi*, and *Cauci*, three *German* nations, and recovered one of the eagles which *Varus* had loſt. *Corbulo*, the greateſt commander of his age, purſued the *Cauci* into their own country, and would have reduced them intirely, had not *Claudius*, jealous of his glory, ordered him to repaſs the *Rhine*. *Corbulo* obeyed, only ſaying, *How happy were the* Roman *commanders in former times!* He had taken great pains to diſcipline his troops, whom he found utter ſtrangers to military toils; and that they might not relapſe into an habit of idleneſs, he employed them in digging a canal, three and twenty miles long, between the *Meuſe* and the *Rhine*, to receive the high tides, and prevent inundations. Some take this to be the canal now called *Vliet*, which extends from *Sluys* to *Leyden*.

The fees of pleaders limited

The exorbitant fees which the pleaders at this time exacted from their clients, became a matter of ſuch grievance, that the ſenate thought proper to take cognizance of it. *Caius Silius*, then conſul elect, was ſtrongly againſt allowing orators to take fees, which, ſaid he, put them upon a level with mechanics, and debaſed eloquence, the moſt honourable of all accompliſhments, to ſordid lucre. Many others of the ſenators were of his opinion, and with him propoſed reviving the *Cincian* law, which forbid the taking of any gift or payment for pleading a cauſe. To this the pleaders oppoſed, That as their ſtudies were attended with great expence, it was but reaſonable that they ſhould reap ſome advantage from them. It was therefore ſettled, that they ſhould be at liberty to take fees, but never more than two hundred and fifty crowns for one pleading; and that whoever exceeded that ſum, ſhould be liable to be ſued for extortion.

Nero marries *Octavia.*

As ſoon as *Nero* had entered into his ſixteenth year, he was married to *Claudius*'s daughter *Octavia*; ſoon after which, he pleaded the cauſe of the *Ilians* before the ſenate, and obtained for them, as the anceſtors of the *Romans*, an intire exemption from all taxes and tributes. He likewiſe made an oration in favour of the *Rhodians*, by which he prevailed on *Claudius* to reſtore them to their liberty; and by a third

third oration he procured the *Bononians* a great relief for the losses they had lately sustained by a dreadful fire. The *Coans*, *Apameans*, and *Byzantines* also obtained signal favours by his mediation. The policy of *Agrippina*, who set him upon all this, was, to make him be thought a good and compassionate prince, whilst, at the same time, she pushed *Claudius* on to the most shocking acts of cruelty. *Claudius.*

Weak as he was, he now began to see the bad choice he had made of a wife; and, one day, could not help saying in his wine, *That he had ever been unfortunate in his wives, but that none of them had escaped punishment.* He likewise grew fonder of *Britannicus* than he had ever been before, and said he would soon give him the manly robe, *that the* Romans *might at last have a true* Cæsar. Every word and action of the emperor was immediately carried to *Agrippina*, who now resolved to be beforehand with him. The surest way, she thought, was to poison him; but she was at a loss what sort of poison to use. If it were too powerful and sudden in its operation, that might betray her; and if slow, there was danger of his finding out her practices, and setting aside the adoption of her son. At length, she resolved upon a poison which would disorder his senses, and not hastily kill him. *Locusta*, a woman who had been lately condemned for poisoning, was applied to, and prepared the deadly dose, which was administred to *Claudius* in a dish of mushrooms, of which he was extremely fond. But it only making him sick, she sent for his physician *Xenophon*, who, under pretence of making him vomit, thrust down his throat a feather dipt in such potent poison, as soon put an end to his life, in the sixty-fourth year of his age, after a reign of thirteen years, eight months, and twenty days. He was a weak prince, almost a changeling, and was wholly governed by his wives and freedmen. *Suetonius* reproaches him with cruelty; and *Seneca* says, *He no more scrupled the killing of a man, than the killing of a fly.* But the hatred of this last to *Claudius*, by whom he had been banished to *Corsica*, and kept there eight years, seems to have prompted him to lay to the charge of the prince, crimes which other writers impute to those who governed him. The grandeur of the *Roman* state was not much impaired in this reign; but the city and the nobility were severely oppressed, and barbarously treated. *Agrippina* poisons *Claudius.* Year of *Rome* 807. of *Christ* 55. His character.

NERO.

NERO.

THE death of *Claudius* was kept ſecret, till *Agrippina* had taken all the neceſſary ſteps for ſecuring the empire to *Nero*. With this view, affecting inconſolable grief, ſhe claſped *Britannicus* faſt in her arms, called him the dear image of his father, and artfully kept him and his two ſiſters in her chamber, whilſt guards poſted at all the avenues of the palace gave out, from time to time, that the prince was recovering. At laſt, the palace gates were thrown open on a ſudden, and *Nero*, accompanied by *Burrhus*, captain of the prætorian guards, walked up to the cohort then upon duty, who, at *Burrhus*'s command, received him with ſhouts of joy, and immediately carried him to the camp, where, after a ſpeech ſuitable to the occaſion, and a promiſe of a largeſs equal to that of the late prince, he was declared emperor. Some indeed, at firſt, aſked for *Britannicus*; but as he neither appeared, nor any one propoſed him, they ſoon joined the others, and embraced the choice that was offered them, which was likewiſe approved of by the ſenate and people. A pompous funeral was ordered for *Claudius*; but his laſt will was not read in public, leſt his preferring there the ſon of his wife to his own ſon ſhould provoke the reſentment of the people. *Nero* himſelf pronounced his funeral oration, in which he diſplayed the antiquity of his family, and the many conſulſhips and triumphs of his anceſtors; likewiſe touching upon his perſonal merit, eſpecially his eloquence, and knowledge of the *Greek* tongue. But when he began to extol his wiſdom and prudence, the whole aſſembly burſt into a loud laugh, though the ſpeech was compoſed by *Seneca*, whoſe ſtile, ſays *Tacitus*, was well adapted to the taſte of thoſe times. It was likewiſe obſerved, on this occaſion, that *Nero* was the firſt *Roman* emperor who ſtood in need of another's eloquence.

Nero proclaimed emperor.

The beginning of his reign very promiſing

The beginning of his reign gave the public great hopes of happineſs under his government; for, in his firſt ſpeech to the ſenate, after acknowledging himſelf indebted for the empire to their authority, and the concurrence of the ſoldiers, he declared, *That he intended to govern his people according to the wiſe rules and inſtitutions of* Auguſtus; *that every magiſtrate ſhould have his proper juriſdiction, in which he would not interfere; and that the ſenate ſhould enjoy its ancient prerogatives.* In return for this, the fathers decreed him every title of honour, and he accepted them all, except that of *father of his country*, which he declined on account of his youth. His actions ſeemed to confirm theſe fine promiſes, and to ſpeak him truly juſt, liberal, and merciful. He diſtributed large ſums of money to the people and prætorian ſoldiers;

soldiers; assigned pensions to the poor senators; moderated the taxes and tributes of the provinces; restrained the profuse luxury of the *Roman* tables; and reformed several abuses in the city. A warrant being brought to him to sign for the death of a condemned person, he cried, *Would to heaven that I knew not how to write!* and upon the senate's returning him thanks for the wisdom and moderation of his government, he said, *Pray defer your thanks till I deserve them.* He bestowed territories on several princes. To *Aristobulus*, son of *Herod* king of *Chalcis*, he gave the *Lesser Armenia*; to *Soemus* the title of king, and the country of *Sophene*, lying between *Armenia*, *Mesopotamia*, and *Comagene*: and to the territories of *Agrippa* he added some towns of *Galilee*.

Agrippina's inordinate ambition.

Before the first year of *Nero*'s reign was expired, *Agrippina* began to shew her ambition, in a manner which shocked every one. While the emperor, seated on the imperial throne, was giving audience to some ambassadors from *Armenia*, she, on a sudden, appeared in the room, and was advancing to take her seat with him. The whole assembly was astonished; but no one daring to restrain her, *Seneca* suggested to the prince, to descend, and meet his mother; and thereby, under colour of filial respect, prevented what the *Romans* would have thought a public disgrace. As her son was but a youth, and indebted to her for the sovereignty, she claimed an equal share in it with him, and pretended to answer foreign ambassadors jointly with him, to write letters to princes and kings, dispatch orders to the governors of provinces and commanders of armies, and, in short, to be called and acknowledged a partner in the empire which her ancestors had acquired, and she had conferred on him. Her revengeful spirit had appeared the very moment after her son was saluted emperor; when, much against *Nero*'s will, she caused *Narcissus* to be arrested and dragged to prison, and forced him to lay violent hands on himself, for having, said she, spoken disrespectfully of her; but, in reality, because she thought him too much attached to *Britannicus*. *Junius Silanus*, proconsul of *Asia*, a man of vast wealth, and equal quality, being the great grandson of *Augustus*, had likewise fallen a victim to her fury, about the same time, without her son's having been so much as acquainted with it. Her lust of absolute sway, in which she was encouraged and supported by *Pallas*, would, even then, have made her sacrifice all that gave her the least umbrage, had not *Burrhus* and *Seneca* unanimously laboured to restrain her rage, and keep her within bounds.

Nero falls in love with Acte.

Nero greatly disliked these proceedings of his mother, and soon began to slight her authority. He had already conceived an utter aversion to his wife *Octavia*, and as violent a passion for a franchised slave, called *Acte*, in which amour *Otho*, who was afterwards emperor, and *Claudius Senecio*, the

son

Nero. ſon of one of his freedmen, both youths of graceful perſons but abandoned to all manner of lewdneſs and debauchery were his confidants. *Seneca* and *Burrhus* were not unacquainted with their pupil's intrigue, but thought it more adviſeable to wink at his ſatisfying his youthful inclinations with a perſon of low condition, by which no injury was done to any man; than, by thwarting him, to ſet him, perhaps, upon attacking women of the greateſt diſtinction. But *Agrippina*, dreading the extravagant power of a concubine, tried every means to check his growing paſſion. Her oppoſition ſerved only to increaſe it; till at length he loſt all reſpect for her. Finding that ſhe had taken a wrong method, ſhe changed her arts, and endeavoured to regain the confidence of her ſon by flattering his paſſion, even offering him her own chamber to indulge it in, and making him a tender of all her wealth, which almoſt equalled the imperial treaſures. This ſudden change did not deceive *Nero*; and his friends, dreading it, beſought him to be upon his guard againſt the artful ſnares of an implacable and deceitful woman.

Shortly after, as *Nero* was ſurveying the rich ornaments in which the emperors wives and mothers uſed to appear on ſolemn days, he choſe ſome of the fineſt, and ſent them as a preſent to his mother, to ſhew her, that though he would not be controuled by her, he bore her no rancour or ill-will. But *Agrippina*, flying into a rage, complained bitterly of her ſon, and ſaid *She did not know what he meant by ſending her ſuch trifles, when ſhe had a right to the whole.* Theſe words, with aggravations, were immediately carried

Pallas diſgraced. to *Nero*, who thereupon diſmiſſed *Pallas*, by whom chiefly *Agrippina* was upheld in her ambitious deſigns, from the management of the finances. This incenſed her to ſuch a degree, that, ſhaking her fiſt at *Nero*, and loading him with curſes, ſhe threatened to lay open to the world all the crimes ſhe had committed to procure him the empire, and to take *Britannicus* to the camp, and there leave to the deciſion of the ſoldiery which of them ought to have the ſovereign rule. *Nero*, who had already conceived an irreconcileable hatred to the young prince, being alarmed at theſe threats of his mother, reſolved to rid himſelf of one whom he now looked upon as a dangerous rival. To this end, a doſe of poiſon, prepared by the famous *Locuſta*, who had poiſoned *Claudius*, was ſecretly adminiſtred to him; but not having the intend-

Britannicus poiſoned. ed effect, a ſecond potion was prepared, ſo ſtrong, that *Britannicus* dropped down dead the moment he had drank it, which was at dinner with the emperor. Every one preſent was ſtruck with terror and amazement: but *Nero*, without betraying the leaſt concern, aſſured the company, that it was only a fit of the falling ſickneſs, to which he had been ſubject from his infancy, and that he would ſoon recover; whereupon they all affected to reſume their former gaiety.

The

The corpſe of the deceaſed prince was conveyed that ſame evening to a funeral pile, which had been prepared beforehand, and his remains were interred in the field of *Mars*, without any pomp, or even a funeral oration; though he was the laſt of the *Claudian* family, which had flouriſhed in ſplendor at *Rome* upwards of eight hundred years. *Nero.*

Agrippina, though almoſt driven to deſpair by this fatal blow, ſtill kept up her furious ſpirit, had frequently private meetings with her confidants, paid great court to the tribunes, centurions, and nobility of *Rome*, and amaſſed all the riches ſhe poſſibly could, as if ſhe had been meditating ſome great deſign. *Nero*, being informed of this, ordered her guard to be taken from her, and commanded her to quit the palace, and retire to the houſe formerly her grandmother *Antonia*'s. From this time his viſits to her were very ſeldom, and ſhort; and ſhe was always ſurrounded with a croud of officers. The throng of courtiers who attended her before, now diſappeared; and no one pretended to comfort her in diſgrace, except a few, who were ſet about her as ſpies. The chief of theſe was *Junia Silana*, who, to be revenged of her for a former pique, now falſly accuſed her of a deſign to marry *Rubellius Plautus*, great grandſon to *Auguſtus*, in order to transfer the empire to him. *Nero* was ſo terrified at this account, that he would have put both *Agrippina* and *Plautus* inſtantly to death, had not *Burrhus* repreſented to him, that every one, and much more a mother, ought to be heard before condemnation; and that, if ſhe were guilty, he would ſee her executed. The charge being examined into, and found deſtitute of all foundation, *Agrippina* was acquitted with honour, and her accuſer baniſhed. The ſlightneſs of this puniſhment encouraged one *Petus*, ſhortly after, to accuſe *Pallas* and *Burrhus* of a deſign to raiſe to the empire *Cornelius Sylla*, who had married the late emperor's daughter *Antonia*: but the charge appearing evidently forged, they were both declared innocent, and *Petus* condemned to baniſhment. The arrogance of *Pallas*, on this occaſion, was extreme; for the accuſer naming to him ſome of his freedmen, whom he pretended to have been his accomplices, *Pallas* anſwered, *That he never condeſcended to ſpeak to any of his domeſtics, but always ſignified his pleaſure to them by a nod, a motion of his hand, or, if his commands conſiſted of many particulars, in writing, that they might learn to keep their diſtance.* *Agrippina* ordered to leave thepalace.

The next year, *Nero*, ſlighting the grave admonitions of his governors *Burrhus* and *Seneca*, gave a greater looſe than he had ever done before to his youthful inclinations, and, with his debauched companions, particularly *Otho* and *Senecio*, frequently ran about the city by night, diſguiſed in the habit of a ſlave, aſſaulting whomſoever they met, and committing a thouſand riotous diſorders. Theſe frolics were not without their dangers; and he was once ſo wounded in *Nero* fond of rioting-

Nero. the face, that the ſcar remained ever after. He likewiſe took great delight in ſtirring up the factions in the play-houſe, and ſetting them a quarrelling; and when they were hotly engaged, he would throw ſtones and pieces of broken benches among them, with which he once dangerouſly wounded a prætor in the head. Theſe riots went at length ſo far, the whole city being divided into factions, ſome for one player, and ſome for another, that, to prevent ſtill greater miſchiefs, it was found neceſſary to drive all players out of *Italy*.

Players driven out of *Italy*.

Some commendable actions of *Nero*.

The two following years of *Nero*'s reign were diſtinguiſhed by ſeveral acts of generoſity and good-nature. Among other things, he remitted the duty upon the ſale of ſlaves; diſtributed to the people a largeſs of four hundred ſeſterces a man; and forbad the governors of provinces to exhibit any public ſhews; knowing that they were only deſigned to ſtop the mouths of the people, who, at the ſame time, paid dearly for them. He likewiſe conſented to a decree of the ſenate, enacting, that if any one was killed by his ſlaves, thoſe who had been manumitted, if they continued under the ſame roof, ſhould be executed with his other ſlaves. He referred *Pomponia Græcina*, a lady of great diſtinction, who was accuſed, ſays *Tacitus*, of having embraced a foreign ſuperſtition, meaning probably the Chriſtian religion, to the judgment of her huſband *Aulus Plautius*, who, after aſſembling her relations, and, with them, inquiring into the behaviour of his wife, declared her innocent. *Coſſutianus Capito* was baniſhed for his extortions in *Cilicia*. But *Eprius Marcellus*, accuſed of the ſame crime by the *Lycians*, was not only acquitted, though evidently guilty, but his accuſers were puniſhed with exile; ſo powerful was the faction in his favour. *P. Suilius*, whoſe venal eloquence had procured the ruin of many illuſtrious citizens in the reign of *Claudius*, was now arraigned for the death of *Poppæa Sabina*, of *Julia* the daughter of *Druſus*, of *Valerius Aſiaticus*, and of whole bands of *Roman* knights condemned at his inſtigation. *Seneca* ſeems to have been the moſt ſanguine promoter of this proſecution: for againſt him chiefly *Suilius* inveighed, reproaching him with contaminating the beds of princeſſes, meaning *Germanicus*'s daughter *Julia*; with hunting after inheritances; with exhauſting all *Italy* and the provinces by his exceſſive uſury; and with amaſſing, by what precepts of wiſdom, by what principles of philoſophy, he ſaid, he knew not, a treaſure of more than ſeven millions in the ſhort ſpace of four years. Theſe reproaches, ſays *Tacitus*, did not a little tarniſh the reputation and character of *Seneca*; but *Suilius* was condemned, and baniſhed to the *Balearic* iſlands on the coaſt of *Spain*.

Invectives of *P. Suilius* againſt *Seneca*.

Poppæa Sabina, In the fifth year of *Nero*'s reign began his paſſion for the celebrated *Poppæa Sabina*; a paſſion which proved the ſource of heavy calamities to the *Roman* ſtate. She was the daughter

ter of another *Poppæa Sabina*, who was put to death by *Messalina*'s orders, and of *T. Ollius*, a senator. She possessed every ornament of her sex, except that of virtue. Her beauty, wit, address, and conversation, charmed all who conversed with her; but her lewdness knew no bounds. She had left her husband *Rufus Crispinus*, a *Roman* knight, by whom she had a son, and lived for some time publickly with the emperor's favourite *Otho*, who afterwards married her, on *Crispinus*'s consenting to a divorce. *Otho* was continually extolling the charms of his wife to *Nero*, who, young, and easily inflamed, desired to see her. An interview was appointed, in which the emperor was so delighted with her, that he carried her to the palace, and kept her there. After a night or two, when she had wrought his passions up to the greatest height, she artfully pretended an extreme affection for her husband, and begged to be sent back to him. The consequence of this was, that *Otho* was forbid the palace, and sent to *Lusitania*, as governor of that province; an office which he administred for ten years with great integrity and honour. From this time, till her fall, *Nero* was intirely governed by the pernicious counsels of *Poppæa*.

Nero.

her character.

She captivates *Nero*.

The people complaining loudly of the arbitrary exactions of the publicans, *Nero* was for suppressing intirely all taxes and duties, as the greatest act of benevolence he could do to mankind: but the senate, after many high encomiums on his magnanimity, represented to him, that it was impossible for the state to subsist without some taxes. He therefore contented himself with ordering all the regulations relating to the revenues, which till then had been kept secret, to be hung up in public, that every one might know exactly what he was to pay. He also forbad the publicans to exact any claims of above a year's standing; and ordered, that all causes against them should be immediately heard and determined by the prætor at *Rome*, and, in the provinces, by the pro-prætors and pro-consuls for the time being. He suppressed the tax of the fortieth penny, and likewise that of the fiftieth, together with some other imposts, and intirely abolished the duty on corn imported from the provinces beyond sea.

Some good regulations of his making.

The military exploits of the *Romans* this year were, *Dubius Avitus*'s driving the *Frisians* from certain waste lands belonging to the *Romans*, of which they had possessed themselves; his expelling afterwards the *Ansibari* from the same lands, and totally extirpating that people; and the reduction of *Armenia* by *Corbulo*. But for the particulars of these events, we refer to the histories of those countries, only observing here, that, for the success of *Corbulo*'s arms, *Nero* was saluted *Imperator*, and innumerable statues, triumphal arches, and processions were decreed him.

Hitherto *Nero* is generally extolled by historians, and even *Trajan* has been made to say, that the first five years of his reign

Year of *Rome* 813.

Nero. reign were a perfect model of a good government. This, if true, must certainly be understood with several restric-
of Christ, tions. But from that time he became quite a different man;
61. and the sixth year of his reign affords an instance of such a
Great change in crime, as one would scarcely believe human nature capable
Nero. of; the murder of his own mother.

Agrippina had, in some measure, regained the favour of her son, and began to resume a sway at court, when *Poppæa* was introduced there. But that ambitious prostitute, aim-
Poppæa ing at nothing less than marrying the emperor, and know-
inflames him a- ing that could never be whilst *Agrippina* lived, made it her
gainst his whole study to inflame him against her. *Agrippina*, on her
mother. side, left nothing unattempted to retain her power. Nay, authors who lived in those times, and to whose authority *Tacitus* pays great deference, tell us, that the lust of ruling transported her to such lengths, that, while *Nero* was heated with wine and banquetting, she accosted him, gaily attired, and prompted him to a crime no less repugnant to nature, than that which he soon after committed. *Seneca*, who was present, observing him inclined to yield, prevented that abomination by introducing *Acte*. From this time *Nero* avoided all private conferences with his mother, which gave *Poppæa* a favourable opportunity of incensing him more and more against her, till she at last made him resolve to deliver himself by a parricide from one whom he called his
Nero re- dread and torment. How to dispatch her was the only dif-
solves her ficulty remaining. To poison her at his own table would
death. be suspected, *Britannicus* having perished that way; and to apply to her own domestic, seemed dangerous. To kill her with the sword would be too glaring; nor was it thought any one could be found sufficiently hardened for such a deed.

In this perplexity, *Anicetus*, a franchised slave, who had been tutor to *Nero* in his infancy, and was now commander of the fleet at *Misenum*, undertook so to contrive a ship, that it should suddenly burst open in the sea, and drown her; which, said he, could not be imputed to malice or design. The feast of *Minerva*, then celebrating at *Baiæ*, offered a favourable opportunity to put this plot in execution; and *Nero*, the better to intice his mother on board this ship, after pretending a great desire to be reconciled to her, which she credited, invited her, in a most affectionate manner to pass the festival with him at *Baiæ*. She, not suspecting any treachery, consented to it, and *Nero* conducted her to the shore, where he took leave of her with the greatest demonstrations of tenderness and affection.

Agrippina The sea was smooth and calm, the night clear, and the
delivered- stars shone in full lustre, as if, says *Tacitus*, the gods had
ly ship- ordered it so on purpose that so black a murder might not
wrecked. remain undiscovered, by being imputed to the winds or waves. *Agrippina* was attended only by two persons, *Cre-*

percius

percius Gallus, who ſtood in the ſteerage, and *Aceronia Polla*, who lay at her feet, and was entertaining her with the pleaſing ſubject of the return of her ſon's love, when, upon a ſignal given, the deck over that quarter was looſened, and ſunk ſuddenly down with ſuch violence, that it cruſhed *Creperius* to death. *Agrippina* and *Aceronia* were defended by the poſts of the bed where they lay, which happened to be too ſtrong to yield to the weight, tho' the deck was purpoſely loaded with a great quantity of lead: neither did the veſſel open, but, by ſome miſunderſtanding among the mariners, ſunk ſlowly; ſo that *Agrippina* and *Aceronia* fell gently into the ſea. The latter, thinking to ſave herſelf by crying out that ſhe was *Agrippina*, was knocked on the head. *Agrippina* eſcaped, with only one wound on her ſhoulder, and, by the timely help of ſome fiſhing-boats, which rowed out to her aſſiſtance, reached the ſhore, and was conveyed to a houſe of her own hard by. There, reflecting upon what had paſſed, and the fate of *Aceronia*, miſtaken for herſelf, ſhe plainly ſaw the drift of the whole ſcheme, but determined to diſſemble her thoughts, and act as if ſhe did not ſuſpect any thing. Accordingly, ſhe diſpatched *Agerinus*, her freedman, to the emperor, to acquaint him with the danger ſhe had eſcaped, by the providence of the gods, and his imperial fortune, and to deſire him, alarmed as ſhe knew he would be at the danger which threatened his mother, to poſtpone the trouble of viſiting her, reſt being the only thing ſhe wanted.

Nero. She eſcapes.

Whilſt *Nero* hourly expected the news of his mother's death, an account was brought him that ſhe had eſcaped. Terrified at this, he immediately ſent for *Burrhus* and *Seneca*, who, ſays *Tacitus*, had, perhaps, not been acquainted before with the conſpiracy, and deſired their advice how to proceed. They both were ſilent for ſome time. At length, *Seneca*, who uſed always to ſpeak firſt, looked at *Burrhus*, as if he aſked him, *Whether orders for the diſpatching of* Agrippina *might not be truſted to the ſoldiery under his command?* *Burrhus* underſtood him, and anſwered, *That the prætorian guards were ſo zealouſly attached to the name of the* Cæſars, *and ſo fond of the family and memory of* Germanicus, *that they would never engage in any bloody attempt againſt their deſcendants.* He added, *That* Anicetus *ought to finiſh what he had begun.* Anicetus readily undertook it. In the mean time, *Agerinus* arriving from *Agrippina*, was admitted to the emperor, by whoſe order, a dagger was dropped between his legs, as he was delivering his meſſage, and he was immediately loaded with irons, and dragged to priſon. *Anicetus* then taking with him a band of deſperate men, ſurrounded *Agrippina*'s houſe, and, accompanied by *Herculeus*, captain of a galley, and *Oloaritus*, a centurion of the navy, forced open her chamber-door. *Herculeus* firſt diſcharged a blow upon her head with

Nero.

But is at last murdered.

a great club, and *Obaritus* immediately drew his ſword to diſpatch her: but ſhe, notwithſtanding the blow ſhe had received, ſtarting up, preſented her belly, crying, *Strike me here: this carried and brought forth the monſter* Nero. In uttering theſe words, ſhe was pierced with a multitude of wounds, and expired. Thus died the celebrated *Agrippina*, daughter to *Germanicus*, grand-daughter to *Agrippa*, and great grand-daughter to *Auguſtus*; ſiſter to one emperor, wife to another, and mother of a third.

Nero's behaviour on the occaſion.

This ſcene of horror was no ſooner over, than *Nero* began to feel the enormity of his guilt; and, not able to bear the place where the parricide had been perpetrated, he withdrew to *Naples*, from whence he wrote to the ſenate, telling them, *That* Agerinus, *a freedman of* Agrippina, *had been ſent to aſſaſſinate him, but had been timely prevented, upon which ſhe laid violent hands on herſelf.* To this he added a detail of her crimes traced a long way back, aſcribing to her all the iniquities of the reign of *Claudius*, and concluded with ſaying, *That her death ought to be looked upon as a public bleſſing.* Tho' no one believed the pretended conſpiracy, yet the ſenators ſtrove to ſurpaſs each other in complimenting *Nero*, and decreeing him new honours, on this occaſion. *Thraſea Paetus* was the only man who had been honeſt enough to ſhew his diſlike of the emperor's proceedings, by walking out of the ſenate as ſoon as his letter was read.

To blacken the memory of *Agrippina* ſtill more, *Nero* pardoned and recalled from exile, ſeveral perſons of diſtinction who had been condemned by her means; giving out, *That he would have done it ſooner, if ſhe had not checked his natural inclination to mercy.* But ſtill he could not prevail upon himſelf to return to *Rome*, and appear before the ſenate and people, till the abandoned profligates of his court, (and no court upon earth, ſays *Tacitus*, ever abounded with more,) aſſured him, that the very name of *Agrippina* was generally abhorred. He then proceeded to *Rome*, where he was received with a more forward and officious zeal, than even his flattering courtiers had promiſed him. Elated with this, he repaired, like a triumphant victor, to the capitol, and there paid his vows and oblations. But all theſe tokens of joy and approbation could not ſilence the reproaches of his own conſcience; the horrors of his guilt never forſook him; but his dread was ſometimes ſo great that every joint of him trembled. No one attempting to adviſe him, but, on the contrary, every one commending his moſt enormous exceſſes, he abandoned himſelf, without controul, to all kinds of extravagant paſſions. Of theſe, chariot-driving, ſinging, and acting upon the ſtage, were the moſt prevailing. For the former, he had a piece of ground incloſed on purpoſe with a wall, that he might there exert his dexterity in driving, without being expoſed to public view: but this was only at firſt, for he afterwards

He returns to *Rome*.

grew

grew deſirous of being ſeen, and even invited the populace to the ſight. Thinking his own infamy would be leſſened by making others do the ſame, he gave large ſums of money to ſeveral noble *Romans*, whoſe families were reduced to poverty, to appear as actors on the ſtage; and though he did not debaſe himſelf in the common theatre, he inſtituted a kind of plays called *juvenals*, which were exhibited in private houſes or gardens, and in which perſons of the firſt quality prided themſelves on imitating the moſt obſcene geſticulations of the *Greek* and *Roman* mimics. Even the ladies of the greateſt diſtinction, in imitation of the prince and his court, had their aſſemblies and repreſentations too, in a grove, where booths were built, and all manner of incentives to ſenſuality and wantonneſs were ſold. But, ſhortly after, his paſſion for ſinging and playing on the public ſtage roſe to ſuch an height, that, not daring to begin at *Rome*, he went to *Naples*, and there exhibited, for ſeveral days together, to immenſe multitudes, who had flocked from all parts to ſee ſo extraordinary a ſpectacle. At length, unable to forbear any longer, he took his harp, and mounted the public ſtage of *Rome*, where, after rehearſing a poem of his own compoſeing, he entered the liſts with the common harpers and minſtrels, and contended with them for the prize with ſuch eagerneſs and anxiety, that he never ventured to ſit down, that being contrary to the rules of the harp, nor to ſpit, nor to wipe the ſweat from his face, otherwiſe than with his arm: and when he had ended his performance, with his knee bent, and his hands lifted up, according to the cuſtom of the common players, he waited with awe and trembling the deciſion of the judges. The common people of *Rome*, inſenſible of the diſgrace he thus brought upon their country, applauded him with loud ſhouts; but the inhabitants of the municipal towns of *Italy*, who ſtill retained the ſevere manners of the ancients, and others from the remote provinces, ſhocked at the ſight, could not join in this applauſe; for which they were frequently beaten by the ſoldiers who were diſperſed among the crowd on purpoſe for them to obſerve the looks of the ſpectators. On theſe occaſions, he often kept the audience not only the whole day, but the night too; never giving over, nor ſuffering any to depart, upon any occaſion whatever, till he himſelf was tired.

Nero.

and appears on the public ſtage.

In the ſeventh year of *Nero's* reign, the *Romans* ſuffered a dreadful ſlaughter in *Britain:* but their affairs there were ſoon retrieved by *Suetonius Paulinus*; as the reader will ſee in our hiſtory of that country. The ſame year was remarkable for the death of *Pedanius Secundus*, governor of *Rome*, who was murdered by one of his own ſlaves; for which all the ſlaves who lived under the ſame roof, to the number of four hundred, were, according to an ancient law of the *Romans*, put to death, without regard to ſex or age. In the following year,

Year of *Rome* 814. of *Chriſt* 62.

Nero. the prætor *Antiſtius* was baniſhed for writing a ſatire againſt *Nero*. The poet *Perſeus* flouriſhed in this reign.

The next year died the prætorian-præfect *Burrhus*, no without ſuſpicion of poiſon by *Nero*'s order. The loſs of ſ worthy a man was long regretted in *Rome*, as well from th memory of his own virtues, as from the different characte of his joint-ſucceſſors; which were, *Fenius Rufus*, a man o ſome character, but extremely indolent; and *Sofonius Tigelli nus*, infamous for his lewdneſs, cruelty and avarice, and ſo that very reaſon in high favour with *Nero*. *Seneca*, in parti cular, had great reaſon to lament the loſs of his valuabl friend; for now, the wicked counſellors, of which the cour was full, attacked him with the utmoſt virulence, imputin to him, as crimes, his great wealth, and the magnificence o his houſe and gardens; adding, *That he ridiculed the emperor' ſinging, diſparaged his ſkill in managing horſes, and arrogated t himſelf alone the praiſe and perfection of eloquence.* Upon this *Seneca* finding alſo that the prince grew more and more reſerved towards him, beſought the emperor to give him leave to retire and at the ſame time begged of him to accept all his wealth and other poſſeſſions, *which*, he ſaid, *were too great rewards for hi ſmall ſervices. Nero* replied, *That he ſtill ſtood in need of the wiſ counſels with which he had cheriſhed his youth, and therefore could not, by any means, grant him his requeſt; that, as to his riches, he was ſorry they were not greater, and more adequate to his de-ſerts*; and concluded, with proteſting, *That he would rather periſh himſelf a thouſand times, than ſuffer any one to do him the leaſt injury.* *Seneca* returned him thanks for his kindneſs and generoſity, but from that time altered his courſe of life, receiving few viſits, ſeldom appearing abroad, and, at laſt, confining himſelf to his chamber, under pretence of ill health.

Death of Burrhus.

Seneca accuſed.

He avoids the court.

The retreat of *Seneca* doubled the authority of *Tigellinus*, who, diving curiouſly into the ſecret fears of his prince, and finding that he chiefly dreaded *Plautus* and *Sylla*, the former lately removed into the Eaſt, and the other into *Gaul*, perſuaded him to put them both to death; hoping to bear a ſtill greater ſway with the emperor, by thus ſeeming to conſult his ſecurity. *Sylla* was murdered at *Marſeilles*, while he was at table, not dreaming of any danger; and *Plautus*, though he had received timely notice of his danger, by a letter from his father-in-law, choſe rather to die, than to preſerve his life by kindling a civil-war, which he might eaſily have done, being of the *Julian* family and very highly eſteemed. *Nero*, immediately after, wrote to the ſenate, inveighing bitterly againſt *Sylla* and *Plautus*, but taking no notice of their death. However, the ſenate, knowing what had happened, decreed proceſſions and ſolemn thanks to the gods, and degraded *Sylla* and *Plautus* from the dignity of ſenators. Upon this, *Nero*, finding that even his moſt flagrant iniquities were called

Sylla and *Plautus* murdered.

commendable

commendable actions, divorced *Octavia*, alledging that she was barren, and married *Poppæa*, who, to prevent his ever being reconciled to his former wife, suborned one of *Octavia*'s domestics to accuse her of a criminal amour with a slave. All her maids were examined upon the rack, and, though some of them, overcome by the exquisite pain of the torture, favoured the forgery, yet most of them, with great firmness, vindicated the unspotted character of their lady, who was first removed from her palace, and then banished into *Campania*, where a guard of soldiers was placed over her. This treatment incensed the populace to such a degree, that *Nero* was soon forced to recall her. But *Poppæa*, resolved upon her ruin, determined to find out some one who should own himself guilty with her, and against whom a plausible charge of meditating a revolution in the state might also be feigned. *Anicetus*, who had murdered *Agrippina*, was judged a proper man for this purpose. To him therefore *Nero* and she addressed themselves, and, partly by promises, partly by menaces, induced him to acknowledge, that he had carried on a criminal correspondence with *Octavia*: which he had no sooner done, than the unfortunate princess was banished to the island of *Pandataria*, and there put to death. Her head was cut off and carried to *Rome*, that *Poppæa* might see it and enjoy her triumph; and the senate, a set of wretches entirely devoted to corruption and servitude, infamously decreed oblations to the gods for this inhuman massacre. *Anicetus*, as one convicted by his own confession, was banished to *Sardinia*, where he ended his days in great plenty. This year died *Doryphorus*, *Pallas*, and *Romanus*, all three imperial freedmen of great note, and believed to have been poisoned by *Nero*'s orders: *Doryphorus*, for having endeavoured to thwart the marriage of *Poppæa*; *Pallas*, because he lived too long, and prevented the prince from enjoying his immense wealth; and *Romanus*, by having a charge of treason which he had brought against *Seneca* retorted upon himself.

Nero.

Nero marries *Poppæa.*

Octavia banished and recalled,

but banished again and murdered.

The next year *Poppæa* was delivered of a daughter, to whom and her mother the title of *Augusta* was given. The senate had before made public vows for her happy delivery, and now many more were added; days for solemn processions were appointed, and a temple was decreed to *Fecundity*. But these joys were short lived, the infant dying within four months. This again gave occasion to new flatteries; for she was placed among the gods, and divine worship, a priest, altars, and sacrifices, were appointed her. As *Nero* had before rejoiced, so now he grieved, beyond all measure. To allay his grief, he exhibited various shews; among the rest, a combat of gladiators, in which four hundred senators, six hundred knights, and, which was quite new, many ladies of great distinction, entered the lists, *and*, to use *Tacitus*'s expression, *infamously contaminated themselves and their families, by appearing among the common gladiators.*

Poppæa delivered of a daughter, who dies soon after.

In

Nero:

Year of *Rome* 818. of *Chriſt* 66.

In the eleventh year of *Nero*'s reign, almoſt the whole city of *Rome* was deſtroyed by fire; but whether it was owing to accident, or to the contrivance of the prince, is not quite determined. *Suetonius* and *Dion Caſſius* are poſitive that this laſt was the caſe. The former of theſe authors tells us, that ſomebody, in diſcourſe with the emperor, happening one day to ſay in *Greek*, *When I am dead let the world be burnt*; he replied, *Nay, let it be whilſt I am living*: and, not long after, being diſpleaſed with the old buildings and narrow irregular ſtreets of the city, he cauſed it to be ſet on fire ſo publicly, that ſeveral of his officers being found in the houſes of the great men, with fire and flax in their hands, were diſmiſſed, on their declaring openly that they had orders for what they did. The fire raged with extreme violence ſix whole days and nights, when it was ſtopped at the foot of Mount *Eſquiline* by beating down an infinite numbers of buildings: but immediately after it broke out again with freſh fury in ſeveral places at the ſame time, and raged for three days more. Of the fourteen quarters into which *Rome* was divided, only four remained intire; three were laid in aſhes, and, in the ſeven others, there remained only here and there a few houſes, miſerably ſhattered, and half conſumed. All the ſtately monuments of antiquity, the trophies of many victories, the fineſt works of the beſt painters and ſculptors of *Greece*; and, what is ſtill more to be lamented, the writings of many celebrated ancient writers, till then preſerved perfectly intire, periſhed in this dreadful conflagration; which *Nero* was ſo far from being concerned for, that he beheld it the whole time from the tower of *Mæcenas*, and, pleaſed with the ſight, chanted a poem on the deſtruction of *Troy*, in the ſame habit which he wore when he ſung on the ſtage. To clear himſelf from the odium of this action, which he was univerſally believed to have been the author of, he laid it to the *Chriſtians*, who were already very numerous in *Rome*; and, under that pretence, raiſed the firſt general perſecution. The cruelties he exerciſed upon them exceed all deſcription. Their death and tortures were made a ſport by the inhuman monſter; ſome of them being covered with ſkins of wild beaſts, and torn in pieces by dogs; others crucified; and others wrapped up in combuſtible garments, and burnt by way of torches. He ſet apart his own garden for this ſcene of horror; to which he added the public diverſions of the circus; ſometimes driving a chariot in perſon, and ſometimes ſtanding as a ſpectator among the populace in the habit of a charioteer.

Rome burnt.

Nero lays the blame of it on the *Chriſtians* and raiſes the firſt general perſecution.

Nero's golden palace.

Upon the ruins of the demoliſhed city, *Nero* founded a palace, which he called his *golden houſe*, of ſuch vaſt extent, that it reached from Mount *Palatine* to Mount *Eſquiline*, and contained large lakes, fields, wilderneſſes, gardens, orchards, hills, groves, and woods ſtocked with all manner of wild beaſts,

Nero.

The entrance of this immenſe building was ſpacious enough to receive a coloſſal ſtatue of the emperor an hundred and twenty feet high. The galleries were a full mile in length, and conſiſted of three rows of ſtately pillars. The whole building was covered with gold, enriched with all ſorts of precious ſtones, and mother of pearl, which in thoſe days was valued above gold. The roof of one of the banqueting-rooms reſembled the firmament, both in figure and motion, turning inceſſantly about night and day, and ſhowering down all ſorts of ſweet waters. When this magnificent ſtructure was finiſhed, *Nero* approved of it only ſo far as to ſay, *That, at length, he began to be lodged like a man.* The ground which was not taken up by this palace, was aſſigned for houſes, and the ſtreets were laid out regularly, wide and ſtrait; ſo that in a ſhort time a new city roſe up, more beautiful than ever.

Rome rebuilt.

Nero's immenſe expence in building his palace, embelliſhing the city, and madly undertaking at the ſame time to cut a canal, through hard rocks and high mountains, from the lake *Avernus* to the mouth of the *Tiber*, an enterprize which he was at laſt obliged to drop; having quite exhauſted his exchequer; he betook himſelf to all manner of rapine and extortion to ſupply his prodigality. Not only *Italy*, but the provinces too, were pillaged and laid waſte; and the temples of the gods were ſtript of all their riches, and their ſtatues carried to *Rome*, and melted down. *Greece* and *Aſia* were plundered as much as any other places, for nothing now eſcaped his rapaciouſneſs: and *Suetonius* aſſures us, That from this time forward he never raiſed any man to an office, without telling him, *You know what I want: let us manage ſo that no man may have any thing which he can call his own.* *Seneca*, fearing leſt theſe iniquities might be imputed to him, again begged leave to retire, but was again refuſed.

Nero betakes himſelf to all manner of rapine and extortion,

Towards the end of this year, the people talked much of prodigies, which were ſaid to have been ſeen, and were always looked upon as the fore-runners of ſome dreadful calamity. A comet too appeared; an omen ever ſuppoſed to portend misfortunes to ſome ſovereign power. *Nero* was greatly alarmed at it: but one *Babilus*, an aſtrologer, having told him, *That it was uſual for monarchs, on ſuch occaſions, to avert thoſe omens from themſelves by ſome extraordinary maſſacre*; he reſolved to exterminate the whole ſenatorial order, and commit the government of the provinces, and the command of the armies, to the knights and his freedmen.

and reſolves to exterminate the whole ſenatorial order.

A conſpiracy which was diſcovered the following year afforded him a plauſible pretence for putting his horrid deſign in execution. Almoſt all the nobility of *Rome*, and great numbers of ſenators, knights, ſoldiers, and even women, were concerned in this conſpiracy, partly from their deteſtation of *Nero*, and partly from their zeal for *Caius Piſo*, who was at the head of it, and whom they deſigned to raiſe to the empire. He was allied to moſt of the great families in *Rome*,

Piſo's conſpiracy.

and,

Nero. and for his virtues, or qualities (as *Tacitus* obſerves) reſem-
bling virtues, highly favoured by the people: for, beſides his being a great orator, and employing his eloquence in defence of his fellow-citizens, he was generous, affable, complaiſant, graceful in his perſon, and extremely popular in his language and addreſs; but, which indeed the *Romans* now had no diſlike to, he was luxurious and debauched. Among the firſt who entered into this conſpiracy, were, *Plautius Lateranus*, conſul elect, (from whom the famous Baſilic, now called the palace of *Lateran*, took its name); *Fenius Rufus*, captain of the guards, *Subrius Flavius*, and *Sulpicius Aſper*, together with ſeveral other tribunes and centurions, a great many ſenators, *Roman* knights, and the celebrated poet *Lucan*. What provoked this laſt was, *Nero*'s having forbid the publication of his poems, from a ridiculous deſire of excelling every one in that art. Theſe ſoon drew into the combination numbers of others of all ranks: but how one *Epicharis*, a freed-woman, became acquainted with the plot, was never known.

Epicharis, a freed-woman, deeply engaged in it.

The conſpirators putting off the execution of their deſign from day to day, ſhe, who had never before ſhewn the leaſt regard to honour, virtue, or honeſty, impatient of their delays, went to *Miſenum*, and there tampered with the chief officers of the fleet, who, if brought into the plot, might eaſily find means to kill the emperor, as he frequently diverted himſelf with ſailing along the coaſts of *Miſenum* and *Puteoli*. Among theſe officers was one *Voluſius Proculus*, who had been employed by *Nero* to murder his mother, and had now the command of a thouſand marines; but, not thinking himſelf ſufficiently rewarded, complained bitterly of the emperor's neglect of him. *Epicharis* laying hold of this, acquainted him with the conſpiracy, but prudently concealed the names of the conſpirators.

She is accuſed to *Nero*, but baffles her accuſer.

Proculus was no ſooner let into the ſecret, than he flew to *Rome*, and betrayed it to *Nero*. But his diſcovery availed nothing; for, when *Epicharis* was confronted with him, as his charge againſt her was not ſupported by any witneſſes, ſhe denied it, pretending to be greatly aſtoniſhed at the impudence of the accuſer. However, ſhe was ordered back to priſon. The conſpirators, apprehenſive of a diſcovery, tho' *Epicharis* had not confeſſed any thing, came to a reſolution to haſten the execution of their deſign; but could not fix upon a place for it. Some propoſed a country-houſe of *Piſo*'s, to which *Nero* uſed frequently to go to bathe and banquet with few attendants. To this *Piſo* objected, *That, wicked as the prince was, it would be looked upon as a violation of the ſacred laws of hoſpitality; and that it would be much better to kill him at* Rome, *either in the palace which he had reared upon the ruins of the unhappy city, or in the face of the public, for whoſe ſake the deed was undertaken.* This was what he ſaid: but, in reality, what made him heſitate, was a ſecret jealouſy of *Lucius Silanus*, a man of extraordinary accompliſh-

ments,

ments, who, he feared, might ſeize the empire for himſelf; and of the conſul *Veſtinus*, whoſe known character made him ſuſpect, that he might either attempt to reſtore the ancient government, or beſtow the empire on ſome other as a gift of his own. At length, the conſpirators unanimouſly agreed to execute their deſign at *Rome*, on the anniverſary of the feſtival of *Ceres*, when there were always games at which *Nero* never failed to aſſiſt. *Lateranus* was to fall at the prince's feet, under pretence of craving ſome favour, and to pull him down, and keep him to the ground, while the other conſpirators were to ruſh in and diſpatch him. *Nero.*

The day before that which was appointed for the execution of the deſign, *Scevinus*, one of the principal conſpirators, made his will, and unſheathing a dagger, which he had formerly taken out of a temple, and always carried about him, as conſecrated to ſome great deed, he complained that it was blunt and ruſty, and ordered *Milichus*, one of his freedmen, to have it ground and ſharpened; after which, he ordered a more ſumptuous repaſt than uſual, and gave all his favourite ſlaves their liberty, and to others money; and laſtly, he directed *Milichus* to prepare ſeveral bandages for wounds. Though he affected chearfulneſs all the time he was at table, a more than common thoughtfulneſs, intermixed with great anxiety, was often viſible. *Milichus* obſerving this, and reflecting on the orders he had received, concluded that a conſpiracy was certainly carrying on, in which his maſter was concerned, and, early the next morning, went to *Nero*, told him what had paſſed, ſhewed him the dagger, and deſired the criminal might be immediately ſent for. *Scevinus* was accordingly dragged before the emperor, and defended himſelf with ſuch intrepidity, that the informer had been baffled, had not his wife reminded him of *Scevinus*'s having had the day before a long conference with *Antonius Natalis*, and that both of them lived in cloſe confidence with *Piſo*. *Natalis* was immediately ſent for, and both he and *Scevinus* being examined ſeparately concerning that conference, and their anſwers not agreeing, they were threatened with the rack, and thereupon diſcovered the whole of the conſpiracy. *Natalis*, in the courſe of his confeſſion, named *Seneca*; but whether he had really any concern in the plot, or whether *Natalis* named him only to pleaſe *Nero*, who was daily ſeeking ſome ſpecious pretence to deſtroy him, is uncertain. *Lucan*, *Quinctianus*, and *Senecio*, perſiſted long in denying the charge againſt them, but at length were decoyed by a promiſe of impunity; and then, to atone for their backwardneſs, they informed againſt their deareſt friends; *Lucan*, againſt *Attilia*, his own mother; *Quinctianus*, againſt *Glicius Gallus*; and *Senecio* againſt *Annius Pollio*, and ſuch numbers of other accomplices, that *Nero* was ſo terrified, that he not only doubled his guards, but poſted bands of ſoldiers upon the walls, and all round the city, The plot diſcovered

Nero. city, and lined the sea-coasts, and the banks of the *Tiber*, with numerous detachments of horse and foot.

Epicharis was now put to the rack; but all the tortures the executioner could invent, did not extort the least confession from her; and the next day, as they were carrying her in a chair to suffer the same torments again (for all her limbs were so mangled and disjointed that she could not support herself) she found means to form a noose round her neck, with the girdle that bound her breasts, and fastening it to the top of the chair, put an end to her poor remains of life. And now the accused were dragged in whole droves to *Nero*'s tribunal, where he, *Tigellinus*, and *Fenius Rufus*, sat as judges. If they had ever been seen smiling with any of the conspirators, had ever spoken with them, met them, though but by chance, accidentally dined with them at the same table, or sat by them at any public shew, it was sufficient to condemn them. *Tigellinus*, who had not yet been detected, was the severest judge of the three; and, had it not been for him, *Nero* would have been killed during the examination of the prisoners; for the brave tribune, *Subrius Flavius*, who attended, and was not yet impeached or suspected, having demanded, by signs, Whether he should draw his sword and dispatch the tyrant, was, by contrary signs, forbid, after he had already grasped the hilt.

The fortitude of *Epicharis.*

When the conspiracy was first discovered, many of *Piso*'s friends advised him to proceed directly to the camp, or mount the rostrum, and try the affections of the soldiery and people: but instead of that, he retired to his own house, where, upon the arrival of a band of soldiers to seize him, he opened the veins of both his arms, and bled to death; leaving, out of tenderness to his wife, a will full of fulsome flattery towards *Nero*. *Plautius Lateranus*, consul elect, was next put to death, without being allowed even to embrace his children. When the emperor's freedman and secretary, *Epaphroditus*, asked him some questions concering the conspiracy, he bravely answered, *That if he were mean enough to make any discoveries, it would be to his master, not to him.*

Piso kills himself.

Platius Lateranus dies most bravely.

Nero had too long desired the death of *Seneca*, to neglect it now. *Natalis*'s having named him, was sufficient for the tyrant to command him to die. When the fatal orders arrived, *Seneca* was at table with his wife *Paulina*, and two friends. He heard the sentence without seeming in the least concerned, and calmly called for his will: but that being denied him, he told his friends, *That, since he was prevented from gratefully acknowledging their favours, he bequeathed them that which alone was now left him, the pattern of his life.* He then embraced his wife, and besought her to moderate her sorrow, by the contemplation of his life, spent in a steady course of virtue: but she resolutely declared, *That she was determined to die with him:* and accordingly both of them had the veins of their arms

Death of *Seneca.*

opened

opened at the ſame time. As *Seneca* was aged, and his body quite extenuated by his abſtenious way of living, his blood iſſued but ſlowly; whereupon he cauſed the veins of his legs, and thoſe about the joints of his knees, to be likewiſe cut; and, finding his agonies increaſe, he deſired *Paulina* to retire to another chamber, leſt his torments ſhould ſhake her reſolution, or her pangs make him betray an unbecoming weakneſs. His ſecretaries ſtood by him all this time, and he dictated to them many things which were publiſhed after his death; to haſten which, he now took a doſe of poiſon, but in vain, his juices being quite ſtagnated: he then had recourſe to a hot-bath, to haſten by that means the operation of the poiſon, or make his blood flow more freely: but that too not having the deſired effect, and the ſoldiers growing impatient, he was at laſt carried into a ſtove, and there ſuffocated with the ſteam. His body was burnt without any funeral ſolemnity, purſuant to a will which he had made even while he was in high favour with his prince. *Tacitus* gives him a far better character than *Dion Caſſius*; and, indeed, we cannot help ſaying, that his actions ſeem to have been quite inconſiſtent with his precepts. As to *Paulina*, *Nero*, ſenſible that her death would only render him ſtill more odious, ſent immediate orders to bind up her arms, and ſtop the blood: by which means ſhe outlived her huſband a few years, but was ever after pale and languiſhing. *Nero.*

The brave tribune *Subrius Flavius* met death with ſuch courage as proved to *Nero* the moſt galling circumſtance in the whole of this conſpiracy. His defence was very ſhort; and upon the tyrant's aſking him, *What had induced him to break his military oath?* he boldly replied, *Becauſe I abhorred thee; though there was not in the whole army any one more zealouſly attached to thee than I, ſo long as thou didſt merit affection: but I began to hate thee when thou becameſt the murderer of thy mother, thy brother, and thy wife; a charioteer, a comedian, and an incendiary.* *Sulpicius Aſper*, being aſked in like manner by *Nero*, *Why he had conſpired againſt him?* anſwered, *Becauſe there was no other relief againſt thy abominable enormities.* Noble behaviour of *Subrius Flavius*, and of *Sulpicius Aſper.*

Fenius Rufus had hitherto eſcaped diſcovery; but, upon his preſſing the ſenator *Scevinus*, with many menaces, to make a full confeſſion, *Scevinus*, with a ſmile, told him, *That no man was better acquainted with the particulars of the plot than himſelf.* *Fenius* attempted to reply, but gave ſuch manifeſt tokens of his guilt, that *Nero* ordered him to be ſeized; and when he was put to death he behaved with the meaneſt cowardice, even filling his laſt will with unmanly lamentations.

Nero hoped to find the conſul *Veſtinus*, whom he feared and hated, concerned in the conſpiracy.: but no one accuſing him, the tyrant diſpatched a tribune, at the head of five hundred men, to prevent his ſtirring. He was juſt returned from diſcharging the functions of conſul and was entertaining himſelf Brave death of the conſul *Veſtinus*,

Nero. himſelf at home with a few friends, when the ſoldiers entering, told him, *That the tribune waited for him. Veſtinus* immediately roſe from table, ſtept into his chamber, had his veins cut, and, without uttering a ſyllable that argued either grief or compaſſion for himſelf, was carried into a hot-bath and ſuffocated by the ſteam.

Of the poet *Lucan,* and of *C. Petronius.*

The poet *Lucan,* who was ſentenced next, had his veins opened, and died rehearſing ſome lines of his own, in which he had deſcribed a wounded ſoldier dying in the ſame manner *. The death of *C. Petronius,* the moſt polite, though not the chaſteſt writer of thoſe times, and once a great favorite with *Nero,* for his exquiſite art of refining voluptuouſneſs, was, like the whole of his life, void of the leaſt perplexing thought: for, after his veins were opened, ſometimes cloſing them, and ſometimes letting the blood run, he entertained his friends to the laſt moment, with ſoft verſes, delicate love-ſongs, and other ſuch like ſubjects; ſo that it might juſtly enough be ſaid, that with him *dying was ceaſing to live.* Few of the other conſpirators either ſaid or did any thing worth notice. But *Suetonius* tells us, that *Nero,* not ſatisfied with the puniſhment of the conſpirators themſelves, drove their innocent children out of *Rome,* and cauſed them, together with their tutors, governors, and domeſtics, to be either poiſoned or ſtarved to death. Whole families were cut off at one ſtroke; and, during this dreadful carnage, not one durſt ſhew the leaſt ſymptom of ſorrow for their murdered friends or relations. *Natalis* and *Proculus* were pardoned, in conſideration of their early confeſſion; and the proſecution againſt *Lucan*'s mother was dropt. *Milichus,* the freedman, was amply rewarded, and honoured with a *Greek* name, ſignifying *protector.* All the friends of *Seneca* were baniſhed.

Death of *Poppæa.*

Shortly after this conſpiracy was over, *Nero*'s wife *Poppæa,* whoſe lewdneſs and cruelty made her be as much deteſted as her huſband, died of a kick on the belly, which ſhe received from him while ſhe was big with child, for finding fault with his coming home late from one of his chariot-races. The emperor himſelf pronounced her panegyric; and *Pliny* aſſures us, that more perfumes were burnt at her funeral than *Arabia Felix* produced in a year. *Dion Caſſius* tells us, that five hundred aſſes were always carried about with her, and that ſhe bathed every day in their milk, to preſerve her beauty. Divine honours were decreed her.

Nero marries *Statilia Meſſalina.*

Soon after, *Nero* married *Statilia Meſſalina,* widow of the late conſul *Veſtinus*; and ſhe too was honoured with the title of *Auguſta.*

Caſſius Longinus

Not long after the death of *Poppæa, Nero* doomed to deſtruction two of the greateſt men in *Rome, C. Caſſius Longi-*

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* Pharſal. l. iii. c. 36. v. 639--642.

nus,

nus, a learned civilian, and *L. Junius Silanus Torquatus*; the former for his great wealth, and the exemplary gravity of his manners; the latter, becauſe he was related to the *Cæſars*, and judged worthy of the empire, by the *Roman* people, on account of his modeſty and eminent qualities. The crime laid to the charge of *Caſſius*, who was old, blind, and lived a very retired life, was, his keeping among the images of his anceſtors that of *Caius Caſſius*, one of the conſpirators againſt *Julius Cæſar*; and that of which *Silanus* was accuſed, was, an imputation, forged by *Nero*'s order, of inceſt with his aunt *Lepida*, the wife of *Caſſius*, and of their having practiſed together magical rites of a miſchievous tendency. *Caſſius* was baniſhed to *Sardinia*, and his life ſpared, on account of his great age: but *Silanus*, under colour of carrying him to the iſland of *Naxos*, was murdered by the way. *Oſtorius*, *Antcius*, *Mella*, *Anicius*, and ſeveral others, to avoid the cruelty of the tyrant, killed themſelves: as did alſo *Lucius Vetus*, his mother-in-law *Sextia*, and his daughter *Pollutia*; all three of them opening their veins in the ſame chamber, with the ſame inſtrument, and dying at the ſame time. *Nero.* and *Julius Silanus* condemned.

Nero, not ſatisfied with the ſlaughter of ſo many illuſtrious men, at length attempted, ſays *Tacitus*, to extirpate virtue itſelf, in the perſons of *Bareas Soranus* and *Thraſea Pætus*; who had long been the objects of his hatred. *Thraſea*, as we obſerved before, had left the ſenate when that ſervile aſſembly was going to decree thankſgivings for the murder of *Agrippina*. He had alſo oppoſed the condemnation of the prætor *Antiſtius*, who had incurred *Nero*'s diſpleaſure by writing a ſatyr againſt him; had abſented himſelf when divine honours were decreed to *Poppæa*; and, though inveſted with the prieſthood, had not only never made oblations for the ſafety of the prince, and the preſervation of his heavenly voice, but had even diſapproved of the emperor's ſinging and acting upon the ſtage. Theſe were the crimes laid to his charge by *Capito Coſſutianus*, and *Eprius Marcellus*, two moſt infamous informers. Thoſe of which *Soranus* was accuſed by *Oſtorius Sabinus*, a *Roman* knight, were, his attachment to *Plautus*, murdered by *Nero*'s order in *Aſia*; and pretended intrigues with the *Aſiatics*, to induce them to revolt. But his real crimes were, his having hindered one of *Nero*'s freedmen from plundering the city of *Pergamus*. Both *Thraſea* and *Soranus* were condemned, but left at liberty to chuſe their own death. The former ordered the veins of both his arms to be cut. As the blood flowed, he ordered the quæſtor who had brought the order to approach, and ſprinkling the floor with it, *Let us*, ſaid he to him, *make this libation to* Jupiter the Deliver. *Behold, young man; may the gods avert the omen! but you are born in ſuch times, as require you to fortify your mind with examples of conſtancy.*---A chaſm in the writings of *Tacitus* deprives us of the farther particu- *Thraſea* and *Soranus* accuſed, and condemned.

Nero. lars of the death of this great man, and of that of *Seneca*. *Thraſea*'s wife *Arria* was very earneſt to follow the example of her mother, who bore the ſame name, and was wife to *Cæcina Pætus*, with whom ſhe died; but *Thraſea* would not let her.

Tiridates crowned king of *Armenia.*

The pompous ſhews by which *Nero* endeavoured to divert the attention of the people from their infinite calamities, by crowning *Tiridates*, in one of the great ſquares of *Rome*, king of *Armenia*, being deſcribed in our hiſtory of the *Greater Armenia*, we ſhall not repeat that detail here; but only add, that *Tiridates* was loaded with immenſe preſents, for having flattered the vain emperor, and pretended to be raviſhed with his harmonious voice, and ſkill in chariot-driving; and that *Nero* then ſhut up the temple of *Janus*, which had been open about 64 years.

Nero paſſes into *Greece* and appears on the public ſtage.

Shortly after the departure of *Tiridates*, *Nero* paſſed over into *Greece*, on purpoſe to exert his ſkill at the olympic games, where, to the eternal ignominy of the *Roman* name, he was not aſhamed to appear as a competitor among the common harpers, players, and charioteers. He won the prize of muſic, by corrupting, as was commonly believed, with large preſents, either the judges, or his competitors, or both. The prize of chariot-driving he evidently forfeited, being thrown off, and ſo hurt, that he was not able to finiſh his career: but as he inſiſted with the judges, that all caſual events and misfortunes were to be excepted, the prize was decreed him, to his inexpreſſible ſatisfaction: and he, in return, not only rewarded the judges with the rights of *Roman* citizens, and rich preſents, but reſtored the whole province of *Achaia* to its ancient liberty, and exempted it from all ſorts of taxes. *Veſpaſian* revoked this act; and *Galba* made the judges refund the money they had received. After this, *Nero* travelled all over *Greece*, challenging every where the beſt harpers, and, as we may imagine, being always victor; of which he never failed to ſend a particular account to the ſenate, injoining them to acknowledge the favours of the gods towards him, with victims, oblations, and public proceſſions, and to take care, that the ſame devotions were practiſed throughout the whole empire. He is ſaid to have gained above eighteen hundred prizes in this expedition.

Undertakes to cut thro' the iſthmus of *Corinth.*

As *Nero* was always ready to attempt what was generally deemed impoſſible, before he left *Greece*, he undertook to cut through the iſthmus of *Corinth*, in order to join the *Ionian* and *Ægean* ſeas. But after a great deal of parade, breaking the firſt ground himſelf with a golden pick-ax, and carrying away a handful of the earth to *Corinth*, with as much pride as if he had atchieved the labours of *Hercules*; and after ſetting to work not only his prætorian guards, but all the priſoners in the empire, whom he ordered to be tranſported into *Greece*, he dropped this enterprize.

His

His finances being again exhausted, he plundered the *Greeks* without mercy, putting to death such of them as were thought rich, and seizing their estates. He then extended his rapines to *Italy* and *Rome*, from whence he had taken with him into *Greece* numbers of the most wealthy and noble of the *Romans*, that he might have an opportunity of dispatching them at a distance from *Rome*, with more safety to himself, and less noise; whilst the freedman *Helius*, whom he had left governor of *Rome*, seized their estates: for *Nero* had this year published an edict, whereby, contrary to the custom which had hitherto obtained, the estates even of those who anticipated their sentence by a voluntary death, were declared confiscated to the emperor. The brave *Corbulo*, equal, says *Tacitus*, in courage, prudence, and experience to the most renowned commanders of ancient *Rome*, and, at the same time, a true pattern of the modesty, virtue, and integrity of the primitive *Romans*, was, for his virtue, of all crimes the greatest in *Nero*'s eyes, doomed this year to die. The tyrant, under pretence of desiring to see him, as one for whom he had the greatest regard, having inticed him into *Greece*, commanded him to be killed as soon as he arrived. This order was no sooner notified to *Corbulo*, than, drawing his sword, he plunged it into his breast, saying, *He well deserved to die*; meaning, no doubt, on account of his credulity, and inviolable attachment to so vile a monster. For *Corbulo* was so unanimously beloved, and had so great an army intirely at his devotion, that he might certainly have made himself emperor, if he would.

Nero. He plunders *Greece* and *Italy*.

Death of *Corbulo*.

The governor of *Rome*, *Helius*, assisted by *Polycletus*, another freedman, made no less havock of the nobility at *Rome*, than his master did in *Greece*; *Nero* having invested him with an absolute power over all persons, senators not excepted, whom he was allowed to condemn, banish, or execute, without so much as acquainting the emperor with the crimes laid to their charge, or waiting for his consent. Few noble families escaped the cruelty of the emperor, or of the imperial freedman. The latter, more cruel, if possible, than *Nero* himself, cut off the children and relations of those he condemned; which alarmed the city to such a degree that a general insurrection was apprehended. *Helius* thereupon sent messenger after messenger to the emperor, pressing him to return with all possible expedition: and as *Nero* sent him no other answer, than, *That if he truly loved him, he would not envy him the glory he was daily acquiring in* Greece; the freedman left *Rome* unexpectedly, and arriving in seven days in *Greece*, so terrified the emperor, with the exaggerated account he gave him of the general discontent of the city, that he immediately left *Greece*, where he had staid upwards of a year, and embarked for *Italy*. In his passage, his fleet was dispersed by a violent storm, the ships laden with the wealth of *Greece* were cast away, and he himself in great danger

Cruelties exercised in *Rome*.

Nero returns to *Italy*.

Nero. of being loſt with them. Upon his landing, many of his retinue were immediately put to death, for having imprudently betrayed joy whilſt he was in danger of periſhing.

He entered *Rome* through a breach in the wall, according to the cuſtom of the victors in the olympic games, in the triumphal chariot of *Auguſtus*, pompouſly attired, with an olympic crown on his head, and a Pythic crown in his hand, and preceded by eighteen hundred perſons, each of whom carried a crown in his hand, with an inſcription under it, ſignifying where, from whom, and for what ſong it had been won. In this manner, and followed by all the rabble of *Rome*, he proceeded to the temple of *Apollo*, where, after diſplaying all his crowns, he ordered them to be carried to his golden houſe, and hung up round his bed, upon the many ſtatues which he had erected to himſelf, in the habit and attire of an harper.

The Jews, grievouſly oppreſſed by their governors, eſpecially *Florus*, had taken up arms, and lately defeated *Ceſtius Gallus*, governor of *Syria*, after having obliged him to raiſe the ſiege of *Jeruſalem*: upon which, *Nero*, in the twelfth year of his reign, appointed *Mucian* governor of *Syria*, and named *Veſpaſian* to the command of the troops in that province, though he had not long before forbad him his preſence, and threatened him with deſtruction, for having nodded whilſt he was performing on the ſtage.

Veſpaſian ſent againſt the Jews.

Nero, after his return from *Greece*, ſpent the remainder of that year, which was the thirteenth of his reign, in playing on the harp, ſinging, and acting upon the ſtage; no one of the nobility daring, upon any pretence whatever, to be abſent from his theatrical performances, though they often laſted the whole night, as well as day. To preſerve his voice, he uſed to lie conſtantly on his back, with a thin plate of lead upon his ſtomach, often took vomiting and purging potions, and abſtained from all ſorts of fruit and meats thought prejudicial to his voice: nay, at length, through fear of hurting it, he left off making ſpeeches to the ſoldiery or ſenate, and ſignified his pleaſure to them in writing, or by the mouth of ſome other perſon. He would never ſpeak now but in the preſence of his *Phonaſcus*, as he called him, an officer, whoſe ſole buſineſs was to take care of his voice, firſt to admoniſh him if he talked too loud, or ſtrained his lungs; and afterwards, if he did not heed that, to ſtop his mouth with a napkin. Amidſt all this ſhameful trifling, he ſtill purſued his acts of extravagance, cruelty, and blood, which nothing could equal but his infamous lewdneſs.

Nero's great care of his voice.

His exceſſive prodigality,

In his journeys, which were very frequent, beſides a numberleſs train of followers and attendants, he never had leſs than a thouſand waggons for his wardrobe, drawn by mules richly capariſoned, and ſhod with ſilver, and the drivers of them clad with cloth of gold or ſilver. *Suetonius* tells us,

us, that he beſtowed upon the funeral of his monkey, the whole eſtate of a rich uſurer called *Paneros*. His donations to the people were ſtill more extravagant: for inſtead of the trifles which former emperors uſed to toſs out to them to ſcramble for, *Nero* threw among them vaſt quantities of rich apparel, gold, ſilver, and precious ſtones; and for things which could not be thrown in kind, he cauſed tickets to be caſt among the people, on which was written what the perſons ſhould have into whoſe hands they fell, ſuch as corn, herds, ſlaves, fields, houſes, iſlands, and things of great value. The conſequence of theſe immenſe prodigalities was, his plundering the provinces to ſuch a degree, as rendered them quite deſolate, and reduced their wretched inhabitants to the utmoſt miſery. At the ſame time theſe profuſe gifts preſerved him the love of the populace of *Rome*. His banquets were expenſive almoſt beyond belief, and no leſs infamous for the monſtrous ſcenes of lewdneſs practiſed at them; for he was generally attended at ſuch entertainments, whether given by himſelf or his friends, by the moſt debauched women of the whole city. We may judge of the reſt, by one which *Tigellinus* gave him a little before the burning of *Rome*. In the lake of *Agrippina* was built a large ſhip, which carried the banquet, and was towed by other ſhips, embelliſhed with rich ornaments of gold and ivory, which were rowed by profeſſed catamites, ranged according to their different age, and ſkill in their abominable profeſſion. On the banks of the lake, on one ſide, were brothels filled with ladies of great rank; and, on the other, common harlots, quite naked. When night came on, the neighbouring groves and houſes reſounded with ſongs and muſic, and were illuminated ſo as to equal the light of day. A few days after this memorable banquet, *Nero*, who, as *Tacitus* obſerves, had already ſurpaſſed all men in every kind of abomination, carried his lewdneſs to ſuch monſtrous exceſſes, as would ſeem altogether incredible, were they not atteſted by hiſtorians who lived near thoſe times, and whoſe veracity cannot be queſtioned. He dreſſed himſelf in the habit of a woman, and, as ſuch, was publicly married, with the uſual forms and ſolemnity, to one of his contaminated crew, named *Pythagoras*: and not ſatisfied with this, he became the huſband of another, named *Sporus*, whom he married with the ſame ſolemnity, kept in his palace, and carried about with him all over *Italy* and *Greece*, in the ſame litter, and in the attire of an empreſs: on which occaſion it was ſaid, *That it would have been happy for the world, had* Nero's *father had ſuch a wife.*

Nero.

and monſtrous lewdneſs.

The world had now groaned upwards of thirteen years under the yoke of this abominable monſter, and the patience of all mankind was quite worn out. Both *Romans* and foreigners were equally diſpoſed to a general revolution, and only wanted a proper perſon to head them. The firſt

The firſt revolution in the *Roman* empire.

Nero.

who had courage enough openly to declare himself was *Julius Vindex*, descended from the ancient kings of *Aquitain*, and at this time governor of *Celtic Gaul*. He was a true lover of his country, had given several proofs of his courage and skill, and ardently wished to transmit his name to posterity by some commendable action. The first person he declared his design to was *Sergius Galba*, governor of part of *Spain*, who neither countenanced nor discouraged it then: but upon *Vindex*'s informing him, shortly after, that all the *Gauls* had approved of his undertaking, that he was at the head of an hundred thousand armed men, and could raise a greater force if wanted, and that he begged of him to espouse the common cause of mankind, and take the command of these troops, *Galba* assembled the *Spaniards*, and began to harangue them; when they, interrupting him with loud shouts, unanimously saluted him *Emperor* and *Augustus*. He commended their zeal, but declined these titles; declaring, that he devoted himself to the service of his country, only as lieutenant to the senate and people. *Otho*, who still governed *Lusitania*, was the first of all the governors of provinces who declared for him; at the same time sending him all his gold and silver plate to turn into money; and likewise his domestics, who were more accustomed to a court, and knew better than *Galba*'s how to serve an emperor.

Vindex revolts in *Gaul.*

Galba declared emperor in *Spain.*

Nero was at *Naples* when he received the first news of *Vindex*'s revolt, and was so far from being affected with it, that he seemed rather to be pleased, as it would give him a plausible pretence to plunder the wealthy provinces of *Gaul*: so that he continued to sing, play, and act upon the stage, as usual, for eight days together, without issuing any orders for suppressing the rebellion, or even writing or speaking to any one about it; except one evening, at supper, when, receiving letters of a fresher date, acquainting him with the greatness of the danger, and the necessity of applying a speedy remedy, he said, *He would make the* Gauls *pay dear for disturbing his pleasures.* At length, the bitter declarations of *Vindex*, and particularly one, in which he was called *an unskilful harper*, and *Ahenobarbus* instead of *Nero*, roused him so far, that, after appealing to every one about him, whether he was not a good player, he wrote to the senate, recommending to the fathers the revenging of the injuries offered to him, and excused his absence with the pretence of an inflammation in his throat. But the alarm increasing, and messenger after messenger arriving with dismal accounts, he at length left *Naples* in a great fright, and repaired to *Rome*. Upon his arrival there, instead of assembling the senate, or people, he only summoned some of the principal men to his palace, and, after a short consultation, in which no resolution was taken, he spent the rest of the day in shewing them some new instruments of music of his inventing, and promising to introduce them, e'er long, upon the stage, if

Nero is not affected with the news of the revolt of *Vindex.*

Vindex

Vindex would give him leave. However, he wrote a letter to the ſenate, complaining of *Vindex*, ſet a price upon his head, recalled ſome troops that were marching towards *Albania*, and ordered back the legions then in *Illyricum*. When *Vindex* was told, that *Nero* had promiſed ten millions of ſeſterces to any one who ſhould bring him his head; he anſwered, with great calmneſs, *Whoever ſhall bring* Nero's *head to me, ſhall, if he pleaſes, have mine in exchange.* *Nero.*

Hitherto *Nero* ſeemed not at all alarmed: but when the news of *Galba*'s revolt was brought him, juſt as he was ſitting down to ſupper, he was ſo ſtruck with it, that he remained a long time motionleſs, without being able to utter a ſingle word; and when he came to himſelf, he overturned the table in a violent rage, tore his garments, and daſhed his head againſt the wall, crying out, that *He was undone; that his misfortunes were without example; that his empire was taken from him while he was yet alive, and he was become the prey of an uſurper.* Yet, even in the height of his conſternation, he could not refrain from his uſual debaucheries, nor from frequenting the theatre. In the mean time, the ſenate, out of fear and flattery, declared *Galba* an enemy to the ſtate; whereupon *Nero* immediately ſeized his eſtate, and commanded it to be put up to auction; which *Galba* was no ſooner informed of, than he expoſed to ſale *Nero*'s eſtate in *Spain*, and found a great number of perſons ready to purchaſe it. This enraged *Nero* to ſuch a degree, that, in the firſt tranſports of his fury, he reſolved to maſſacre all the governors of provinces and commanders of the armies, under pretence of their being privy to the conſpiracy; to order all the exiles to be killed, leſt they ſhould join the revolters; to cut the throats of all the *Gauls* in *Rome*, as accomplices of their countrymen; to poiſon the whole ſenate at an entertainment; to ſet fire to the city, and at the ſame time, let looſe the wild beaſts kept for the public ſhews, that the people might be prevented from extinguiſhing the flames. But, dropping theſe thoughts, not out of remorſe, but deſpair of effecting them, he reſolved to march in perſon againſt the rebels, and to that end ordered an immenſe number of waggons to be got ready, for conveying with ſafety, not engines of war, but his muſical inſtruments, decorations for the ſtage, and his concubines, whom he armed with battle-axes and ſhields, and appointed his body-guards. At the ſame time he was mean enough to declare to ſome of his intimates, *That he did not intend to try his fortune with the rebels in the field, but, upon his arrival in the province, to preſent himſelf unarmed before them, to weep, and with ſighs and tears implore their forgiveneſs; which obtained, he would make them amends for his paſt conduct, by diverting them with plays and ſongs of triumph.*

But is greatly alarmed at the revolt of *Galba*.

His deſperate deſigns.

His meanneſs.

In the mean time, *Galba*'s party gathered new ſtrength, all the governors of the provinces declaring for him, except

Nero.

Clodius Macer in *Africa*, and *L. Rufus Virginius* in *Upper Germany*, who had under his command ſome of the beſt legions in the whole empire. This laſt even marched againſt *Vindex*, with all his forces, and advanced as far as the city of *Beſançon*, where *Vindex*, being defeated, with the loſs of upwards of twenty thouſand of his men, laid violent hands on himſelf. The victorious legions begged of *Virginius* to accept the empire, and ſaluted him *Cæſar*, *Emperor*, and *Auguſtus*: but he not only rejected their offer, but reſolutely declared, *That he would neither take upon himſelf the ſovereign power, nor ſuffer any one elſe to aſſume it, who was not choſen by the ſenate, to whom alone the diſpoſal of the empire belonged.*

Virginius defeats *Vindex*, who kills himſelf.

Bad ſituation of *Galba*'s affairs.

The death of *Vindex*, and this declaration of *Virginius*, perplexed *Galba* exceedingly: beſides which, it was reported, that *Virginius*'s troops, finding they could not perſuade their general to accept of the empire, threatened to return to *Nero*; and as to *Galba*'s own troops, ſome of them attempted to abandon him; and certain ſlaves, which one of *Nero*'s freedmen had given him, formed a conſpiracy againſt his life, which he narrowly eſcaped. In this perplexity, *Galba* retired to a city in *Spain*, called *Clunia*, quite diſheartened, and ready to put an end to his life.

Nero's levies went on but ſlowly, or rather not at all in *Rome*, and the people grew daily more and more exaſperated againſt him. A famine which began to be felt in the city, heightened the fury of the populace exceedingly, by the arrival of a ſhip from *Egypt*, at that time the granary of *Rome*, laden, not with corn, as was expected, but with ſand for the gladiators and wreſtlers. Upon this the people roſe, threw down the emperor's ſtatues, tore his images, plundered the houſes of his friends and favourites, and committed innumerable diſorders. At the ſame time, news arrived of

The *Roman* legions revolt.

the revolt of the legions in *Germany*, which ſo terrified *Nero*, that, taking with him a doſe of poiſon, he went immediately into the *Servilian* gardens, and from thence ſent ſome of his freedmen to *Oſtia*, to order his fleet to be got ready to carry him to *Egypt*. At other times, he reſolved to fly to *Parthia*, or elſe to addreſs *Galba* as a ſuppliant, and throw himſelf intirely upon his mercy. As he was leaving the palace, he aſked ſome of the officers of his guards, whether they would accompany him in his flight? Moſt of them eluded the queſtion, others poſitively refuſed, and one of them cried to him, *Is it then ſo ſad a thing to die?*

Nero is abandoned by his guards.

Nero remained in this irreſolution till the next day, by which time his ruin was completed by one whom he leaſt of all ſuſpected, *Nymphidius Sabinus*, whom, though of mean deſcent, he had appointed colleague of *Tigellinus* in the command of the prætorian guards, and who now entertained thoughts of ſeizing the ſovereignty for himſelf. However, he did not yet declare his ambitious views; but pretending to eſpouſe the cauſe of *Galba*, allured the guards that *Nero*

was

was fled, and promiſed them, in *Galba*'s name, ſuch ſums as neither he nor any other was able to give. This promiſe ſecured the empire to *Galba* for the preſent, loſt it him afterwards, and, in the end, occaſioned the deſtruction of *Nymphidius*, and of the guards themſelves. Even *Tigellinus*, the chief author of *Nero*'s crimes, forſook him now. In this ſituation, waking in the night, and finding that all his guards were gone, he leaped out of his bed, ſent for his friends, and, on their not coming, went in perſon to their houſes. Their doors were all ſhut againſt him, and not one vouchſafed to anſwer him. He then haſtened back to his chamber, which he found rifled, even of the very bed-cloaths, and the gold box into which he had put the poiſon. Upon this he ſent for one *Spicillus*, a gladiator, to diſpatch him; but neither he nor any other being to be found, who would undertake that taſk, he cried out in a fit of deſpair, *What! have I then neither friends nor enemies left?* and at theſe words flew out of the room, with a deſign to throw himſelf into the *Tiber*; but changing his mind, he ſtopped on a ſudden, and begged to be conducted to ſome private place, where he might recollect himſelf.

Phaon, one of his freedmen, offered him his country houſe, about four miles from the city, and he immediately ſet out for it, attended only by four perſons, of whom *Sporus* was one, meanly apparelled, and worſe mounted, and hiding his face with an handkerchief, for fear of being diſcovered. At his ſetting out, he was dreadfully terrified at ſeveral flaſhes of lightning, and as he paſſed by the camp of the prætorian guards, he heard them curſing him, and wiſhing ſucceſs to *Galba*. Some people whom he met on the road, ſeeing him and his attendants, ſaid to each other, *Theſe people are doubtleſs in purſuit of* Nero; and another aſked him, *What news of* Nero *in the city?* His horſe ſtarting at the ſight of a carcaſe that lay in the way, the covering of his face was ſhaken off, and he was known by a ſoldier, who ſaluted him with the title of *emperor*; which ſo alarmed him and his attendants, that they quitted their horſes at the firſt turning, and betaking themſelves to a narrow path, crept through buſhes and briars to a wall which incloſed *Phaon*'s grounds, who intreated the emperor to hide himſelf in a ſand-pit, till he could convey him in with more ſecrecy; but *Nero* anſwered, *That he would not be buried till he was dead*; and lay concealed among the briars, while *Phaon* examined how he might beſt introduce him, which was at laſt done by making a hole in the wall, and dragging him through it. Whilſt *Nero* lay among the briars, being preſſed with thirſt, he took up water out of a ditch with his hands, ſaying, *To this liquor is* Nero *reduced.* In the houſe, he laid himſelf down on a pallet-bed, where he ſpent the remainder of the night, and part of the following day, in ſuch agonies as cannot be expreſſed, alarmed at the leaſt noiſe he heard, and not daring to ſpeak, for

He flies from *Rome.*

Nero. fear of being discovered. His attendants pressing him to prevent the dangers that threatened him, by a voluntary death, he at last ordered his grave to be dug, and wood and water to be provided for washing and burning his body.

The senate declare him an enemy to the state, and condemn him to die.

The day after he left *Rome*, the senate assembled early in the morning, and, after proclaiming *Galba* emperor, and taking the usual oaths to him, declared *Nero* an enemy to the state, and condemned him to be punished *more majorum*. The messenger who brought the account of this sentence, found him making the above preparations for his own death, and, with a thousand sighs and tears, repeating several times, *What an artist will the world lose!* He asked, what was the punishment implied by the words *more majorum*; and being told, that he was to be stripped naked, his head to be fastened in a pillory, and he in that posture to be whipped to death; he was so terrified, that he snatched up two daggers, as if he had intended to kill himself that instant: but, after feeling their points with a trembling hand, he laid them down again, saying, *His fatal hour was not yet come.* He

His abject cowardice

then begged with many tears, that some of his attendants would encourage him to die by killing themselves first: but none of them shewing the least inclination to oblige him so far as that, he endeavoured to animate himself, but to no effect; till hearing the noise of some horsemen sent by the senate to seek him, he set a dagger to his throat; but his heart failing him, he begged *Epaphroditus*, his freedman and secretary, to lend him his assistance, and by that means wounded himself so that he died shortly after. Before he was quite dead, the officer sent by the senate entered the room, and pretending he was come to his relief, endeavoured to stop the blood. *Nero* gave him no other answer, but, *It is too late: Is this your fidelity and allegiance?* With these

His death

words he expired, his eyes staring frightfully, and almost starting out of his head. Such was the miserable end of *Nero*, who by his unheard-of iniquities, well deserved all the misfortunes that befell him. He died in the thirty-second year of his age, after having reigned thirteen years and eight months.

Year of *Rome* 821. of *Christ* 69.

Upon the first rumour of his death, one of *Galba*'s freedmen flew to the place where his body lay, and having beheld the lifeless carcase extended on the ground, hastened away to *Spain* with the important tidings: and as soon as it was known at *Rome*, the joy of the people was so great, that they ran up and down the streets with such caps on their heads as were worn by manumitted slaves, congratulating one another upon their deliverance, dashing to pieces most of *Nero*'s statues, and knocking out the brains of all his friends that fell in their hands. His ashes were deposited in the *mausoleum* of the *Domitian* family. He is called the last of the family of the *Cæsars*; though that family, strictly speaking, ended in *Caligula*; both *Nero* and *Claudius* being descended from *Augustus* only on the mother's side.

GALBA.

GALBA.

SERVIUS SULPITIUS GALBA, who first broke the lineal succession of the empire, and who was the first that received it from the hands of the soldiers, with the approbation of the senate, was seventy-two years old when he ascended the throne. His family was one of the richest and most illustrious in *Rome*. He was honoured with the prætorship before the age required by the laws, and on the expiration of that office he was appointed governor of *Aquitain*, and about a year after raised to the consulship. *Caligula* gave him the command of the legions in *Germany*, which trust he discharged with great reputation, restoring the ancient discipline, which had been much neglected. Upon the death of *Caligula*, he was strongly solicited by many persons of great power to seize the empire for himself: but he, without listening to their propofals, obliged his troops to take the usual oaths to *Claudius*, who, for that service, always shewed him the highest esteem. Some time after, *Africa* being harrassed with intestine broils and foreign invasions, he was sent into that province in quality of proconsul, and distinguished himself there, even above those who had gained the greatest reputation in that government. Upon his return from thence, he was honoured with the triumphal ornaments, and admitted among the priests of *Augustus*. From this time, to the middle of *Nero*'s reign, he led a retired life, for fear of giving umbrage to that tyrant, who, of his own accord, appointed him governor of that part of *Spain* called *Hispania Tarraconensis*, which he had held eight years; ruling it, at first, with extreme rigour, but afterwards abating by degrees of that severity, through fear of giving umbrage to the emperor; and at last, for the same design, abandoning himself, contrary to his inclinations, to sloth and idleness; saying, *That no man could be called to an account for doing nothing*. He could not, however, help shewing a great concern for the sufferings of the people, who were cruelly oppressed by the imperial tax-gatherers; which provoked these last to such a degree, that they prevailed on *Nero* to order him to be privately dispatched. But he had already revolted, before these orders could be put in execution; and, as we observed before, retired to *Clunia*, in the utmost consternation, upon the news of the death of *Vindex*, and the declaration of *Virginius*, *not to suffer any one to seize the empire, who was not chosen by the senate*.

Some account of *Galba* before his elevation to the empire.

While he was deliberating with his friends what measures to take, and in such despair as to be almost ready to kill himself, his freedman *Vicellius* arrived from *Rome* with the news of his promotion.

Receives the news of his promotion.

Galba. of *Nero*'s death, and of his being declared emperor by the army, ſenate, and people. This was confirmed a few days after by *Titus Vinius*, tribune of the only legion then in the province, who had received the ſame account from his friends in *Rome*; and by meſſengers from the ſenate, who brought *Galba* the decree by which he was veſted with the ſovereign power.

Sets out for *Rome.* He thereupon immediately ſet out for *Rome*, attended by his *Spaniſh* guard, his chief friends, and *Otho*, governor of *Luſitania*; but advanced ſlowly, being carried all the way in a litter, on account of his great age. The only perſon he now feared was *Virginius Rufus*; but that terror was ſoon removed by *Virginius*'s meeting him on the road, and taking the oath of fidelity to him, in conſequence of the reſolutions of the ſenate. *Galba*, though he loved and eſteemed him, and would have raiſed him to the higheſt offices in the ſtate, had he followed his own inclination, received him very coldly, being influenced by the perſuaſions of *Titus Vinius*, who had already gained a great aſcendant over him, and was jealous of *Virginius*. At *Narbonne* he was met by a deputation from the ſenate.

Nymphidius Sabinus aſpires to the empire. In the mean time, *Nymphidius Sabinus*, having gained the affections of the prætorian guards by his immenſe largeſſes, and imagining that *Galba*, by reaſon of his years and infirmities, would never be able to reach the capital, uſurped all the authority there, obliging *Tigellinus*, his collegue in the command of the prætorians, to lay down his commiſſion, treating all the great men of *Rome* with ſumptuous entertainments, and courting the favour of the people with ſhews and diſtributions of money. By this means he gained ſo great an intereſt with all ranks, that he already looked upon himſelf as ſovereign. The ſenate meanly ſtiled him their protector, attended him whenever he appeared in public, and had recourſe to him for the confirmation of their decrees. This puffed him up to ſuch a degree, that he uſurped at once an abſolute authority, even threatening to depoſe the conſuls for ſealing the diſpatches to the emperor with their own ſignets, and not with his. However, though he acted as ſovereign, he had not yet openly declared his deſign of ſeizing the ſovereignty. But when he underſtood that *Galba* was near the borders of *Italy*, and that *Cornelius Laco* was appointed commander of the prætorian guards, with *Titus Vinius*, he

Attempts to make the prætorians revolt. exhorted the officers under his command to ſend a deputation to the emperor, to beg of him, in the name of the whole army, to diſcharge from his ſervice *Laco* and *Vinius*. This they thought unreaſonable, and therefore refuſed it: whereupon *Nymphidius*, changing his meaſures, diſcloſed his real deſign to ſome of his officers, and they to the ſoldiers under their command; and it was agreed, that *Nymphidius* ſhould be carried that very night into the camp, and there be proclaimed emperor.

emperor. But one of the tribunes, touched with remorſe, aſſembled his men in the evening, ſignified to them his repentance, and deſired them to continue faithful to *Galba*. The diſcourſe of the tribune brought over all who heard him, and moſt of the other cohorts joining them, *Galba* was again proclaimed emperor with loud acclamations. *Nymphidius* hearing the noiſe, and either imagining they proclaimed him, or fearing an inſurrection, haſtened to the camp, but found the gates ſhut, and the ſoldiers under arms upon the ramparts. Upon this, he called out to them to open the gates to their general. They obeyed; but as he was entering the camp, he was ſaluted with a dart, which one who marched before him received upon his ſhield. Alarmed at this, he betook himſelf to flight, but was purſued, overtaken, and killed. *Galba*. Goes to the camp, and is killed.

An account of the treaſon, and of the puniſhment of the traitor, was ſent at the ſame time to *Galba*, who, upon receiving it, directly ſent orders to the ſenate to put all his accomplices to death without diſtinction. This arbitrary proceeding, of condemning people, and eſpecially people of ſuch high rank as ſome of theſe were, without hearing them, greatly alarmed the whole city, who expected a quite different conduct from a man of *Galba*'s years and experience. But what occaſioned a far greater ſurprize, was his ordering *Petronius Turpilianus*, who had been conſul in *Nero*'s reign, to be put to death directly; for no other crime, but becauſe he had been faithful to that prince, and had commanded as general under him. Theſe haſty and illegal executions, together with the exceſſive ſeverity with which he treated ſome of the chief cities of *Spain* and *Gaul*, that had been backward in acknowledging him when he firſt revolted from *Nero*, and a report of his being extremely covetous, made it be greatly feared, that the *Romans* would have cauſe to repent their choice. His accomplices put to death,

At length, after a long and bloody march, *Galba* reached the *Milvian* bridge, within twenty-five furlongs of *Rome*, and was there met by a numerous body of marines, whom *Nero* had taken from the oar, and formed into a legion. They addreſſed the new emperor for a confirmation of their eſtabliſhment; and, on his putting them off to another time, they grew mutinous, obſtructed his paſſage, and loudly inſiſted on having an eagle and legionary enſigns. *Galba* thereupon ordered his horſe to ride in among them; ſeven thouſand of the diſarmed multitude were killed on the ſpot, and the reſt were decimated. He then diſcharged the *German* cohorts, which had been eſtabliſhed by the former emperors for a guard to their perſons, and had given manifeſt teſtimonies of their allegiance and fidelity to their prince: notwithſtanding which, he ſent them to their own country without any reward; pretending, that they were better affected to *Dolabella* A great number of marines maſſacred, and the *German* cohort diſcharged, by *Galba*'s orders.

Galba. *Dolabella* than himſelf, becauſe they had encamped near his gardens.

His adminiſtration good, till,

On his firſt taking upon him the government of the empire, after his arrival at *Rome*, he did ſome acts worthy a wiſe and good prince. He reſtored all perſons unjuſtly exiled by *Nero*, to their country and honours though not to their wealth and eſtates. He was ever ſevere to all criminals; and being petitioned for a condemned knight, that he might not ſuffer the death of common malefactors, he ordered the gibbet to be painted, and made higher than ordinary, by way of diſtinction. He called to an account, and puniſhed, according to their deſerts, ſuch as had borne the chief ſway in the late tyrannical adminiſtration. Among theſe, *Polyclitus*, *Petinus*, *Patrobius*, *Narciſſus*, all *Nero*'s freedmen, and the famous poiſoner *Locuſta*, were publicly executed, to the great ſatisfaction of the people. No one doubted but *Tigellinus*, who had been the chief promoter of all *Nero*'s iniquities, would ſuffer the ſame doom; but the mighty protection of *Vinius* ſcreened him, under pretence that *Tigellinus* had ſaved his daughter's life. This ſcandalous partiality exaſperated the people, who complained loudly of it every time the emperor went abroad, and demanded his execution even at the gates of the palace. This act of juſtice would have been both politic and proper; but *Tigellinus*, by promiſing *Vinius* an immenſe ſum of money, in caſe he eſcaped unpuniſhed, made this laſt perſuade *Galba*, who had an entire confidence in him, to check the people by an edict, wherein he reproached them with cruelty, and begged they would not make his government appear tyrannical, nor inſiſt on the execution of an unhappy man who was dying of a conſumption. *Halotus*, another of *Nero*'s miniſters, whoſe death was equally demanded by the people, was likewiſe protected by *Vinius*, from the ſame motives.

governed by his favourites, he becomes odious.

Galba's thus ſuffering himſelf to be governed by his favorites, the chief of whom were, *Titus Vinius*, *Cornelius Laco*, and *Icelus Marcianus*, rendered him both odious and contemptible. They were lodged in the palace, were continually about his perſon, and proſtituted his character, by ſelling, to their own gain, offices, provinces, public revenues, juſtice, and the lives of men both innocent and guilty. He was old; they were inſatiable, and eager to make the moſt of a ſhort reign to enrich themſelves: and he, by not reſtraining them, incurred the ſame cenſure and blame as if he himſelf had done the evil. The public hatred which the numberleſs iniquities of his new miniſters brought upon him, was heightened by his ill-timed parſimony, which was ſuch, that when, upon any extraordinary occaſion, his table was more plentifully ſerved than uſual, he could not help ſighing, and expreſſing his diſſatisfaction in a manner inconſiſtent even with common decency.

A

Galba.

As the public treaſure had been quite exhauſted by *Nero*, who had diſſipated about ſeventy millions in profuſe gifts and penſions; *Galba* judged that the moſt equitable way to raiſe the neceſſary ſubſidies for the public, was from thoſe by whom the public had been impoveriſhed. All who had profited by the late emperor's extravagances, were therefore called to an account, and ordered to refund nine tenths of whatever they had received from him. Theſe reſearches extended even into *Greece*, to the muſicians, actors, wreſtlers, chariooteers, judges of the olympic games, &c. and a court was erected on purpoſe to make theſe inquires, which were ſo extenſive, affected ſuch multitudes of people, and occaſioned ſo many vexatious ſuits, that, not only the city, but the whole empire, was in a ferment.

Orders 9 tenths of *Nero's* donations to be reſtored.

The prætorian guards were kept quiet a-while by the hopes of the vaſt donative which had been promiſed them by *Nymphidius* in *Galba*'s name; ſuppoſing that if the emperor did not give them the whole of that ſum, he would, at leaſt, give them as much as they had received from *Nero*. But when he offered them only a ſmall ſum, leſs than they had ever been given before, and at the ſame time added, *That he uſed his ſoldiers, and did not buy them*; they were ſo incenſed, that they could not refrain from vilifying, and even ſeditious invectives. His exacting a ſtrict obſervance of military diſcipline, a thing they had never been uſed to for many years, exaſperated them ſtill more.

Diſobliges the prætorian guards,

Clodius Macer, governor of *Africa*, had taken up arms in that country, againſt *Nero*, about the ſame time that *Vindex* revolted in *Gaul*, and now refuſed to acknowledge *Galba*, for fear of being called to an account for his numberleſs murders and extortions. Inſtigated by *Galvia Criſpinilla*, who had been the directreſs of *Nero*'s luſts, and had paſſed over into *Africa*, he ſtrove to keep poſſeſſion of that province, and to famiſh *Rome*, by ſtopping the ſhips which uſed to convey corn from thence thither. For this he was killed, at the command of *Galba*, by *Trebonius Garucianus*, the imperial procurator in *Africa*. *Criſpinilla* returned to *Rome*; and, though the whole people inſiſted on her being put to death, yet, by the connivance of the prince, and the favour of his miniſters, for ſhe was both rich and childleſs, ſhe eſcaped puniſhment, and lived unmoleſted during this and the two following reigns. About the ſame time, *Fonteius Capito*, who commanded in Lower *Germany*, was aſſaſſinated by *Aquinas* and *Valens*, two tribunes, without ſtaying for the emperor's command. *Capito* was ſucceeded in the government of Lower *Germany* by *Aulus Vitellius*, afterwards emperor, who was raiſed to that poſt chiefly by the intereſt of *Vinius*, whoſe favour he had gained by ſupporting the ſame faction in the *circus*; *Galba* declaring, when he gave him that command, *That it was not out of any eſteem for him, or opinion*

Cladius Macer.

and *Fonteius Capito*, killed

Vitellius made governor of Lower *Germany*.

of

Galba. *of his abilities; but because he believed gluttons were not much to be feared.*

The legions in Upper *Germany* revolt.

Galba had scarce entered upon his second consulship, when he received the news of the revolt of the legions in Upper *Germany*, who, dissatisfied at *Virginius*'s having been removed from them, and not preferred to any other employment, thought him treated as a criminal, and themselves as delinquents, for having offered him the empire. They now haughtily demanded another emperor, and referred the free election of one to the senate and people of *Rome*. This intelligence ripened the design *Galba* had been for some time framing within himself, and in concert with his friends, concerning the adoption of a successor; for he thought himself despised, not so much on account of his age as for want of issue. His favourites, already at variance, and pursuing each his own private views, were divided into two factions. *Vinius*, who had a daughter unmarried, was for *Otho*, who was a widower. *Laco* and *Icelus* were combined together, not so much to favour the interest of any one in particular, as to exclude him. But *Galba*, moved with a concern for the commonwealth, which, he thought was in vain rescued from *Nero*, were it to devolve upon *Otho*; named for his successor *Piso Licinianus*, a youth nobly born, and highly esteemed.

Galba adopts *Piso Licinianus*

Piso received this extraordinary and unexpected honour with great modesty, and without seeming in the least elated by it. *Galba* then proceeded to the camp, and, in a short speech, declared to the soldiers, *That he adopted* Piso, *after the precedent of the deified* Augustus, *and according to the custom of the army*. As no mention was made of the distributions of money usual on such occasions, only the soldiers who stood next him applauded his speech; the rest were sad and silent. From the camp he went to the senate, where he spoke with the same brevity and bluntness as to the soldiery: but *Piso* made a speech which was better received.

Otho attempts the sovereignty.

In the mean time, *Otho*, who thought himself sure of being adopted, enraged at the preference thus given to *Piso*, determined to make a bold push: and indeed the situation of his affairs required a no less desperate remedy; for he had consumed his fortune by a course of riot and expence, and contracted immense debts, which nothing but a general confusion could relieve him from. Besides, he looked upon *Galba*'s putting him by, as a sure sign of his displeasure towards him, and thought resignation and acquiescence, in such a case, more dangerous than temerity. His favourite freedmen too, and his slaves, accustomed to licentiousness, were continually displaying to him the allurements of sovereign power, and represented them as his own, if he would but make them so; and at the same time the astrologers urged him by their predictions, assuring him, *That the stars presaged approaching revolutions, and a year of great glory to him.*

Otho,

Galba.

Two common soldiers transfer the empire, and *Otho* is saluted emperor.

Otho, who looked upon these predictions as the propitious warnings of the fates, committed the direction of his treasonable designs to one *Onomastus*, his freedman, who introduced to him two common soldiers, men of great address and resolution, who, being furnished by him with vast sums of money, to bribe and corrupt as many as they could; and being likewise promised prodigious rewards, undertook to transfer the *Roman* empire from one prince to another, and in effect did it, by debauching all the troops then at *Rome*, a party of which carried *Otho* to the prætorian camp, where he was unanimously saluted emperor and *Cæsar*.

Galba's behaviour on hearing it.

Galba was offering a sacrifice, and tyring, says *Tacitus*, with his supplications, the guardian gods of the empire, already under the sway of another head, when news was brought him of this sudden revolution. He thereupon immediately summoned his friends, with whom it was resolved, that the temper of the cohorts then upon guard at the palace should first of all be sounded, not by *Galba* in person, his authority being reserved as the last remedy, but by *Piso*, who accordingly assembled and harangued them, representing to them the views of *Otho*, and assuring them, *That they should receive from* Galba, *and him, as large a donation for preserving their fidelity, as* Otho *offered them for dipping their hands in the blood of their sovereign.* When he had ended his speech, some of the cohorts stole away; but the greater part of them displayed their ensigns, and prepared their arms to defend *Galba*. *Celsus Marius* was sent to secure the troops lately returned from the army in *Illyricum*, and *Domitius Sabinus* was ordered to draw up the band of *German* soldiers. The tribunes *Severus*, *Dexter*, and *Longinus*, repaired to the prætorian camp, to try what fair words and promises would do. Of these last, two were only terrified with threats; but *Longinus* was stript of his arms and driven out of the camp. The *Illyrian* troops likewise drove away *Celsus*; and the *Germans*, who were very sickly, continued a long time wavering and irresolute, but rather inclined to *Galba*, who, after being some time in suspense, whether he should remain in his palace, arm his slaves, and fortify the avenues; or go out and shew himself; at last resolved on this last step, as most likely to dissipate a conspiracy, as yet weak and unsupported. Accordingly, he put on a a breast-plate, and, finding himself unable, through age and infirmities, to sustain the pressing of the crowd, he was put into a chair. He had scarce left the palace, when it was rumoured about that *Otho* was slain in the camp; and several persons averred that they had been upon the spot, and had seen him dead: nay, one of the guards, pressing through the crowd, presented himself before the emperor, and displaying a sword all over bloody, declared, with a loud voice, *That* Otho *had fallen by his hand:* to which *Galba* returned no other answer than, *Fellow-soldier*

Galba. *whose orders had you for it?* Such was his firmneſs in reſtraining the licentiouſneſs of the ſoldiers.

Galba was approaching the forum, when he was overtaken by *Piſo*, who, hearing the cries of the rebellious ſoldiery reſounding quite through the city, had not thought it adviſeable to proceed to the camp, to try what effect his preſence would have there; and, a moment after appeared ſuddenly, firſt a party of horſe, and then a body of foot, ruſhing furiouſly into the forum. At this ſight, the ſtandard-bearer to the cohorts which had remained with *Galba*, tore the emperor's effigies from his ſtandard, and daſhed it on the ground. Upon this ſignal, the whole cohort abandoned him, and joined the detachments from the camp; which ſo terrified thoſe who carried *Galba*, that they threw him upon the ground, and there left him to the mercy of his enemies. His laſt words are differently reported, as he was hated or loved. *Plutarch* ſays, he ſtretched out his neck to the aſſaſſins, and bid them ſtrike, if the good of the commonwealth required it. His body was miſerably hacked and mangled, and his head cut off, and carried upon a pike to *Otho*, and afterwards to the camp, where it was treated with great ignominy. Such was the end of *Sergius Galba*, after a ſhort reign of ſeven months. His death was accompanied with the ſlaughter of many other perſons, particularly of his three favourites, *Vinius*, *Laco*, and *Icilius*, who had haſtened, if not effected, his ruin; and likewiſe with that of his adopted ſon *Piſo*, whoſe death *Otho* moſt of all deſired, and whoſe head he gazed on with a very unbecoming joy.

Galba, his favourites and *Piſo* murdered.

Year of *Rome* 821. of *Chriſt* 69.

O T H O.

Hurry of the ſenate and people to flatter *Otho*.

GALBA was no ſooner dead, than the ſenate, knights, and people, ſtrove who ſhould be firſt to congratulate *Otho*, and take to him the very oaths, ſays *Plutarch*, which he had ſo lately taken to *Galba*, and had that moment violated. The new emperor received them with great demonſtrations of kindneſs, and endeavoured to pacify the fury of the ſoldiery, who loudly demanded the death of all *Galba*'s friends. From this moment all things were tranſacted by the arbitrary will of the ſoldiers, who immediately named *Plotius Primus*, once a common ſoldier, and *Licinius Proculus*, a great favourite of *Otho*'s, captains of the prætorian guards; and *Flavius Sabinus*, brother to *Veſpaſian*, governor of *Rome*. They then demanded an abſolute exemption from the fees they had been uſed to pay to their centurions for furloughs. *Otho* readily granted

granted their requeſt; but, at the ſame time, that he might not forfeit the affection of the centurions, he undertook to pay them thoſe fees out of his own revenues: a regulation which was perpetuated as a part of the military eſtabliſhment. *Otho.*

The next day, the city-prætor aſſembled the ſenate, who immediately decreed *Otho* the tribunitial power, the title of *Cæſar* and *Auguſtus*, and all the honours which the emperors had enjoyed. He was now thirty-eight years of age, valiant, witty, and of an ancient and honourable family; and was the firſt emperor made by the prætorian guards; a moſt pernicious precedent, which they frequently after availed themſelves of, to the great detriment of the empire. He is acknowledged by the ſenate.

The new emperor had ſcarce taken poſſeſſion of the ſovereignty, when he was alarmed with the news that the army in Lower *Germany* had proclaimed *Vitellius* emperor, at *Cologne*, where he then was; and that the people of that city, as well as thoſe of *Treves*, *Langres*, and all the country round about, were exceedingly zealous in his behalf, and furniſhed him abundantly with men, horſes, and money. This revolt happened before the death of *Galba*, but had been ſuppreſſed, with a deſign to have it believed, that only the army in Upper *Germany* had rebelled. *Vitellius* proclaimed emperor by the army in Lower *Germany*.

This unexpected event threw *Otho* into a great conſternation, and the city into no ſmall concern, well knowing that nothing but the ſword; and great bloodſhed would decide the conteſt, the pretenſions being plauſible on both ſides. The *German* legions pretended, that they had as much right to create an emperor as the legions in *Spain*; and that *Vitellius* had a rightful poſſeſſion before *Otho*'s creation: and the ſenate, and cohorts at *Rome*, maintained, That they had the ſupreme power, and that in them reſted the abſolute authority to chuſe and create emperors; and that, having made a choice of *Otho*, they would not recede. Though *Otho* had by this means the moſt powerful intereſt, and the moſt ſpecious title; yet, whether his guilty conſcience threw him into timorous apprehenſions, or whether he was deſirous to avoid the miſeries of a civil-war, he made *Vitellius* large offers in order to come to a compromiſe with him: but nothing was concluded; and, the diſſentions increaſing daily, both ſides prepared for war. It was ſuppoſed by many, that perſons from *Vitellius* were come into the city to ſpy out and learn how the parties were affected, which filled every one with jealouſies and fears. All perſons turned and ſhaped their countenances according to the news that was received from abroad; and in the ſenate, nothing was ſo difficult as an even and prudent carriage in theſe critical times: ſilence, might be reckoned contumacy; freedom of ſpeech, inſolence; and flattery was too well known to *Otho*, who, having been a courtier, was himſelf thoroughly ſkilled in the practice of it. *Otho* makes offers to *Vitellius*, who rejects them.

The cares and fears of the city were much increaſed by Melancholy ſtate of *Rome*,

Otho. the great preparations of *Otho*, and the disability of the nobles and gentry in the affairs of war. The chief of the senate were grown old and impotent, wanting both the power and vigour of soldiers; the nobility were slothful, covered with the rust of a long peace, and unacquainted with the fatigues of a camp: the knights were dissolved in ease and luxury, and ignorant of military service; and the more they endeavoured to conceal, the more they betrayed their fears. The wiser sort began to shew great concern for the miseries of the commonwealth: but the inconsiderate were swelled with vain hopes; and many persons, bankrupts in peace, began now to make a great appearance; they being safest when the state was most in disorder.

Otho's forces advance towards *Italy*.

Whilst *Otho* was making these preparations, he received advice that *Vitellius*'s forces were upon their march towards *Italy*, under the command of *Valens* and *Cæcina*; whereupon he left *Rome* with a great army, consisting of the *Roman* nobility, the prætorian cohorts, the legions out of the fleets upon the coast of *Italy*, and such others as he could levy in haste. He began his march from *Rome* with an army, numerous, but unaccustomed to war, against *Vitellius*, whose troops were already arrived at the *Alps*, to the number of seventy thousand men, forty thousand of which was commanded by *Valens*, and the rest by *Cæcina*; *Vitellius* himself remaining in *Gaul*, in expectation of more troops from *Germany*, and of the legions from *Britain*. Upon the approach of these great armies, this fatal civil-war begun; or, rather, that begun by *Vinæus* and *Galba* against *Nero*, was continued. *Otho* had of late been much troubled with unusual dreams and dismal apprehensions; and it is said, that one night, fetching several deep sighs in his sleep, his servants ran hastily to his bed-side, and found him upon the ground: after which, he used many expiations to appease the ghost of *Galba*, which seemed to him to beat and push him rudely out of bed. However, he proceeded with great shew of courage, and arriving at *Brigallum* on the *Po*, he remained there, sending his forces before him under the command of *Suetonius* and *Celsus*, who were very little respected by the soldiers, now proud and insolent with the thoughts of their having created an emperor, and imagining that no man less than him ought to command them. The like want of obedience was in the army of *Vitellius*, and upon the same account; and both sides proceeded with such haste and precipitation, that, besides skirmishes and other encounters, three considerable battles were fought in a few days; one near *Placentia*, another near *Cremona*, and a third near a place called *Castor*; in all which, *Otho* had the advantage.

He is troubled with frightful dreams.

Has the advantage in three battles.

Shortly after this, *Valens* and *Cæcina*, who till now acted separately, joined all their forces together, strongly reinforcing their army with new supplies from several parts, and resolved to hazard a general battle. About the same time *Otho*,

Otho, elated with the advantages his generals had gained, came to his army at *Brebiacum*, a village between *Cremona* and *Verona*; and finding the enemy, notwithstanding their late losses, very forward to give him battle, he called a council of war, to consider whether it were best to protract the war, or hazard a general engagement. *Suetonius*, *Celsus*, and the most experienced commanders, declared, that protracting the war was much the wisest and safest course, since the whole force and power of *Vitellius* were arrived, and were now in want of many necessaries, which obliged them to offer battle, as the speediest way of supplying themselves: whilst, on the contrary, *Otho*'s army was well provided with all things; and *Italy*, and the senate, and the people of *Rome*, at his devotion; names which were never quite darkened, though sometimes obscured. Several provinces too had revolted from *Vitellius*, whereas all *Otho*'s stood firm to him; and the legions in *Pannonia*, *Mæsia*, and *Dalmatia*, were now upon their march to his aid: so that he had no reason so often and so rashly to tempt his fortune, and therefore ought rather to weary out his enemy by delays, or tarry for a greater power, when there could be no doubt of victory. Thus spoke the wiser sort: but some others, whose unexperienced heat and misguided valour made them too desirous of a battle, declared, that nothing but that could end the miseries of the state; protesting, that fortune, and all the gods, with the god-head of *Otho*, favoured the design, and would undoubtedly prosper the enterprize. *Otho* inclined wholly to these last, and commanded their advice to be immediately put in execution; for he was so extremely uneasy under this war, that he thought it a less punishment to lose a victory, than to be continually racked with fears and suspences. But it was agreed, that the emperor should not be personally in the battle; so that being free from the doubtful events of the field, he might reserve himself for the main fortune of the state. Whereupon he retired to *Brixillum*, while his army advanced towards the enemy, who were not far distant. *Vitellius*'s men were not only more numerous, but much better disciplined, than those of *Otho*, and from their infancy accustomed to arms. *Otho*'s troops attacked them with great courage and bravery, and at the first onset slew all the first rank, and won the eagle; but the battle still continued very obstinate. The armies were extremely encumbered with trees and hedges, so that they were obliged to fight with but small regularity, bearing down man upon man, as if the whole war depended upon the single valour of each individual. At lenth, *Vitellius*'s men wheeling round upon the flank of their enemies, the prætorian cohorts soon broke and fled, and the defeat of *Otho*'s whole army immediately ensued.

Otho.

Holds a council of war.

Resolves upon a general battle.

In which he is totally overthrown.

Otho waited at *Brixillum* the event of this battle, the first account of which was brought him by a common soldier,

Otho. who, upon his relation being doubted, and he himſelf taxed with cowardice, fell directly on his own ſword at *Otho*'s feet; who thereupon cried out, *That he would cauſe the ruin of no more ſuch valiant and worthy ſoldiers.* The affection of his fellow-ſoldiers was ſuch, that they ſtaid not for any comfort or encouragement from their emperor, but gathering all about him, endeavoured to animate and raiſe his courage, telling him, *That there were ſtill forces enough both for his revenge and ſafety, and that they would ſuffer every extremity for his ſake.* The moſt diſtant addreſſed him with uplifted hands, while thoſe who were nearer embraced his knees, eſpecially *Pluſius Firmus*, the prætorian prefect, beſeeching him not to abandon ſuch faithful ſoldiers; and telling him, *That it was a greater inſtance of magnanimity to ſuſtain, than to avoid, the heavy ſhocks of fortune: that brave men ſupported themſelves by hope againſt fortune; whilſt cowardly and impatient ſpirits were driven to deſpair by fear.* But not all their perſuaſions and intreaties, nor all the apparent probability of ſucceſs, if he continued the war, could divert him from the reſolution he had taken; a reſolution ſo generous in its nature, that ſome authors think it rather the effect of a ſudden inſpiration, than of any thing that could proceed from a temper ſo ſoft, and a life ſo effeminate, as his. Having made ſilence, he ſpoke to them to this effect:

His ſpeech to his ſoldiers after his defeat.

I eſteem this day far happier, and more glorious, than that on which you made me emperor, ſince it hath afforded me ſuch ſenſible tokens of your love and affection. I therefore beſeech you not to deny the favour I now requeſt: which is, to ſuffer me to die juſtly and honourably for the ſafety of ſo many brave ſoldiers and worthy citizens as ye are. There can be no occaſion for thoſe legions and forces coming to my aſſiſtance, ſince the enemy is neither Hannibal *nor* Pyrrhus. *Therefore, to hazard your valour in dangers wholly needleſs, is too dear a purchaſe of life; and the greater hopes you have of ſucceſs, the more honourable will be my voluntary death. Aſſure yourſelves, that I had rather die than reign emperor; ſince I can never advance the* Roman *ſtate ſo much by wars and bloodſhed, as by ſacrificing myſelf for the peace of it. As others have acquired fame and glory by reigning well, and ſupporting the empire, I may reaſonably expect a name for leaving it, rather than permit my ambition to weaken or deſtroy it. I therefore deſire that you will take it as an undoubted proof of my courage and reſolution, that I make no complaints of hard fortune or ill ſucceſs; for to blame either the gods or men, implies a mean and ſelfiſh deſire of life.*

His heroic behaviour

After this ſpeech, he deſired the old men, and injoined the young ones, to ſubmit to *Vitellius* as ſoon as poſſible, leſt delays ſhould provoke his anger. Then rebuking the unreaſonable fears of thoſe about him, without any alteration in his voice or countenance, he retired to his chamber, where he wrote two conſolatory letters to his ſiſter, and one to *Meſſalina*, who had formerly been married to *Nero*, and whom he had deſigned to marry, recommending his memory and

and aſhes to her. After this, he burned ſuch letters and papers as might be prejudicial to any one after his death, and diſtributed what money and jewels he had among his friends and domeſtics. He was then preparing to kill himſelf, when, hearing a tumult among the ſoldiers, and ſome of them upbraiding thoſe who were going away, as traitors and deſerters of their ſovereign, *Nay then*, ſaid he, *let us add this night to our life:* and thereupon forbad all violence to be uſed, and ordered his chamber to be left open till it was very late, that all who deſired it might have admittance to him. After this, the doors being ſhut, and having quenched his thirſt with a draught of cold water, he took two daggers, and having tried them, and choſen the ſharpeſt, he laid it under his pillow, and fell into a profound ſleep; but awaking about break of day, and ſeeing one of his ſervants remaining, he ordered him to retire; and taking the dagger, gave himſelf a mortal ſtab on the left ſide, and with a ſingle groan ended his life, three months and eight days after he had murdered *Galba* and uſurped the empire. *He deſerved*, ſays *Tacitus*, *by two acts, one the moſt deteſtable, and the other the moſt laudable, equal infamy and renown amongſt poſterity.* Moſt of his ſoldiers who were about him, after kiſſing his hands and feet, and commending his courage and magnanimity, killed themſelves at his funeral: many who deteſted him whilſt living, now as much applauded and extolled him; and even went ſo far as to ſay, *That he did not depoſe* Galba *ſo much out of ambition, as to reſtore the liberty of the commonwealth.* Notwithſtanding all his perſonal vices, his great care of the public good had gained him the affections of the ſenate and people of *Rome:* which plainly ſhews how eaſy it is for any prince to win the hearts of his ſubjects.

He kills himſelf.

VITELLIUS.

AFTER the death of *Otho*, all the ſoldiers, both legionary and prætorian, beſought *Virginius*, who commanded the *German* cohorts, to take upon him the title of emperor, offering him their utmoſt ſervice and aſſiſtance; and deſiring, if he himſelf would not accept of the empire, that he would pleaſe to be their advocate with *Valens* and *Cæcina*, in order to obtain their pardon. *Virginius* anſwered, *That it would be a high piece of imprudence, as well as preſumption, for him to accept the empire from the hands of a vanquiſhed army, after having refuſed it from the* German *legions before* Nero's *death; at a time when his ſucceſs would have been almoſt certain:* but finding the

Year of *Rome* 822. of *Chriſt*, 70.

The ſoldiers offer the empire to *Virginius*, who refuſes it.

Vitellius. soldiers not satisfied with this, he gave them hopes of being their mediator, till he found an opportunity of retiring to a private place, where he waited till their fury was somewhat abated. But *Rubrius Gallus*, a person of considerable note, went immediately at their request, to *Valens* and *Cæcina*, and obtained pardon for all the troops, and also for those senators who had accompanied *Otho*, and were now at *Mutina*.

Vitellius made emperor.

As soon as the news of *Otho*'s death was known at *Rome*, *Flavius Sabinus*, the city-præfect, assembled the senators, who, though they hated *Vitellius*, immediately pronounced him emperor, with the usual solemnities, giving him the title of *Augustus* and *Father of his country*, and all the other epithets of honour; and ordering thanks to be returned to him and his army for what they had done; though at the same time those very troops were committing such outrages in *Italy* as are scarcely to be paralelled.

He begins his reign with an act of just severity.

Vitellius was then in *Gaul*; and, that he might do some remarkable act of justice before he went to *Rome*, he called all the prætorian cohorts who had been instrumental in *Galba*'s death and *Otho*'s advancement, to be disarmed, and deprived of the name and honour of soldiers; commanding also one hundred and twenty of the most guilty to be put to death, whom he discovered by their demanding a reward for having killed *Galba*.

but soon gives a loose to his vices, and

This action gave the public great hopes that he would be an excellent prince: but he soon gave such a loose to his vices and extravagancies, as to be deservedly ranked amongst the worst of princes, and the worst of men. He performed his journey to *Rome* with all imaginable pride and ostentation, never stirring upon the rivers but in his painted galleys, curiously adorned with garlands of flowers, and profusely furnished with the most exquisite delicacies and provocations to gluttony. No order or discipline was known among his soldiers or servants, he himself being highly pleased with their continual rapines and insolencies, however insupportable.

shews his cruel disposition.

Upon his arrival at *Bebriacum*, where the last battle was fought, he was very desirous of seeing the place, where were great numbers of scattered bodies torn in pieces; limbs terribly mangled, men and horses quite putrified, and the air and ground tainted with stench and blood. This he took infinite pleasure in viewing; and when some of his attendants grew weary at the noisome smells, he told them, *A dead enemy smells well, but a dead citizen better*. He then called for wine, drank publicly in this scene of horror, and bid his soldiers do the like.

His entrance into *Rome*.

After such ravages as laid waste every country through which he passed, he arrived at *Rome*, accompanied with innumerable swarms of various nations; and, in the midst of that formidable throng, entered the city as if it had been a conquered place, mounted upon a stately horse magnificently caparisoned, the senate and people going before him as if he had triumphed over them, himself surrounded with standards

and

and colours, and his army marching after him in a riotous manner. In this confused manner he marched up to the capitol, to sacrifice to *Jupiter*; from whence he repaired to the imperial palace; and the next day, ordering the senate to be assembled, he made a fulsome speech, extravagantly extolling his own acts, and promising them vast advantages from his administration. In his way from the senate to the palace he was met by a body of the commons, who, having been long accustomed, right or wrong, to flatter all in authority, highly applauded and blessed their new emperor; and, on his declining the title of *Augustus*, forced him to accept it. These first ceremonies being over, he caused himself to be chosen *pontifex maximus*, and to be made perpetual consul; and took upon him such honours and dignities as he thought fit; commanding magistrates to be chosen ten years before they entered upon their office: which, with many other arbitrary proceedings, soon indisposed the people against him, and rendered him the object of their hatred. He banished from *Rome* all the astrologers, because they foretold that his reign would not continue a whole year; and was so highly incensed against them, that even the slightest accusation was sufficient to make him order any one of that profession to be instantly put to death, without so much as hearing him. Soon after the publication of his edict, by which they were ordered to leave *Rome* by the first of *October*, a writing was set up in the *forum* to this effect: *We, in the name of the ancient* Chaldeans, *warn* Vitellius Germanicus *to depart the world by the calends of* October. That it might appear to all what example he designed to follow in his government, he publicly sacrificed to the manes of *Nero*, in a general assembly of the priest in the *Campus Martius*; and at a solemn feast, being much pleased with a player upon the harp, he ordered him to sing something in the praise of *Domitius*; and upon the harpers beginning one of *Nero*'s songs, he leaped up, and gave him the first tokens of applause.

Vitellius.

His arbitrary proceedings.

Astrologers banished.

He sacrifices to the manes of *Nero*.

In the mean time his soldiers filled the city with riot and confusion, committing every kind of insolence and outrage, and thinking of nothing but their pleasures: so that, in a little while, their bodies were wasted and enfeebled by idleness, and their spirits broken by lust and luxury. The principal affairs of state were managed by the counsels of players, charioteers, and other such contemptible persons: among which his freedman *Asiaticus*, remarkable for nothing but his infamous life, held the first rank. He now abandoned himself to luxury and profuseness, to which he had been accustomed in the reigns of *Caligula* and *Nero*, and particularly to gluttony, which he carried to such excess, that he generally eat four or five meals in a day, taking vomits to bring up what he had devoured, that he might gormandize again. All his meals were prodigiously expensive, though they were not always at his own cost, for he frequently invited himself to his

Riotous behaviour of his soldiers.

He abandons himself to luxry, extravagance and gluttony.

Vitellius. his friends, to breakfaſt in one place, dine in another, and ſup in a third; and they generally entertained him in ſo ſumptuous a manner, that a treat ſeldom coſt leſs than ten thouſand crowns. But the moſt memorable ſupper made for him, was by his brother, on his firſt arrival at *Rome*; in which were two thouſand diſhes of fiſh, and ſeven thouſand of fowls, every one different, and the moſt expenſive that could be had. His own profuſeneſs exceeded even this, at the dedication of that famous diſh, which, on account of its great capacity, he called *Minerva's target*; filling it with the ſounds of mullets, the brains of pheaſants and peacocks, the tongues of a ſcarce kind of birds called *phœnicopterus*, and the ſpawn of ſea lampreys, brought from a prodigious diſtance. Nor was he leſs inſatiable than extravagant in his gluttony; for, not being able to contain himſelf, he would ſnatch the half-burnt meat from off the coals at ſacrifices, and greedily devour it. In ſhort, ſuch was his depravity in every thing, that, as *Tacitus* obſerves, no one of his court thought of raiſing himſelf by his virtues or abilities. The only way to preferment was to feaſt the emperor with profuſe entertainments; whilſt he, conſidering nothing but the the preſent enjoyment of his pleaſures, waſted, in four months, upwards of ſeven millions of our money, and ruined an infinite number of cities and families. Upon which *Joſephus* obſerves, that if he had reigned long, the whole empire would not have been ſufficient to ſupport his gluttony.

His exceſſive greedineſs and

Theſe exceſſes were accompanied with ſuch horrid acts of cruelty, as plainly ſhewed that he intended to make *Nero* his pattern. He was ſo fond of ſhedding blood, that he puniſhed all ſorts of people with death, even for the ſlighteſt offences, or what he thought proper to look upon as ſuch. There was no fraud or hypocriſy which he left unpractiſed to deſtroy ſuch perſons of quality as had formerly been his companions and ſchool-fellow; firſt careſſing them, and giving them a ſhare in the government, and then finding ſome pretence or other to put them to death. Going to viſit one of them, who was ill of a violent fever, upon his aſking for drink, he mingled poiſon with cold water, and gave it him with his own hand. He never excuſed any one who aſked payment of the debts he had contracted before he was emperor; and one of his creditors coming only to ſalute him, he ordered him to be put to death immediately; but changing his mind a moment after, he ſent for him back, and had him executed in his preſence; ſaying, *That he would feed his eyes with that ſight.* Having condemned another to death, he executed his two ſons with him, only becauſe they had preſumed to intercede for their father. A *Roman* knight crying out to him, as the executioners were dragging him to death, *That he had made him his heir*; he ordered the will to be produced; and finding that he was only co-heir with another perſon,

Horrid cruelties.

person, he ordered them both to be executed, that the whole of the inheritance might be his. He put several of the lower sort to death, only for disliking the colours of some charioteers; saying, *That they did it out of contempt to him, and that they would not have dared to be so audacious, but that they hoped for another revolution.* He was likewise suspected of having been accessary to his mother's death, having commanded that no meat should be given her, under pretence of its hurting her health; being induced to this by the prediction of an old woman, who had told him, *That if he survived his mother, he would reign many years in happiness and safety.*

His prodigious stupidity.

It was by the excess of his vices only, that *Vetellius* seemed to think himself emperor, or to know that he was such: for such was the stupidity that seized him, that, if others had not reminded him of his high station, he would have forgot it. He liked nothing but what was pleasant and intoxicating; and fortifying his mind with confused mirth and sottishness, against all dangers and exigencies, he lost the very remembrance of things past, and the thought of things to come. War was never so much as mentioned before him, and he strictly forbid ever speaking of it in the city.

The *Romans* grow weary of him.

Having by this abominable life rendered himself odious to the city, and, by the the continual insolence and cruelties of his soldiers, insupportable to the country; the legions in the East, though they had refused his authority in the beginning of his reign, now began to revolt, and shortly after unanimously resolved to make *Vespasian* their emperor. *Vespasian* had now reduced almost all *Judæa*, except *Jerusalem*, when he learned the death of *Nero*, and *Galba*'s promotion to the empire; upon which he had sent his son *Titus* to know the pleasure of this last with respect to the siege of that city. *Titus* was so long stopped by contrary winds, that, upon his arrival on the coasts of *Achaia*, he was informed of *Galba*'s death, and *Otho*'s advancement; whereupon he returned to his father for farther orders. During the contest between *Otho* and *Vitellius*, *Vespasian* continued neuter, though he acknowledged *Otho* for emperor till *Vitellius* obtained the victory and empire; a matter no way pleasing to him, nor to any of the commanders in the East; all of them highly disliking so vicious a man, and so corrupt a governor: so that when the day came on which they were to swear allegiance to their new emperor, in the presence of *Vespasian*, they performed the solemnity with great silence and reluctance. Their discontents increased daily; and all the legions in *Syria*, *Egypt*, and the whole East, joining in their dislike to *Vitellius*, they determined to put an end to the miseries of the world, by making *Vespasian* emperor. This design was favoured by the news they received shortly after, that the legions in *Mæsia* and *Pannonia* had taken the same resolution; for, being upon their march to *Otho*'s assistance, and learning his defeat and death,

The legions in the East revolt, and those in *Mæsia* and *Pannonia*.

Vitellius. death, they refused obedience to *Vitellius*, whom they hated, and declared in favour of *Vespasian*. Several letters and messages passed on this occasion, between *Alexander*, governor of *Egypt*, and *Mucian*, governor of *Syria*; and it was concluded between them, that *Vespasian* should be emperor, though he utterly declined it. *Alexander* made the first overture of this affair to *Vespasian*, who, though absent, was declared emperor at *Alexandria*, all the army confirming it with applause and paying the usual homage.

Vespasian is declared emperor in the East

About a week after, *Vespasian*'s own army likewise proclaimed him emperor, and entreated him to accept of the government: but he, on several accounts, refused it. This occasioned several private conferences between him and his friends, to whom he urged the many difficulties and dangers attending so great an enterprize; and particularly, *That, in all civil dissentions the faith of the soldiery is perpetually wavering; that it would therefore be indiscreet, as well as dishonourable, to hazard himself and his reputation, to gain an empire at his age; that wars of this nature require infinitely more vigor and resolution than all others; for in private undertakings a person may proceed or stop where he pleases; but in gaining a crown, there is no medium between the state of a prince and the death of a traitor.* The more *Vespasian* declined his own promotion, and the high post of emperor, the more his friends endeavoured to shew him the facility of the attempt, and the duty incumbent on him to free the state from an usurping tyrant, and an army of robbers. Besides these private counsels, *Mucian* told him openly and in public, *That the* Roman *state was so miserably degenerated by means of its corrupt governors; that after his atchieving so many glorious exploits, he could expect no safety; for how many renowned persons,* said they, *have been destroyed of late, only because their merits distinguished them from the vulgar: so that seeking the empire might formerly be deemed ambition and treason; but now it must be his only refuge. We rise not,* continued they, *against a person of* Augustus's *profound insight and prudence, nor against the wary old age of* Tiberius, *nor against the youth of* Caligula, Claudius, *and* Nero, *rooted into the empire by so many descents. The antiquity of* Galba's *family was also respected. But to sleep now, and abandon the state, to be thus abominably polluted, and miserably ruined, is unpardonable. We are to meet an enemy enervated with licentiousness; armies dissolved in ease and luxury; the very march of our foes will immediately dissolve all the secret distempers of the present government: nor do we rely more upon your vigilance and conduct, than upon the stupidity and cruelty of* Vitellius. *Add to this, that we are already guilty in the eyes of* Vitellius; *for to deliberate whether we shall rebel, is rebelling.*

After this speech, the rest came more boldly about him, exhorting and persuading him, and laying before him the oracles and prophecies by which the empire had been promised

mised him; and at length, finding all perſuaſions fruitleſs, his ſoldiers forced and compelled him, with their drawn ſwords, threatening him, if we believe *Joſephus*, with immediate death, if he refuſed any longer. Thus compelled, he took upon him the imperial authority; and ſhortly after all the armies in the Eaſt ſwore obedience to him, as did likewiſe thoſe in *Mæſia*, *Pannonia*, *Noricum* and *Dalmatia*. He then held a council with *Mutrian*, *Alexander*, and his ſon *Titus*; wherein it was agreed, That *Titus* ſhould continue the war againſt the *Jews*; that *Mucian* ſhould, as ſoon as poſſible enter *Italy* with the greateſt part of the legions; and that *Veſpaſian* ſhould go to *Alexandria*, to make the neceſſary proviſions, and from thence paſs over into *Italy* and join *Mucian*, if there ſhould be occaſion. *Vitellius*. accept the empire.

The *Mæſian* legions, hearing of *Mucian*'s intended expedition, choſe for their commander *Antonius Primus*, an excellent ſoldier, who had been baniſhed by *Nero* and reſtored by *Galba*, and haſtened into *Italy*, before *Mucian* could arrive there; either with a view of ſhewing their extraordinary readineſs to ſerve *Veſpaſian*, or in hopes of being the firſt to plunder that country. Great preparations were made on *Vitellius*'s ſide againſt theſe gathering ſtorms; and though he himſelf was ſo buried in luxury, as to have but ſmall concern for the public, yet his two chief commanders, *Valens* and *Cæcina*, at firſt uſed great diligence, both in oppoſing *Primus*'s coming from *Mæſia*, and in preventing the landing of *Mucian*, whom they expected ſhortly in *Italy*. But as *Primus* had already entered the north-weſt part of that country, *Cæcina*, with the principal forces of *Vitellius*, haſtened his march towards him, and arrived at *Cremona* about the ſame time as the enemy; but conſidering the effeminacy of his men, he liſtened to *Primus*'s advice, and perſuaded his ſoldiers not to truſt to the feeble power of *Vitellius*, but to yield to the merits of *Veſpaſian*, while they could do it with the greateſt advantage and ſecurity. Upon which, they, with ſome reluctancy, ſwore allegiance to *Veſpaſian*; but ſoon repenting this ſtep, and provoked againſt their general for having made them take it, they ſeized him as a traitor, put him in irons, and exhorted *Primus* to come over to *Vitellius*'s ſide. Though they were now without a general, they reſolved, in the heat of their fury, to engage the enemy; and accordingly, ſtarved as they were with cold and hunger, they marched directly againſt *Cæcina*, and came up with him in the beginning of the night. *Primus* was ready to receive them, and the battle continued till the morning very bloody and doubtful, when both ſides, by mutual conſent, left off fighting, to refreſh themſelves, and then began again. But *Primus*'s ſoldiers ſaluting, according to cuſtom, the riſing ſun, *Vitellius*'s troops, apprehending that *Mucian* was arrived, fled to *Cremona*, with the loſs of upwards of thirty thouſand men. There freeing *Cæcina* from The *Mæſian* legions haſten to *Italy*, under the command of *A. Primus*. *Vitellius*'s troops defeated at *Cremona*.

Vitellius. from their impriſonment, they procured him to make their peace; and the *Mæſian* legions immediately after made ſeveral attacks upon *Cremona*, and entering the place laid it in aſhes, ſparing neither ſex, dignity, or age.

Cremona burnt.

Vitellius was wallowing in his uſual luxury, when the news of this defeat was brought him; at which he was ſo ſtartled and irreſolute, that he rendered himſelf quite deſpicable. At length, however, rouſing himſelf a little, he ordered *Julius Priſcus* and *Alphenus Varus*, with what force he could collect, to guard the narrow paſs of the *Apennine* mountains, and prevent *Priſcus*'s march to *Rome*, reſerving conſiderable forces to defend the city, under the command of his brother *Lucius*. At length, through the urgent importunities of his army, then at *Mevania*, he repaired to the camp, attended by a great train of ſenators, irreſolute of himſelf, and averſe from all good counſels. Nothing appeared more ridiculous to the *Romans*, than to ſee their prince and commander without ſkill in arms, void of ſkill and judgment, demanding of others in what order to march, what diligence was required for diſcoveries, how the war was to be carried on, and upon every flying report fearful and trembling, and continually drunk. At laſt, growing weary of the camp, and learning the revolt of his fleet at *Miſenum*, he returned to *Rome*, ever dreading the laſt blow, and always careleſs of the principal concern. His fears increaſing daily, he thought of a compoſition with *Veſpaſian*, and being offered by *Primus* and *Mucian*, that if he would peaceably reſign the empire, he ſhould be allowed a revenue ſufficient for his maintainance, putting on deep mourning, he left his palace, his ſervants weeping about him, and his little ſon being carried before him in a chair. All who had any ſenſe of the inſtability of human affairs, were moved at this object, to ſee an emperor of *Rome*, juſt before lord of the univerſe, abandon the ſeat of his command and fortune, and at once ſink into nothing. *Sudden violence*, ſays Tacitus, *deſtroyed* Julius Cæſar, *and ſecret conſpiracy* Caligula; *night, and the obſcurity of a country houſe, covered* Nero's *flight*: Piſo *and* Galba *died as it were in the field*; *but* Vitellius *in the aſſembly of his own people, and amidſt his own ſoldiers.* *Vitellius* made a ſhort ſpeech on this occaſion, ſaying, *That he reſigned his palace out of regard for public peace, and the welfare of the commonwealth; that all he deſired of them was, to retain ſome remembrance of him, and take pity of his brother, his wife, and little children*; and then, with tears, he offered his ſword to the conſul *Cæcilius*, thereby ſurrendering the power of life and death over the citizens; and upon the conſul's refuſing to accept it, he departed, proteſting that he would lay down all his regalities in the temple of *Concord*, and retire as a private man to his brother's houſe: but ſome of the crowd ſtopping him, and crying out, *That he himſelf was Concord*, he returned, and not only proteſted, *That he retained his ſword, but*

Vitellius's daſtardly behaviour

The fleet at *Miſenum* revolts.

Vitellius reſolves to reſign the empire to *Veſpaſian*.

but that he alſo accepted of the ſurname of Concord, and then repaired to his palace. *Vitellius.*

The next day, encouraged by the promiſes and proteſtations of the ſoldiers and citizens, he altered his mind, to the no ſmall vexation of *Sabinus*, governor of the city, who had been very forward in promoting his reſignation; and who, being informed that ſome of *Vitellius*'s party intended to murder him in his houſe, with his friends, ſome ſenators, and knights, ſeized upon the capitol, where he was immediately beſieged; ſo that *Rome*, as well as *Italy*, now felt the fatal effects of civil diſcord. The next morning the capitol was aſſaulted with great fury; and, beſides its being very weakly provided, it was defended with no courage nor ardor. After a bloody conteſt it was entered by force, and by the fury of the ſoldiers laid in aſhes: the moſt deplorable misfortune, ſays *Tacitus*, that ever befell the *Roman* people ſince the city was founded. During this dreadful ſcene, *Vitellius* was feaſting in the palace of *Tiberius*, and looking on with pleaſure. Young *Domitian*, nephew to *Sabinus*, and ſon to *Veſpaſian*, eſcaped in the habit of a prieſt; but all the reſt were put to the ſword, except *Sabinus*, who was made priſoner, and, ſhortly after, executed by the command of *Vitellius*. *Sabinus* ſeizes the capitol, which is burnt a ſecond time.

Soon after this, *Vitellius*, being informed of *Primus*'s march towards *Rome*, and of *Mucian*'s arrival in *Italy*, ſent letters and meſſengers to *Primus* to beg terms, and even deputed the veſtal virgins to intercede with him. But *Primus* was ſo incenſed at the death of *Sabinus*, and the deſtruction of the capitol, that he would not liſten to any offers, but continued his march to the very walls of *Rome*, where *Vitellius*'s forces expected him, determined to defend themſelves to the laſt extremity. *Primus* attacked the city in three different places, and the *Romans* ſallied out in as many. A dreadful battle enſued, which continued the whole day, at the end of which *Vitellius*'s people were drove back into the city with prodigious ſlaughter. The people looked on as they fought, and, as if it had been a diverſion, ſometimes encouraged one ſide, and ſometimes the other; and when either party turned their backs, and hid themſelves in the houſes or ſhops, for *Primus*'s men had entered the city with thoſe of *Vitellius*, they bid the enemies pull them out and kill them, delighted with the plunder they gained thereby; for while the ſoldiers were employed in ſlaughter, the ſpoil fell to the ſhare of the common people. They were now celebrating the *Saturnalia*, and, rather than not enjoy the pleaſure of that feſtival, they turned this ſcene of horror into mirth and jollity. Nothing but ſlaughter, riot, and confuſion reigned throughout the city: in ſome places they were fighting and killing, and in others tipling and bathing. The greateſt lewdneſs was mixed with the utmoſt cruelty. Thus *Primus* advances towards *Rome*, and attacks the city, which is ſacked.

was

Vitellius. was this mighty city, the head and empreſs of the world, ſacked by her own ſubjects.

Vitellius, in the utmoſt confuſion, retired privately to his wife's houſe on mount *Aventine*, deſigning to fly that night to *Terracina*, to his brother and the cohorts there: but immediately changing his mind, and, as it frequently happens to men in extreme danger, fearing all things, and moſt diſliking the preſent, he returned to his palace again, now empty and deſolate, even his meaneſt ſervants having either fled, or avoiding his preſence. Aſtoniſhed at this unuſual ſilence and ſolitarineſs, after wandering up and down for ſome time, and not meeting any body, he crept into a dark

Vitellius ſeized, corner of a room, but was ſoon diſcovered and plucked out by a party of the conquerors, to whom he pretended that he had ſecrets of the higheſt importance to diſcover to *Veſpaſian*, and begged of them to keep him, though it were in a priſon, till his arrival at *Rome*. But all was in vain; for, without waiting for any further orders, they tied his hands behind him, put a halter about his neck, and tearing his very cloaths off his back, dragged him half naked into the public *forum*, through the main ſtreets af *Rome*, upbraiding him all the time with a thouſand opprobrious words, and treating him with the utmoſt indignity, tying his hair backward, as uſed to be practiced to the more infamous malefactors, and holding the point of a ſword under his chin, to hinder his holding down his head to hide his face. Some paulted him with filth, others reviled him for his gluttony, and others called him an incendiary, and reproached him with the imperfections of his body, being extremely tall, red-faced, his belly prodigious, and his thighs diſtorted:

and killed till at length they brought him to the *Gemoniæ*, and killed him with many wounds. His body was dragged with a hook, and thrown with all poſſible ignominy into the *Tiber*.

Year of *Rome* 822. of *Chriſt* 70. *Vitellius* was in the fifty-ſeventh year of his age, and had reigned eight months and five days. His death was accompanied with that of his brother *Lucius Vitellius*, and his only ſon. His life was infamous, his advancement villainous, his adminiſtration odious, and his death ignominious.

VESPASIAN.

Dreadful confuſion in *Rome*.

THE death of *Vitellius*, and the overthrow of his party rather ended the war, than began a real peace; for the conquerors purſued their enemies through the city with implacable fury, the ſtreets were ſtrewed with dead carcaſes, and the temples and public places imbrued with blood, every man

man lying ſlain where he fell, without diſtinction of place or perſon; and the licentiouſneſs of the ſoldiery increaſing, they ſearched the houſes, and dragged out ſuch as were hid, maſſacring without mercy all ſoldiers, and all others whom they ignorantly or maliciouſly took for ſuch. When their thirſt of blood abated, their cruelty was converted into avarice. Every place was then broke open and rifled, under pretence of ſearching for *Vitellius*'s friends; and the leaſt reſiſtance was attended with death. Beſides the ſoldiers, the mob and ſome of the people, now at the head of every miſchief, triumphed in their robberies and outrages of every kind. Servants voluntarily diſcovered the wealth of their maſters; the neareſt relations detected one another; dreadful cries and lamentations were heard in every ſtreet, and the city looked like a place abandoned to the mercileſs fury of an implacable enemy. The inſolent outrages of the ſoldiers of *Otho* and *Vitellius*, ſo much deteſted before, were now accounted ſmall evils, compared with the preſent calamities. But upon the arrival of *Mucian*, and the return of *Domitian*, who had fled when his uncle *Sabinus* was killed, the diſorders ceaſed, and ſome order began to appear. The ſenate was aſſembled, and *Veſpaſian* declared emperor, with the unanimous conſent of all, and veſted with all the authority that any other emperor had ever had. Meſſengers were immediately ſent to *Veſpaſian* at *Alexandria*, to carry him the decree of the ſenate, and deſire his return to *Rome*; but it being now winter, and dangerous ſailing, he deferred his voyage to a more convenient ſeaſon. *Veſpaſian*

Veſpaſian declared emperor.

The miſeries of *Rome* were now at an end; but ſuch violent commotions were raiſed in *Gaul* and *Germany*, as extremely endangered the peace and ſafety of the empire. They began indeed before the death of *Vitellius*, and were occaſioned by the crafty inſinuations of *Claudius Civilis*, a man of great deſigns, and of as great reputation among his countrymen the *Batavians*; and who, after having been ſent in chains to *Nero*, and freed by *Galba*, was in great danger of loſing his life under *Vitellius*, the army ſtrongly demanding his death. Beſides his countrymen, the inhabitants of the preſent *Holland*, he excited his neighbours the *Caninefates*, to rebel, and by ſecret meſſages and large promiſes, drew over the auxiliaries of *Britain*, and the *Batavian* cohorts, then quartered at *Moguntiacum*, now *Mentz*. Theſe drew out and deſtroyed the *Roman* garriſons, overthrew *Aquilius*, who commanded the advanced guards, and, after him, *Alummius Lupercus*, lieutenant of that province. *Heremius Gallus*, endeavouring to prevent the march of their cohorts, was likewiſe overpowered by them; and as *Vitellius* had drained theſe parts of ſoldiers, to oppoſe *Otho* and *Veſpaſian*, *Civilis*, for a time, met with but ſmall reſiſtance. Having afterwards collected a more conſiderable force, the better to cover his deſigns, he made his army take the oaths to *Veſpaſian*, and

Civilis raiſes diſturbances in *Gaul* and *Germany*.

Veſpaſian. even beſieged in their camp thoſe who refuſed to do it. Shortly after this, the *Romans* mutinying againſt their general *Hordeonius Flaccus*, the command was given to *Vocula*, an excellent officer, and *Herennius Gallus* was his lieutenant. *Vocula*, in the firſt engagement with *Civilis*, was obliged to retreat, but in a ſecond he overthrew him; though without any proſpect of finiſhing the war: for the news of *Vitellius*'s death reaching *Gaul* and *Germany*, increaſed the diſorders. And now *Civilis*, without even pretending any regard for *Veſpaſian*, threw off the maſk, and plainly ſhewed himſelf an enemy to the *Romans* in general; and the ſoldiers, once *Vitellius*'s, conſcious of their crimes, choſe rather to ſubmit to ſlavery, than to the government of *Veſpaſian*. The *Gauls* likewiſe took freſh courage and reſolution, looking upon the burning of the capitol as an omen of the ruin of the empire. The *Treviri* and *Lingones*, two conſiderable nations, revolted alſo; all *Gaul* was unſettled; and, what was ſtill more dangerous, the legions themſelves were corrupted, and become traitors to their country; a thing never before known among the *Romans*. Having murdered *Vocula*, their general, they ſwore allegiance to the *Gauls*, and other legions in other places did the ſame, of which ſome were beſieged, reduced to extremities, and cut to pieces by *Civilis*. Theſe diſturbances increaſing, *Julius Sabinus*, one of the revolters, taking upon him the name of *Cæſar*, led a numerous body of undiſciplined men againſt the *Sequani*, who intirely routed him.

Conſternation of the *Romans.*

The ſenate was filled with conſternation at the news of theſe diſorders; upon which *Mucian* ſet out for *Germany* with *Veſpaſian*'s ſon *Domitian*, ſending before him, with the utmoſt expedition, four legions under the command of *Petilius Cerealis*. By this time the *Gauls*, chiefly by the perſuaſion of *Julius Vindex*, began to reflect on the mighty power of the *Romans*, and at length preferred a peace, on any terms, to a dangerous and fatal war. *Cerealis* alſo gave the *Treviri* a great overthrow, and moſt of the rebels returned to their obedience. Shortly after, he came to a general battle with *Civilis*, and his aſſociate *Claſſicus*, in the beginning of which he was much overpowered, his legions broke, his cavalry put to flight, and his bridge over the *Moſelle* gained by the enemy: but by his extraordinary ſkill and diligence he retrieved all, and not only routed the enemy, but took and deſtroyed their camp. The news of this ſucceſs reached *Mucian* before he arrived at the *Alps*; upon which he endeavoured to perſuade *Domitian* not to proceed any farther, well knowing his haughty and ambitious temper. But his advice not ſucceeding, he accompanied him as far as *Lions*, from whence *Domitian* is ſaid to have written privately to *Cerealis*, to deliver up his army to him, with a view of rebelling againſt his father, or of rivalling his brother *Titus*: but perceiving that he was ſlight-

Moſt of the rebels ſubmit.

Cerealis defeats *Civilis.*

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ed on account of his youth, he betook himself to such courses as might best conceal his designs. Shortly after, *Civilis* recruited his forces in *Germany*, and *Cerealis* did the same. Several battles were fought; but at last both sides came to an agreement, the *Batavians* being glad to accept of a peace, and *Civilis* of a pardon. *Vespasian* who submits.

During these commotions in *Germany* and *Gaul*, those *Scythians* called *Sarmati*, suddenly passed the river *Istir* in *Mæsia*, and continued their march with such rapidity and fury, that they destroyed several of the *Roman* garrisons, together with *Fontius Agrippa*, who governed *Mæsia*, and wasted all the adjacent countries with fire and sword. *Vespasian* hearing of this at *Alexandria*, sent *Rubrius Gallus* to stem the torrent, which he did effectually, killing numbers of the barbarians in battle, and driving the rest of them back to their own country. He then fortified the frontiers with stronger garrisons and forts, to prevent the like incursions for the future. This was the first irruption of that northern swarm, which afterwards destroyed the *Roman* empire. The first irruption of the northern nations.

Vespasian continued several moths at *Alexandria*, where he received great honours and offers of forces from many foreign powers. During his stay in that place, the following accident is related of him by the best authors. Two men, of mean condition, the one lame, and the other blind, presented themselves to him as he sat on his tribunal, and humbly besought him to vouchsafe to cure them; for that they had been admonished by their god *Serapis* in a dream, that if he would but wet the eyes of one with his spittle, and tread upon the hand of the other, they would both be healed. *Vespasian*, over-ruled by the persuasions of his friends, did so, and, we are told, they both were effectually cured. Before he embarked for *Rome*, he ordered his son *Titus* to continue the war against the Jews; and setting sail from *Alexandria*, he touched at *Rhodes*, from thence went to *Greece*, where he honoured many cities with his presence, and from thence sailed to *Italy*. *Vespasian* cures two men lame and blind.

Never was any prince more ardently wished for, or more triumphantly received, than *Vespasian* was at *Rome*; every one rightly judging him to be the only person capable of recovering the languishing state of the *Roman* empire. He was met several miles off by the senate, nobility, and people; so desirous were they of seeing and paying their respects to him. Joy was painted in every face, and he was entertained all the way with loud acclamations, thousands at a time calling him their benefactor and preserver, and the only person worthy to be emperor of the world. The whole city was hung with magnificent garlands, and filled with odours and perfumes; and the concourse of people of every rank was so great, that it was with difficulty he arrived at the palace. The whole body of the people were feasted; and in their sacrifices to the gods, the request of all was, that *Ves-* He is received at *Rome* with universal joy.

Vespasian. ſelon might be their emperor many years; that his ſon Titus might ſucceed him; and that the empire might never depart from his family. *Veſpaſian* was now fifty-nine years of age.

Triumphs over the Jews, with his ſon *Titus.*

Shortly after his arrival in *Italy*, his ſon *Titus* finiſhed the *Jewiſh* war, by the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, and the reduction of all *Judea*, as we have related at length in our hiſtory of the *Jews*. He thereupon returned to *Rome*, where he was received with all poſſible demonſtrations of joy, and honoured with a triumph, which was decreed by the ſenate both to him and his father, who had begun that war with great ſucceſs. All the wealth of the *Jewiſh* nation was diſplayed on this occaſion. To *Titus* was likewiſe decreed a triumphal arch, deſcribing his noble exploits, which continues almoſt intire to this day. This triumph was no ſooner over, than *Veſpaſian* commanded the temple of *Janus* to be ſhut, a profound peace now reigning in every part of the empire. Soon after, the temple of *Peace* was begun, and, on its being conſecrated four years after, the rich ſpoils of the temple of *Jeruſalem* were depoſited there. *Titus*, before his arrival at *Rome*, had been honoured with the titles of *Ceſar* and *Emperor*, and aſſociated by his father in the tribunitial power; ſo that being, in a manner, his partner in the empire, he diſcharged all the functions of ſovereignty, and alſo took upon him the command of the prætorian guards, by which means that office became the moſt honourable employment in the whole empire.

The temple of *Janus* ſhut the ſeventh time.

Year of *Rome* 823. of *Chriſt* 71.

Veſpaſian applies himſelf to the regulation of the ſtate.

Veſpaſian now applied himſelf to the regulation of the ſtate; and firſt he began with the ſoldiery, who, elated with their late victories, now thought every thing lawful to them, and ran into all kinds of licentiouſneſs, ſo as to occaſion heavy complaints againſt them. To reform theſe diſorders, he broke ſeveral of *Vitellius*'s troops, and corrected others, not ſparing even thoſe that had been moſt inſtrumental in his own victories. He omitted nothing that could contribute to reſtore the diſcipline of the armies, of which we have an inſtance in a young officer, who waiting on him to return him thanks for his preferment, and being much perfumed, *Veſpaſian* looked ſternly at him, and told him, *He had rather he had ſmelt of garlic*, and immediately took away his commiſſion. He was no leſs ſevere with reſpect to the ſeamen who were appointed by the public to run from *Oſtia* and *Puteoli* to *Rome*; for, upon their petitioning him to have ſome extraordinary allowance above their wages, for ſhoes, inſtead of complying with their requeſt, he ordered, that, for the future, they ſhould do their duty without any ſhoes at all. He took a more than ordinary care in reforming and purging thoſe two reſpectable orders the ſenators and knights, reviewing them very ſtrictly; and as they had been greatly diminiſhed by the late maſſacres, and extremely corrupted by the depravity of the late reigns, he expelled all

all such as he thought unworthy of their rank, and replaced them with more deserving persons, either *Romans* or foreigners. He likewise strictly examined into all the courts of judicature, and reformed them thoroughly, appointing special judges to determine suits which had been many years depending, and to restore the lawful owners to what they had been unjustly dispossessed of, during the disturbances of the late unhappy times. They were likewise to determine extraordinarily in causes depending before the *centumviri*, which were become so excessively numerous and tedious, that a client could seldom hope to live to the end of his suit; and also to draw up and digest a compendium of the laws. *Vespasian.*

He was no less careful to restore the ancient buildings of the city, and embellished it with new ones, hastening these works as much as possible, that *Rome* might recover her former splendor; and if any of the proprietors neglected to build within a proper time, which was limited, he permitted any one that pleased to take possession of, and go on with, what the other should have done. But the rebuilding of the capitol was his chief concern; for the greater encouragement to which, he himself began the work, carrying away the first rubbish on his own shoulders, and making the nobility follow his example, by which means it was finished in a short time, more beautiful and magnificent than before. He likewise raised several new and very stately edifices, particularly a magnificent temple to *Peace*, and finished the temple of *Claudius*, which *Agrippina* had begun, and *Nero* almost demolished. The temple which he built to *Pallas* surpassed every thing that had yet been seen, for the beauty of the paintings, carving, and gilding, the most excellent workmen in the whole world being employed in it. He also built a magnificent amphitheatre in the middle of the city, the ruins of which remain to this day. He restored three thousand tables of brass, and the inscriptions on them, which had been destroyed by the late fires. These were, in some sort, the registers of the empire, in which were recorded all decrees of the senate, all ordinances of the people, all treaties, alliances, and privileges granted to any person, or body of men, and all remarkable occurrences from the foundation of the city. Embellishes the city. Re-builds the capitol.

His cares were not confined to *Rome* only: numbers of other cities felt the good effects of them, being repaired, embellished, and fortified by his means, with great cost, skill, and industry. He also built several new towers and cities in several parts of the *Roman* dominions, and, at prodigious expence, repaired the high roads throughout the empire, and made that famous one called the *Roman way*, by piercing through vast mountains. Repairs the highways.

The affairs of the provinces were settled with all the skill and prudence that a wise and good prince could be capable of. He made great alterations in several parts of his domi- Settles the provinces.

Veſpaſian. nions, in which he often met with much trouble, particularly in the fourth year of his reign, when *Antiochus*, king of *Comagene*, and his ſon *Epiphanes*, were accuſed by *Cæſennius Pætus*, governor of *Syria*, of holding private correſpondence with *Volageſes*, king of *Parthia*. *Pætus* repreſented to the emperor, that if a ſpeedy remedy was not applied, his affairs might ſoon come to an open revolt, and give great diſturbance to the whole *Roman* empire. *Veſpaſian* thereupon directed him to proceed as he ſhould think moſt expedient; and *Pætus*, thus authoriſed, invaded the province of *Comagene* with a conſiderable force. He met with little reſiſtance; for *Antiochus*, afraid of exaſperating the *Romans* too much, left his country, and fled with his wife and daughters into *Cilicia*, and his army ſubmitted. His two ſons, after ſome vigorous ſtruggles, fled to *Parthia*; but *Antiochus* was ſhortly after taken in *Cilicia*, and loaded with chains; which *Veſpaſian* was no ſooner informed of, than, out of regard to their ancient friendſhip, he ordered him to be ſet at liberty, with leave to remain, if he pleaſed, at *Lacedæmon*, where he then was, with a revenue, which he allowed him, ſuitable to his dignity. His kingdom was, however, reduced to a *Roman* province; and he and his two ſons came afterwards to *Rome*, where they were treated with great reſpect, and honourably ſupported at the public charge. The following year he reduced *Greece*, which *Nero* had declared free, together with *Lycia*, *Rhodes*, *Byzantium*, *Samos*, *Thrace*, and *Cilicia*, to *Roman* provinces, alledging, *That they were no longer capable of liberty, ſince they only made uſe of it to undo themſelves by their inteſtine broils*: a charge which *Pauſanias* ſeems to think well grounded.

Reduces *Comagena* *Greece*, &c. to *Roman* provinces.

Strange behaviour of *Helvidius Priſcus*.

Helvidius Priſcus, a man of great eloquence, but who gloried in nothing ſo much as imitating his father-in-law *Thraſea Pætus*, like him, ſpeaking boldly whatever he thought right, and being immoveable in whatever he thought conducive to the public welfare, had been recalled from exile by *Galba*, and honoured with the prætorſhip by *Veſpaſian*, in the firſt year of his reign. But, unable to contain himſelf, through his zeal for liberty, he could not help inveighing in the ſenate againſt *Veſpaſian*, becauſe he was emperor, as bitterly as ever his father-in-law had done againſt *Nero*. *Veſpaſian* bore it, till at laſt he went ſo far as openly to celebrate the birth-days of *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, and to encourage the people to follow their example, and attempt the recovery of their ancient liberty. *Veſpaſian* then cauſed him to be ſeized, but ſoon after releaſed him. *Helvidius* again purſued his former courſe, was accuſed anew, and baniſhed. But even in the place of his exile, he ſtill continued to rail bitterly againſt the emperor, whereupon the ſenate ſentenced him to death. *Veſpaſian* would have ſaved him, and ſent to countermand the execution, but his orders came too late.

He is baniſhed, and put to death.

The laſt years.

The laſt years we find mentioned in hiſtory was performed

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the next year, by *Veſpaſian* and *Titus*, when, *Pliny* tells us, beſides numbers of very old people, two were found aged one hundred and fifty years each. *Veſpaſian.*

The next year the celebrated *Agricola* was ſent into *Britain*, to govern that province, in the room of *Julius Frontinus*. His father, *Julius Græcinus*, a ſenator, famous for his eloquence and philoſophy, was put to death by *Caligula*, for refuſing to accuſe *M. Silanus*. His mother, *Julia Agricola*, noted for her modeſty, brought him up, in his tender age, under her own eye, and with great care. He ſtudied philoſophy and law at *Marſeilles*, and learnt the firſt rudiments of war in *Britain*, under *Suetonius Paulinus*, one of the greateſt commanders of his age, by whom he was greatly eſteemed. On his return to *Rome*, to enter there upon the public offices, he was firſt ſent into *Aſia* as quæſtor, and behaved with remarkable probity. He was afterwards created tribune of the people, but remained inactive that year, being well apprized, that, under *Nero*, ſloth and heavineſs ſerved for wiſdom. His behaviour was the ſame during his prætorſhip. Being afterwards appointed by *Galba* to ſurvey the gifts and oblations belonging to the temples, by a diligent ſearch he procured full reſtitution of all, except what had been taken away by *Nero*. After *Veſpaſian*'s elevation to the throne, he was employed by *Mucian* to levy forces, and ſoon after preferred to the command of the twentieth legion, then in *Britain*, of which province *Vectius Bolanus* was then governor; but as he ruled with great mildneſs, *Agricola* had no opportunity of diſtinguiſhing himſelf by any military exploits. *Bolanus* was ſucceeded by *Petilius Cerealis*, a man of a more enterprizing genius, under whom *Agricola* had room to diſplay his talents and abilities. Upon his return from *Britain*, where he had roſe to the command of a legion, *Veſpaſian* raiſed him to the rank of patrician, and made him governor of *Aquitain*, which truſt he diſcharged with great uprightneſs. At the end of three years he was recalled, and honoured with the conſulſhip, during which he contracted his daughter to *Tacitus* the hiſtorian, who was then very young, and gave her to him in marriage, as ſoon as he had reſigned the faſces. He was then promoted to the government of *Britain*, for his great exploits in which iſland, we refer to the hiſtory of that country. *Agricola* ſent into *Britain.*

In the ninth conſulſhip of *Veſpaſian*, and the ſeventh of *Titus*, *Julius Sabinus*, who had ſtirred up the *Gauls*, and cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed *Cæſar*, was at length diſcovered, and put to death. After his defeat, he had fled to his country houſe, and ſet it on fire, to make people think he had periſhed in it. It was believed: but in the mean time he lay concealed, with his treaſures, which were immenſe, in a cave, known only to two of his freedmen, on whom he could depend. He might eaſily have eſcaped into *Germany*, but could not prevail upon himſelf to forſake his wife *Epponina*, Adventures of *Julius Sabinus.*

Veſpaſian. *ponina*, whom he loved tenderly. *Sabinus*, that no one might doubt of his death, did not, for ſome time, undeceive even his wife, who ſolemnized his exequies with unfeigned grief, and reſolved to ſtarve herſelf, rather than out-live him. She had already begun to abſtain from all food, when *Sabinus*, being informed of it, let her know, by one of his freedmen, the place where he was concealed, warning her, at the ſame time, to ſuppreſs her joy, leſt it ſhould betray him. *Epponina*, accordingly, continued in public to bewail him as before; but ſecretly paſſed the greateſt part of the night, and ſometimes whole weeks with him, under pretence of buſineſs in the country. She had even two children by him, who were born and brought up in the cave. In this condition he lived nine years, at the end of which he was diſcovered by ſome inquiſitive perſons, who, wondering what *Epponina* did ſo often out of town, and curious to know whither ſhe went, watched her to the cave. *Sabinus* was immediately ſeized, loaded with chains, and ſent to *Rome*, with his wife, who, throwing herſelf at the emperor's feet, and preſenting to him her two children, addreſſed him in theſe words, accompanied with floods of tears: *O Cæſar! I have brought forth theſe infants in a cave, and given them nouriſhment, to increaſe the number of your ſupplicants, and enlarge the bounds of your clemency.* *Veſpaſian* could not forbear weeping at ſo moving a ſight, but nevertheleſs condemned both her and her huſband, and cauſed them to be executed ſoon after. The children were brought up at the public expence. Of all the actions of *Veſpaſian*'s reign, this was by far the moſt diſagreeable to the public.

He and his wife are put to death.

Cecina and *Marcellus* conſpire againſt *Veſpaſian*, but are diſcovered and put to death.

Shortly after the execution of *Sabinus*, *Alienus Cæcina*, and and that infamous informer *Eprius Marcellus*, entered into a conſpiracy againſt the emperor, and drew over great numbers of the prætorian guards. But one of the conſpirators betrayed the whole to *Titus*, and even delivered to him a copy of the ſpeech which *Cæcina* was to make to the ſoldiers after the aſſaſſination, written with his own hand. This being ſufficient evidence, *Cæcina* was put to death, without any farther trial. *Marcellus* was tried in form, and condemned by the ſenate, but prevented the execution of the ſentence by cutting his throat with a razor.

Veſpaſian taken ill.

Veſpaſian was, ſoon after this, ſeized with a pain in his bowels, for which he removed to *Cutylia*, his paternal eſtate in the neighbourhood of *Reate*, where he uſually went every ſummer to drink the waters of that place, which were remarkable for their coolneſs. There he was ſeized, firſt with a fever, and afterwards with a flux, which brought him ſo low, that every one began to deſpair of his recovery. However, he ſtill attended buſineſs, received ambaſſadors, and gave audience to his miniſters. Finding himſelf grow more and more faint, he ſaid one day to thoſe about him, *Methinks I am going to be a god*; alluding to the cuſtom of the

Romans,

Romans, who deified their emperors after their death; and upon the approach of death, he cried out, with his usual resolution, *It becomes an emperor to die upon his legs*; but while he endeavoured to rise, he expired in the arms of those who held him, in the sixty-ninth year of his age, and after having reigned ten years wanting six days, from the time he was proclaimed emperor at *Alexandria*. *Vespasian.* His death

Providence seemed to have raised this prince to the empire, on purpose to preserve it from utter destruction. *Greatness and mighty*, says Pliny, *wrought no alteration in him, save that of making his power of doing good answerable to his will.* He was the second *Roman* emperor, if not the first, who died a natural death; and the first who was succeeded by his son. He is said to have been so confident, that the empire was destined to him and his posterity by the laws of fate, that he told the senate, *He was sure he should keep the sovereignty to his death, and be succeeded in it by his two sons, in spight of all plots and conspiracies.* He scarce ever failed to assist at the debates and deliberations of the senate, without assuming to himself any authority above the other senators, whom he frequently exhorted to speak their sentiments with freedom, telling them, *That he had called them not blindly to approve his will and pleasure, but to receive their counsel, and to trust to, and follow it.* He was courteous and affable to all, allowing persons of every rank to accost him with freedom, the gates of his palace being constantly open. His tenderness was such, that he could not behold even the greatest criminals led to execution, without many sighs and tears. He was so far from concealing the meanness of his birth, that he frequently discoursed of it himself, and used to deride those flatterers who undertook to derive his pedigree from the founders of *Reate*, and the companions of *Hercules*. He despised titles, and was with difficulty persuaded to accept of that of *Father of his country*, to which no one ever had a better claim. The king of *Parthia* having written to him in the haughty stile of Arsaces, *king of kings*, *to* Flavius Vespasian, he, without finding fault with the title, or resenting it as an affront, directed his answer thus: Flavius Vespasian *to* Arsaces, *king of kings*; shewing thereby in what contempt he held such titles. He was so far from taking delight in public honours, that, when he triumphed with his son *Titus* over the *Jews*, being quite tired with the length of that ceremony, he was heard to say, *He deserved to suffer, for having, at his age, desired a triumph, as if such an honour had been due to his ancestors, or hoped for by himself.* He bore with incredible patience the many lampoons that were dispersed all over the town, reflecting upon his avarice. He gave no ear to whisperers, nor ever put any one to death, whose crimes were not plainly proved. Tho' several conspiracies were formed against him, he could never be prevailed upon to put the conspirators to death, but only said, *That they deserved pity, rather than punishment; for that they* and character.

Veſpaſian. *they knew not what a burden the empire was.* He carried h
ſentiments ſo far, that his friends having one day admoniſh
him to beware of *Metius Pompoſianus*, who, ſaid they, w
born under a conſtellation which promiſed him the empir
he immediately named him conſul, adding pleaſantly, *Wh
he is emperor, I hope he will remember this good turn, and requ
it.* He took the daughter of his inveterate enemy, *Vitellia*
under his protection, gave her a rich dower, and marri
her into a noble family. Private inſults and injuries we
things he never remembered.

The only fault with which the ancients have charge
him is his immoderate love of money, which he was no
aſhamed to procure by means altogether unworthy of a
emperor. He not only revived the old taxes which *Galb*
had ſuppreſſed, but loaded the provinces with new ones
bought commodities, that he might ſell them again to ad
vantage; and deſcended to ſome very low and uncommo
impoſts, ſuch as laying a tax upon urine, which gave occa
ſion to his ſon *Titus* to remonſtrate to him the meanneſs o
ſuch an impoſt; but he, preſenting to his ſon the firſt mo
ney that accrued from thence, aſked him, *Whether the ſmel
offended him.* Neither did he ſcruple the ſelling of any of
fice, nor pardoning a criminal, however enormous his crimes
were, if he could but raiſe money enough to redeem him
ſelf from puniſhment. He is ſaid to have preferred to the
moſt profitable employments ſuch of his officers as were
moſt noted for their rapaciouſneſs, and to have made uſe of
them as ſponges, wetting them when they were dry, and
ſqueezing them when they were wet. He often ſtrove to
diſguiſe his avarice by ſome humourous joke; as when cer
tain ambaſſadors acquainted him, that their nation had or
dered a conſiderable ſum of money to be laid out in erecting
a ſtatue to him, and deſired to know where he would pleaſe
to have it placed; *Here is the baſis*, ſaid he, ſtretching out
his hand, *Put the money here, and the ſtatue is reared.* Some
have ſaid, that he was covetous by nature; but others ex
cuſe him on account of the urgent neceſſities of the ſtate,
and the emptineſs of the exchequer, when he firſt came to
the government; for he then publicly declared to the ſenate,
*That the republic could not poſſibly ſubſiſt, without a ſupply of an
hundred and forty millions of ſeſterces.* To this may be added
in his favour, that he always employed his revenues to great
and noble purpoſes, and laid them out with uncommon ge
nerosity. His public works and edifices too were very ex
penſive; his preſents and penſions profuſe and numerous,
and his entertainments frequent and magnificent. He ſup
ported a great number of poor ſenators, allowed five hundred
ſeſterces a year to every decayed conſular, reſtored to their
former luſtre ſeveral cities, which had been deſtroyed by fire
or earthquakes; built aqueducts, and repaired the public
roads.

roads. He was likewiſe a great encourager of learning, and ſettled an hundred thouſand ſeſterces upon the profeſſors of rhetoric, to be paid yearly out of the exchequer He invited to *Rome*, and amply rewarded, all ſuch as excelled in any art or ſcience. Among theſe, one ſkilled in mechanics having offered to convey certain columns of a vaſt weight into the capitol, at a very ſmall expence, *Veſpaſian* rewarded him for his invention, but would not employ him, ſaying, *We muſt not hinder the common people from earning their livelihood.* In his reign flouriſhed, among other learned men, the hiſtorian *Joſephus*, whom he honoured with a ſtatue, the elder *Pliny*, and that great orator *Quintilian*. *Veſpaſian.*

TITUS.

VESPASIAN was ſucceeded by his eldeſt ſon *Titus*, who was brought up with *Britannicus* in the court of *Nero*, and is ſaid to have taſted the poiſon of which that young prince died at the emperor's table. From his early years he applied himſelf cloſely to the ſtudy of rhetoric and poetry, and made a conſiderable progreſs in both. He ſerved firſt in quality of tribune in *Germany*, and afterwards in *Britain*, in both which places he gained no leſs reputation by his modeſty, than by his courage. Upon his return from *Britain*, he betook himſelf to the bar, and pleaded ſome cauſes of great importance with uncommon applauſe. He married, while yet very young, *Arricidia Tertulla*, whoſe father was only a *Roman* knight, but had been captain of the prætorian guards. Upon her death, he married *Marcia Furnilla*, deſcended of an illuſtrious family, but divorced her, after having by her a daughter, named *Julia Sabina*. After his quæſtorſhip he was advanced to the command of a legion, and attended his father into *Judæa*, in quality of his lieutenant, in which poſt he diſtinguiſhed himſelf in a very eminent manner, and was the means of bringing about a reconciliation between *Veſpaſian* and *Mucian*, to which the former afterwards owed, in a great meaſure, the empire. His exploits during the war againſt the *Jews* being particularly related in the hiſtory of that people, need not be repeated here. *Titus.* His riſe.

Suetonius tells us, that, while his father lived, he was proud, cruel, and covetous, and that when any gave him the leaſt umbrage, he even hired people to demand their doom, either in the theatre, or the camp of the prætorians, and then condemned them without farther trial. In adminiſtring juſtice, continues that author, he was eaſily byaſſed by His character before he came to the empire.

Titus. by preſents; ſold employments of great truſt, without the knowledge of his father, and abandoned himſelf to debauchery and riot; inſomuch, that ſcare any man ever came to the empire with a more ſullied reputation, or more deteſted by the people.

But all theſe imputations turned to his praiſe and advantage ſoon after his acceſſion to the throne, no prince having ever governed better. He then diſmiſſed the beautiful *Berenice*, who had followed him to *Rome*, with her father *Agrippa*, the laſt king of *Judæa*, and, though he was paſſionately fond of her, obliged her even to leave *Italy*, out of pure complaiſance to the ſenate and people, who were diſpleaſed to ſee their emperor captivated by a foreign woman. Though his brother *Domitian* raiſed great diſturbances in the city, by pretending that their father had left him partner in the empire, but that his will had been falſified; yet he could not prevail upon himſelf either to puniſh or baniſh him, but, on the contrary, truſted him as his collegue in the empire; conjuring him often in private, with tears in his eyes, not to hate a brother who loved him ſincerely, and was willing to allow him a due ſhare in the adminiſtration. He confirmed, by one general edict, all the gifts of his predeceſſors. He could never be prevailed upon to ſend away any one that applied to him, diſſatisfied, or without ſome hopes of ſucceſs; whereupon, being told by ſome of his friends, that he promiſed more than he could well perform, he replied, *That no man ſhould depart diſſatisfied from the preſence of a prince.* His deſire of doing good was ſo great, that being told, one night, that he had not granted any one a favour that day, he expreſſed his regret with that memorable ſaying, *My friends, I have loſt a day.* He completed the reformation of many abuſes which had not been thoroughly remedied in his father's reign, entirely abrogating the law of lefe-majeſty, which the accuſers had made ſuch a handle of, to work the ruin of innocent perſons, and proceeding againſt that infamous tribe with inflexible ſeverity, cauſing them to be publicly whipped, expoſed to the inſults of the populace in all the public places, and then to be either ſold for ſlaves, or baniſhed to diſtant iſlands, till he had utterly extirpated them. His complaiſance to the people was ſuch, that, intending to give a ſhew of gladiators, he ſignified by a proclamation, that he deſired them to regulate it, for that it ſhould be exhibited according to their taſte, and not his own. He allowed free acceſs to him even while he was bathing, and received all with great affability and condeſcenſion, and yet ſo as to maintain the dignity of his rank. He never coveted the property of another: nay, he often refuſed even the uſual preſents, and ſuch contributions as were due to him; though no emperor was ever more generous than he, nor expended larger ſums in private bounties, and public ſhews and works. He was not

He diſmiſſes *Berenice*,

Confirms all the grants of his predeceſſors.

His ſeverity againſt the informers.

not less active than his father in repairing the ancient buildings, erecting new ones, and taking care of the high roads. After he had dedicated the famous amphitheatre, the stately ruins of which are still to be seen, and finished with incredible expedition the baths close to it, he entertained the people, at an immense expence, with a naval battle in the old *Naumachia*, caused five thousand wild beasts of various kinds to be baited, and entertained the people with a vast variety of magnificent shews and feasts for an hundred days together. *Titus.*

His whole conduct was so mild and merciful, that he never would receive any accusation against such as abused him; that while he did nothing worthy censure, he did not regard calumnies. He was so tender of the lives of his subjects, that when he entered upon the office of chief pontiff, he solemnly declared, *That he took upon him that dignity, in order to keep his hands undefiled, and pure from the shedding of blood*; and from that time he never was accessary to the death of any man, though he might several times have exerted a just revenge: but, however provoked, he spared the criminals, declaring, *That he had rather die himself than put another to death.* Of this great clemency he gave a remarkable instance. Two patricians being convicted of conspiring against him, he freely forgave them, and only admonished them in private, telling them, *That as the empire was the gift of destiny, it was in vain for them to think of obtaining it by any villainy; that they had better be satisfied with the rank which Providence had allotted them; and that he would be glad to serve them in any thing else that was in his power to grant.* At the same time he dispatched a messenger to the mother of one of them, who was at a great distance, to let her know that her son was alive and out of danger. He then invited them both to sup with him that night; and the next day, placing them by him at a shew of the gladiators, when the weapons of the combatants were presented to him, according to custom, he desired them to survey them. His mildness and clemency.

In the first year of his reign, a dreadful eruption of Mount *Vesuvius* desolated *Campania*, laying waste the country to a great distance, and destroying several cities with their inhabitants; among the rest, *Pompeii* and *Herculanum*; the ruins of which last have been lately discovered. *Puteoli* and *Cumæ* were also greatly damaged. Such was the violence of this eruption, that, the ancients assure us, that the burning ashes that were thrown out of the mountain reached *Africa*, *Egypt*, and *Syria*; and were so thick at *Rome*, as to darken the air, and turn the day into night. The elder *Pliny*, who was then at *Misenum*, where he commanded the fleet riding there, curious to know the cause of this phænomenon, went immediately on board one of the gallies, and sailed towards Mount *Vesuvius*. He pursued his course, though stones, ashes, and earth, Dreadful eruption of Mount *Vesuvius.*

Titus. earth, began already to ſhower down upon his ſhip, and reached *Stabiæ*, between *Pompeii* and *Surrentum*, where, tho' the inhabitants had all abandoned the place, he paſſed the night, the better to obſerve, during the darkneſs, the mountain, which ſeemed all on a blaze. The ſame night, a dreadful earthquake happened at *Stabiæ*; and ſuch quantities of ſtones fell, that *Pliny* would have put to ſea again, had he not been prevented by contrary winds. The fire approaching, he attempted to ſave himſelf by flight; but, though ſupported by two of his domeſtics, he ſoon fell, ſuffocated by the thickneſs of the air and the ſtench of the ſulphur.

Death of the elder *Pliny*.

Titus repairs the damages done by the eruption,

The following year, *Titus* gave many remarkable inſtances of his humanity and goodnature; in repairing, at his own expence, the loſſes which *Campania* had ſuffered by the eruption of Mount *Veſuvius*, ſending into that country two conſulars, to ſee the cities which had been deſtroyed rebuilt at his expence; and going thither ſhortly after himſelf, and diſtributing immenſe ſums among the unhappy ſufferers. While he was in *Campania*, a dreadful fire broke out in *Rome*, which laſted three days and as many nights, and reduced to aſhes, among many other buildings, both public and private, the library of *Auguſtus*, with all the books in it; the theatre of *Pompey*, and great part of the Capitol. Upon the firſt news of this calamity, *Titus* haſtened back to *Rome*, and publicly declared, that the whole loſs ſhould fall upon him.

and by a fire at *Rome*.

He was as good as his word: for, though many cities and foreign provinces offered to bear their ſhare in the expence, he would not accept of any aſſiſtance, but choſe rather to ſell even the ornaments and furniture of his own palaces, to defray the vaſt expence of rebuilding the temples, public edifices, and houſes of private men.

A plague at *Rome*.

This conflagration was followed by the moſt dreadful peſtilence that had ever raged in *Rome*; thought to have been occaſioned by the aſhes of Mount *Veſuvius*, which had covered the country to a great diſtance. *Titus* left no remedy unattempted to abate the malignity of the diſtemper, exerting all the care of a good prince, all the tenderneſs of a father; comforting the people with his edicts, and relieving them with his bounties.

Laſt year, *Titus* had aſſumed the title of emperor, with the uſual ſolemnity, on account of the advantages which the brave *Agricola* had gained during his ſecond campaign in *Britain*: and now the ſenate, out of a real ſenſe of gratitude, conferred new honours upon him. What they were, we are not told; but the good emperor did not live to enjoy them. *Suetonius* tells us, that he exhibited ſhews, during which he ſhed many tears in the preſence of the multitude, and retired as ſoon as they were over into the country of the *Sabines*. The firſt night he lay out of *Rome*, he was ſeized with a violent fever; but continued his journey in a litter, being deſirous to

end

end his days in the ſame houſe where his father died. He reached it with much difficulty, and died there ſoon after his arrival, in the forty-firſt year of his age, after having reigned two years, two months, and twenty days. *Philoſtratus* ſays, that he was poiſoned by his brother *Domitian*: but *Plutarch* aſcribes his death to the immoderate uſe of baths. He far excelled all his predeceſſors, and was equalled by few of his ſucceſſors. He knew no advantage in being higher than others, but that of being able to do the more good. He was a ſtranger to pride and oſtentation, and behaved with ſuch paternal tenderneſs to all his ſubjects, that he was deſervedly ſtiled, THE DELIGHT OF MANKIND.

Titus.

The death of *Titus.* Year of *Rome* 833. of *Chriſt* 81.

His character.

DOMITIAN.

TITUS was ſucceeded by his brother *Domitian*, who, notwithſtanding the bad opinion which many already had of him, was immediately acknowledged emperor, without the leaſt oppoſition. The beginning of his reign ſeemed to promiſe happineſs to his people, whoſe love he ſtudied to gain, by diſguiſing his vices, and affecting the oppoſite virtues. He then ſhewed ſuch an abhorrence to every kind of cruelty, that he was once going to forbid the ſacrificing of every living creature. He was ſo far from betraying any inclination to avarice, that he gave inſtances of a temper truly magnificent, preſenting his officers and miniſters with large ſums to ſet them above the temptation of doing mean things. He refuſed to accept of any inheritances left him by perſons who had children; forgave all debts due to the Exchequer that were above five years ſtanding; forbad all the officers of the Treaſury to ſue any one for debts that were not quite clear and undoubted; confirmed, by one general edict, all the grants of his predeceſſors; encreaſed the pay of the ſoldiers; and finiſhed, at a vaſt expence, all the public buildings which had been begun by *Titus*. *Plutarch* tells us, that he expended above twelve thouſand talents only in the gilding of the capitol; and that every part of his own palace was ſtill much more magnificent than that ſtately temple. To the ancient edifices which he repaired or rebuilt, he added an incredible number of new ones.

Domitian acknowledged emperor.

The beginning of his reign promiſing.

His vaſt expence in building.

He was aſſiduous and unbiaſſed in the adminiſtration of juſtice; puniſhed, with the utmoſt ſeverity, ſuch judges as were accuſed of having received bribes; and kept the magiſtrates of the city, as well as the governors of the provinces, in ſuch awe, that they never behaved with ſo much modeſty as in his time. Though he was never known to peruſe a book

Domitian book after his acceſſion to the empire, except the memoirs which *Tiberius* left, yet he repaired the libraries which had been burnt in the laſt fires, and even ſent perſons to *Alexandria* to procure copies of ſuch books as had periſhed in the flames. He made ſeveral good laws: ſuch as, prohibiting all ſcandalous writings; making adultery a capital crime, and reſtraining the debaucheries of the people: all which were received with great applauſe. But his putting to death, towards the end of the firſt, or in the beginning of the ſecond,

He puts *Flavius Sabinus* to death.

year of his reign, his own couſin *Flavius Sabinus*, for no crime, but becauſe the public crier had, by miſtake, inſtead of conſul, proclaimed him emperor, in the aſſembly of the people, filled the city with univerſal terror. *Sabinus* had married *Julia*, the daughter of the emperor *Titus*; and that, we are told, was the ſource of *Domitian*'s jealouſy.

His mock expedition againſt the *Catti*.

In the ſecond year of his reign he undertook an expedition againſt the *Catti*, the moſt warlike nation in all *Germany*. He attacked them without the leaſt provocation, and while they were quite unprepared for war: laid waſte part of the country, took a few peaſants priſoners, and then, upon advice that the enemy were aſſembling their forces, haſtened back to *Rome*, where the ſenate decreed him a triumph for his pretended victory. From this time he conſtantly wore the triumphal robe in the ſenate, and upon all public occaſions. On this account, he promiſed to increaſe the pay of the ſoldiers; but not having wherewithal to do it, and at the ſame time ſupply his other extravagances, he ſoon after betook himſelf to all manner of rapine and violence.

For which he triumphs.

In the mean time *Agricola* ſent *Domitian* a plain and modeſt account of his having intirely reduced *Britain*. The emperor received it with ſeeming joy, but real anguiſh; being ſtung to the very heart with the thought of a ſubject's having eclipſed his own boaſted glory. However, diſſembling his rancour, he made the ſenate decree triumphal ornaments to *Agricola*, and a ſtatue crowned with laurel; heightening theſe honours with many expreſſions of great eſteem: but at the ſame time he reſolved to recall him: and, that this might not be imputed to jealouſy or envy, he cauſed a report to be ſpread, that he intendeded to give him the government of *Syria*, then vacant, and always reſerved for perſons of high rank. Some ſay, that *Domitian* actually diſpatched one of his freedmen with the inſtrument by which *Agricola* was appointed to that high poſt; but that meeting him as he was croſſing the channel, he returned back without ſpeaking to him. Whether or not this be true, is uncertain; but *Agricola* had already reſigned his command in *Britain* to *Salluſtius Secundus*. Arriving at *Rome*, he entered the city in the night, purpoſely to avoid all popular diſtinction, and went directly to the palace, where *Domitian* received him with a cold embrace and without ſaying a ſingle word. From this time *Agricola* reſolved to avoid every thing that could in the leaſt diſtinguiſh

Is jealous of *Agricola* and recalls him.

him

him from other men, and to bury in retirement thoſe virtues for which he plainly ſaw he ſhould ſoon be hated. *Domitian*

The ſame year, *Carinomer*, king of the *Cheruſci*, a *German* nation, being driven from his dominions by the *Catti*, because he had ſubmitted to the *Romans*, and given them hoſtages, had recourſe to *Domitian* for aſſiſtance. But the emperor not caring to engage in a war with that fierce nation, contented himſelf with ſending his friend and ally a ſum of money inſtead of troops, which, he ſaid, he could not well ſpare at that time. The next year, the *Sarmatians* and *Suevians* entered into an alliance againſt the *Romans*, who loſt whole armies in *Meſia*, *Dacia*, *Germany*, and *Pannonia*, thro' the bad conduct of their generals: but the particulars of theſe wars have not been tranſmitted to us. We only know, by ſome medals which have reached us, that *Domitian* went upon ſome expedition, for which he triumphed this year. Refuſes to aſſiſt the *Cheruſci*.

On his return to *Rome*, he abandoned himſelf to all manner of cruelty, and put to death ſeveral illuſtrious perſons, because certain aſtrologers, whom he conſulted, told him, they were deſtined to the empire. *Meſſus Pompoſianus*, againſt whom ſome deſigning perſons had endeavoured in vain to ſtir up the emperor *Veſpaſian*, was, on this occaſion, baniſhed to the iſland of *Corſica*, where, he was ſoon after put to death by *Domitian*'s order. *Nerva*, who ſucceeded him in the empire, would have ſuffered the ſame doom, had not ſomebody aſſured *Domitian*, that he had no reaſon to fear him, for that he could not live many days. Multitudes of ſenators and knights were this year accuſed of treaſon, and either ſentenced to death by the ſenate, or ordered by *Domitian* to diſpatch themſelves. Of theſe the moſt illuſtrious was *Ælius Lama*, whom he cauſed to be publicly executed only for a jeſt. *Domitian*, who had taken away his wife, commending one day his voice, *Lama* anſwered, *Yet, alas! I muſt be ſilent*. *Civicus Cerealis* was murdered during his proconſulſhip of *Aſia*, under pretence of his intending to raiſe diſturbances in the ſtate; but, in reality, becauſe he had accepted of that government when it fell to him by lot. *Agricola*, warned by this, when either the proconſulſhip of *Aſia*, or that of *Africa*, muſt have fallen to him by lot, preſented a petition to the emperor, begging to be excuſed from being a candidate to either. *Domitian* not only granted his requeſt, but even received his formal thanks for that great favour. *Salvius Coceianus* was put to death for celebrating the birth-day of the emperor *Otho*, who was his uncle by the father's ſide: *Salluſtius Lucullus*, who ſucceeded *Agricola* in the government of *Britain*, for ſuffering a new kind of lances to be called by his own name; *Junius Ruſticus*, for publiſhing a writing in praiſe of the celebrated *Tiraſea*, and of *Helvidius Priſcus*; and *Maternus*, for having declaimed againſt tyranny and tyrants. All the profeſſors of philoſophy were driven into exile; and, that Puts many perſons of diſtinction to death.

Domitian nothing which was worthy or honeſt might any where be ſeen, ſays *Tacitus*, a new kind of cruelty was exerted; the works of men of genius being burnt publicly in the *forum*. In ſhort, ſuch was the melancholy ſtate of *Rome*, that every thing gave the jealous tyrant fear or offence; and both were ſure of being puniſhed with death.

Abandons himſelf to all manner of lewdneſs, avarice, and extortion.

In the beginning of his reign, he treated informers with great ſeverity, and ſolemnly declared that he would never give ear to them: but now he encouraged them more than any other prince had done; their perſons were declared ſacred; and the more they were deteſted by the public, the more they were cheriſhed by the emperor. In the midſt of his cruelties, he abandoned himſelf to all manner of lewdneſs and debauchery, equalling, in that reſpect, the moſt infamous of his predeceſſors. His avarice was equal to his lewdneſs and cruelty, practiſing every ſort of rapine and extortion, and confiſcating the eſtates of the wealthy upon the ſlighteſt pretence. He ſeized upon the effects even of perſons he had never known, if he could but find any one witneſs to depoſe, That he had heard the deceaſed ſay, *That* Cæſar *was his heir*. By theſe means he reduced to beggary the moſt opulent perſons in *Rome*, *Italy*, and all the provinces of the *Roman* empire, The heavy tributes, and the rigour with which they were exacted, occaſioned great diſorders, and frequent revolts in the diſtant provinces: in particular, the *Naſamonians*, a people of *Africa*, no longer able to bear the load, took up arms this year, defeated *Flaccus*, governor of *Numidia*, ſtormed his camp, and put great numbers of his men to the ſword. But *Flaccus* rallying his troops, fell unexpectedly upon them, while they were intoxicated with the wine they had found in the *Roman* camp, and cut them all off to a man. *Domitian*, elated with this victory, bragged in the ſenate, *That he had cut off the whole nation of the* Naſamonians: for he always aſcribed to himſelf the advantages gained by his officers; but to others every miſcarriage, even though occaſioned by a ſtrict obſervance of his orders. This year he aſſumed

Aſſumes the titles of *Lord* and *God*.

the title of *Lord*, and that of *God*; not being aſhamed, in dictating an ordinance to one of his ſecretaries, to begin it thus: *Our Lord and God orders and commands*, &c. He likewiſe enacted, that all ſhould pay him divine worſhip, and forbid any one from that time ever to addreſs him by any other name than that of *Lord* and *God*. Temples and altars were erected to him, and he himſelf offered ſacrifices to his own divinity.

Inſtitution of the *Capitoline* games.

Year of *Rome* 839.

In the ſixth year of *Domitian*'s reign, were inſtituted the *Capitoline* ſports, or games, ſo much ſpoken of by the writers of thoſe days; according to whom, they were to be celebrated, as the *Olympic* games, at the end of four years complete, and in the beginning of the fifth. As they were exhibited in honour of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, the emperor preſided

at

at them in person, attended by the priest of *Jupiter* and the college of the *Flavian* priests. *Domitian*

The war with the *Dacians*, the most bloody and dangerous of any in *Domitian*'s reign, happened about this time. This warlike nation then inhabited the countries now called *Moldavia*, *Valachia*, and *Transylvania*. They were not only men of great strength, but of equal courage; despising death, which they looked upon as the end of a transitory, and the beginning of an happy and lasting life. This doctrine they had learned of the philosopher *Zamolxis*, whom some suppose to have been the disciple of *Pythagoras*; others, to have lived long before his time. *Duras*, who ruled them, by a moderation which hardly can be matched in history, voluntarily resigned the sovereignty to *Decebalus*, because he thought him better qualified than himself for so great a trust. The particulars of the war are not known, otherwise than by an account we find of it in *Jornandes*; according to whom, the *Dacians*, dreading the effects of the emperor's avarice, broke their alliance with the *Romans*, crossed the *Danube*, drove away the troops stationed on the banks of that river, fell upon *Oppius Sabinus*, governor of *Mæsia*, defeated and killed him, and seized all the forts and castles of the *Romans* in their neighbourhood. Hereupon *Domitian*, having raised a formidable army, marched himself at the head of it into *Illyricum*. Upon his approach, *Decebalus* sent ambassadors to him, offering to put an end to the war, and renew the former treaties: but *Domitian*, instead of returning any answer, ordered the flower of his forces to advance against the *Dacians*, under the command of *Cornelius Fuscus*, who was defeated with prodigious slaughter, and himself killed, with the loss of an eagle, a great quantity of arms, all the engines of war, and a vast number of captives. The news of this defeat alarmed *Domitian*, who was already returned to *Rome*, where he made as dreadful havock of the senate and people, as the *Dacians* had done of the soldiery. He thereupon left *Rome* a second time, giving out, that he would head the army in person: but he stopped in the city of *Mæsia*, and sent his generals against the enemy. Many bloody battles were fought with various success: but at last, the fortune of the *Romans* prevailing, *Decebalus* was forced to sue for peace. *Domitian* refused to grant it upon any terms: but, instead of pursuing the war with vigour, and forcing him, as he might easily have done, to submit at discretion, he turned his arms against the *Quadi* and *Marcomani*, because they had not sent him succours during the war with the *Dacians*. These two nations, though famous for their strength and valour, unwilling to suffer the calamities of an unnecessary war, sent deputies to the emperor, begging him to forbear hostilities, which thay were not conscious of having deserved. But *Domitian*, instead of listening to their entreaties, caused their ambassadors to be murdered; which so provoked those warlike

The *Dacian* war.

The *Romans* defeated.

The *Dacians* receive a great overthrow

Domitian like people, that, collecting all their youth, they took th field, engaged *Domitian*, and put him to flight. *Domitia* then, as abject as he had been haughty before, sent to *Dec*

Domitian, defeated by the *Marcomani*, concludes a shameful peace with the *Dacians*.

balus, with offers of peace upon very advantageous terms which the *Dacian*, whose army had been greatly weakened wisely accepted of. *Domitian* sent him a diadem, as an ac knowledgment of his being king; together with a large sum of money, and a great number of workmen and artificers o all professions; and likewise engaged to pay him yearly certain sum, which was sent punctually till the reign of *Tra jan*; when that prince, ashamed that the *Romans* shoul be tributaries to any one, refused to pay it; saying, *That* De cebalus *had never conquered him*. Upon the conclusion of thi opprobrious peace, *Domitian* wrote to the senate, telling them, *That he had at length forced the* Dacians *to submit to th* Roman *yoke*: and at the same time he dipatched to *Rome* the ambassadors of *Decebalus*, with a letter written to him by that prince, or rather, as was generally believed, feigned by himself, wherein the *Dacian* owned himself conquered, and no longer able to withstand so brave a commander as *Domi-*

For which he triumphs.

tian. The senate thereupon decreed him a triumph, which he enjoyed upon his return; triumphing at the same time over the *Dacians*, of whom he had purchased peace at the expence of an annual tribute; and over the *Quadi* and *Marcomani*, by whom he had been utterly defeated and driven out of the field. After this, he celebrated the secular games with great pomp and magnificence.

The revolt of *L. Antonius*,

About two years after *Domitian*'s return from this famous expedition, *L. Antonius*, governor of Upper *Germany*, where he had two legions under his command, being provoked with the tyrannical conduct of the emperor, and depending upon the fidelity and affection of his soldiers, assumed the imperial title, and was acknowledged emperor, not only by his own soldiers, but by most of the *German* nations, who promised him powerful succours, not out of esteem for him, but thro' hatred to *Domitian*. The news of this revolt no sooner reached *Rome*, than *Domitian* hastened to suppress it, leading with him the prætorian bands, the flower of all the troops then in *Italy*, all the senators, and greatest part of the *Roman* knights, even such as had absented themselves from the city, and led a retired life, hastening to join him on this occasion, lest they should afterwards be accused of having abandoned their emperor in time of danger: a charge which would have cost them their lives. However, he had not proceeded far on his march, when he received an account of the total overthrow of *L. Antonius*, whose army was entirely cut off, and he himself slain, by *L. Maximus*, who, after this victory prudently burnt all *Antonius*'s papers, that the emperor might not take occasion from them to renew his cruelties. But this precaution availed little with the blood-thirsty tyrant, who made strict search after *Antonius*'s accomplices

who is defeated and killed.

put to the moſt cruel torture perſons of all ranks and condi- *Domitian*
tions, upon the leaſt ſuſpicion of their having been privy to the conſpiracy, or even upon the ſlighteſt intimation of their having been at all intimate with *Antonius*. On this occaſion, all thoſe whoſe birth or virtues gave him the leaſt umbrage, were executed or baniſhed, and their eſtates ſeized. From this time, *Domitian* could not ſuffer two legions to be quartered in the ſame camp during the winter, but kept them all at ſome diſtance from each other. This year a ſecond A ſecond counterfeit *Nero* appeared in *Aſia*, and had recourſe to the counterking of *Parthia*, who furniſhed him with troops, and ſeemed feit *Nero* inclined to quarrel with the *Romans* on his account, but was appears. at laſt prevailed upon by *Domitian* to deliver him up to the governor of *Syria*, by whom he was put to death.

The next year, *Domitian* took the title of emperor three times; but for what exploits we know not: probably for expeditions as glorious as thoſe againſt the *Dacians*, *Quadi*, and *Marcomani*. The following year afforded nothing remarkable: but the year after that, *M. Ulpius Trajanus*, who ſucceeded *Nerva* in the empire, and *Acilius Glabria*, being conſuls, *Domitian* obliged this laſt, who was a man of great ſtrength and activity, to fight in the *arena* a huge lion, whom he overcame and killed. The applauſe of the people on this occaſion rouſed the jealouſy of the emperor, who thereupon, under pretence of ſome crime or other, baniſhed *Acilio*, and ſoon after cauſed him to be murdered in the place of The conhis exile. After this, he treated the people with a great many ſul*Glabri*ſhews, the moſt magnificent that had ever yet been ſeen. *us Acilio* In a vaſt lake, dug on purpoſe, near the *Tiber*, a ſea-fight put to was repreſented, with ſuch numbers of ſhips as amounted to death. complete fleets. In the combats of gladiators, not only men, but alſo women, and ſome of them of quality, entered the liſts; and in the amphitheatre, two battles were exhibited, the one of horſe, and the other of foot; which ſo pleaſed the populace, that, forgetting at once all his cruelties, they beſtowed higher encomiums upon him than they had ever given either to *Titus* or *Veſpaſian*.

In the twelfth year of *Domitian*'s reign, died, in the fifty- The death ſixth year of his age, the celebrated *Agricola*: one of the of *Agrico*greateſt commanders, and beſt citizens, that *Rome* ever had. *la*. His death was deſervedly lamented as a public misfortune; and what heightened the general concern, was, a ſuſpicion of his having been poiſoned by *Domitian*'s order. His ſon-in-law, *Tacitus*, does not ſay there was any proof of this; but from the tenor of *Domitian*'s behaviour towards him, there is great reaſon to ſuſpect it.

The ſame year, *Bræbius Maſſa*, an infamous accuſer, was *Bæbius* himſelf accuſed by the people of *Bithynia*, for his tyrannical *Maſſa*, an extortions during his government of that country. The infamous younger *Pliny*, and *Herennius Senecio* were appointed by the accuſer,

Domitian senate to plead the cause of the *Ephesians*; which they did so effectually, that *Bæbius* was condemned, and the consuls were ordered to seize his estate and effects, But other business intervening, and the execution of the sentence being thereby delayed from day to day, *Senecio*, fearing least the delinquent should secrete part of his goods, begged *Pliny* to join him in applying for immediate execution of the sentence. Accordingly, they went both together to the consuls, where they found *Bæbius*, who, upon hearing their business, was so provoked, that he immediately charged *Senecio* with treason, and summoned him before the emperor. The very name of treason struck the whole assembly with terror: but *Pliny*, without betraying the least fear, told *Bæbius*, *he was very sorry he did not also charge him with the same crime, for fear his silence with respect to him, should induce the people to think he had not acted against him with as much zeal as* Senecio; *and that he should be sorry any one should entertain so bad an opinion of him.*

Firmness of the younger *Pliny*.

Domitian, now more cruel, if possible, than he had ever been, began to put in execution the design he had long since formed, of utterly extirpating the senate, and destroying every man of family or virtue. *The islands*, says *Tacitus*, describing these unhappy times, *were peopled with exiles; the rocks contaminated with blood: but more horrid still were the ravages of cruelty at* Rome. It was treasonable, to be noble; capital, to be rich; criminal, to have borne honours; unpardonable, to have declined them; and the reward of worth and virtue was quick and inevitable destruction. Nor were the iniquities of the informer more shocking than the greatness of their rewards; for to some were given, as the spoils of the state, the dignity of pontiff, and that of consul; others were appointed governors of provinces; and others were made prime-ministers and confidents at home. Controuling and confounding all things, they exerted their terrors, and reeked their vengeance, in every nation. Slaves were suborned against their masters, freedmen against their patrons, and such as had no enemies were betrayed and undone by their friends. Among the number of illustrious persons put to death at this time, *Tacitus* reckons, *Helvidius*, *Rusticus*, and *Senecio*. *Helvidius*, who was of consular rank, was accused of treason, in having wrote a poem wherein he was said to have reflected on the emperor. The moment he appeared to plead his cause before the senate, *Publicius Certus*, one of the judges, seized him, with the assistance of some other senators, and, without allowing him to speak, dragged him to prison, where he was executed. *Rusticus* and *Senecio* suffered for having written in praise of *Thrasea* and *Helvidius Priscus*. *Senecio* had wrote a life of this last, at the request of his widow *Fannia*, who, for havig desired it, was, with her mother *Arria*, the widow of the famous *Thrasea Pætus*, banished

Helvidius, *Rusticus*, and *Senecio* put to death.

banished to a desert island; to which she carried with her, as her only comfort, the book which had been the cause of her misfortunes, though it was declared capital to read or keep it. *Domitian*, not satisfied with the death of these great men, ordered their writings to be burnt; *as if*, says *Tacitus*, *he could thereby have destroyed the ideas and memory of mankind.* *Pomponia Gratilla*, the wife of *Rusticus*, and *Junius Mauricus*, his brother, were likewise banished; and one *Hermogenes*, of *Tarsus*, was put to death for having spoken disrespectfully of the emperor, under borrowed names, in a history which he published; all who were concerned in transcribing or selling of which, were condemned to be crucified. After this, and chiefly out of hatred to *Rusticus*, who professed the philosophy of the stoics, a decree was issued whereby all philosophers were banished from *Rome*, and every laudable science expelled *Italy*. The famous *Epictetus*, *Lucius Telesinus*, *Artemidorus*, and several others, were, in consequence of this order, obliged to leave the city. This last had contracted great debts, but for laudable purposes, says *Pliny*, who supplied him with money to discharge them, when his other friends, who were much richer, abandoned him in his distress. The philosopher would afterwards have reimbursed *Pliny*; but he generously made him a present of the debt. *Pliny* went frequently to see him in the place of his retirement, though he knew that he exposed himself thereby to great danger, especially as he was at that time prætor: and, in fact, had not *Domitian* been cut off soon after, he would probably have undergone the same fate which most of his friends had suffered; a memorial being found among the emperor's papers, after his death, drawn up by the famous informer *Metius Carus*, against *Pliny*.

Domitian

All philosophers banished.

The famous *Apollonius Tyaneus*, is said to have come to *Rome* in this persecution, and there to have contracted a strict friendship with *Nerva*, *Rufus*, and *Salvidienus Orfitus*, whom he solicited to conspire against *Domitian*, and to deliver the world from so bloody a tyrant. The conspiracy was actually formed, but the execution of it put off for want of courage in the conspirators: and in the mean time, the emperor, suspecting their design, accused them of treason before the senate. The charge was not proved; but nevertheless *Rufus* and *Orfitus* were banished to the islands, and *Nerva* to the city of *Tarentum*. *Orfitus* was soon after put to death in the place of his exile: what became of *Rufus* we know not; but *Nerva*'s life was spared, because another astrologer assured *Domitian* that he could not live many days. In the beginning of the next year another conspiracy was discovered against him; at the head of which was *Juvenius Celsus*, who, finding himself betrayed, begged and obtained a private audience of the emperor, in which, throwing himself at his feet, and accosting him with the title of *Lord* and of *God*, he protested

Apollonius Tyaneus encourages a conspiracy against *Domitian*.

The conspiracy of *Juvenius Celsus*.

Domitian. *That, as to himself, he was quite innocent of the crime laid to his charge; but would, if he was allowed a short reprieve, discover all those who were concerned in the plot, and produce undeniable proofs of their guilt.* The reprieve was granted; and *Celsus*, by putting off the promised discovery from time to time, under various pretences, till *Domitian* was killed, he escaped the danger that threatened him.

The second general persecution.

The fourteenth year of this tyrant's reign is remarkable for his cruel persecution of the *Christians*, of whom infinite numbers were put to death both at *Rome* and in the provinces. This was the second general persecution. Among the many illustrious persons who suffered in this glorious cause, were several of the emperor's own relations: *viz.* *Flavius Clemens*, his own cousin-german and collegue in the consulship, and the two *Flaviæ Domitillæ*; one the wife, and the other the niece, of *Flavius Clemens*, the son of *Flavius Sabinus*, who was brother to *Vespasian*. It was in this persecution that St. *John* was banished to the island of *Patmos*, where he wrote the *Apocalypse*. This same year, *Domitian*, in order to deter his own freedmen from any attempts upon his life, put to death *Epaphroditus*, formerly *Nero*'s freedman and secretary, for having helped that prince to kill himself.

Year of *Rome* 847. of *Christ* 95.

Death of *Domitian* foretold.

The next year, the last of *Domitian*'s life, many prodigies are said to have happened at *Rome* and in the provinces. The city was, for eight months together, alarmed almost daily with dreadful claps of thunder, and flashes of lightning: the capitol, the temple of the *Flavian* family, and the emperor's own chamber, were thunder-struck: the inscription upon one of his statues was beaten off, and, by the violence of the storm, carried into a neighbouring monument: the oracle at *Præneste*, which had always returned favourable answers, now presaged nothing but calamities and slaughter. *Domitian* himself dreamed, That *Minerva*, whom he looked upon as his tutelar deity, had withdrawn herself from a temple which he had consecrated to her, telling him, *That Jupiter had disarmed her, and she could no longer protect him.* But nothing, we are told, terrified him so much as the answer of one *Ascletarion*, an astrologer, and what ensued thereon: for he, being accused of having foretold the death of the emperor, and not denying the charge, *Domitian* asked him, *Whether he knew what would be his own fate?* The astrologer answered, *That he should shortly be devoured by dogs.* Upon this, *Domitian*, thinking to shew the falsity of his art, ordered him to be put to death immediately, and his body to be burnt. The first part of the sentence was executed; but before the body was half consumed, it was thrown down, with the funeral pile, by a violent storm, and devoured by dogs. *Larginus Proculus*, another astrologer, foretold publicly in *Germany*, that the eighteenth of *September* would prove the last day of *Domitian*'s life. He was thereupon apprehended,

and

and ſent to the emperor, in whoſe preſence he maintained the truth of his prediction, and was, on that account condemned to be executed on the nineteenth of that month: but *Domitian* being murdered the day before, as he had foretold, he not only eſcaped unhurt, but was preſented with a large ſum by *Nerva*, who ever after held him in great eſteem. *Domitian*

Damitian, terrified with theſe prodigies and predictions, and alarmed by his own guilty conſcience, lived in continual fears and agonies, dreading all men and every thing, and daily ſacrificing to his diſtruſts even the moſt intimate of his friends, if they chanced to give him the leaſt ſort of umbrage. His fears were ſuch, that he would not permit any criminal, however loaded with chains, to plead before him, till he had firſt ſecured his chains in his hands. He lives in continual fears and agonies.

A young child with whom he uſed to divert himſelf, having one day, while he was aſleep, taken from under his head a paper, to play with it, the empreſs *Domitia* happening to meet him, took it out of his hand, and looked at it, when, to her great ſurprize, ſhe found it contained the names of ſeveral illuſtrious perſons deſtined to ſlaughter, and her own name at the head of them, with thoſe of *Narbanus* and *Petronius ſecundus*, commanders of the prætorian guards; and of *Parthenius*, the emperor's chamberlain. She immediately communicated this diſcovery to them, and it was that inſtant reſolved to kill him, before he could put his bloody deſign in execution. *Nephanus*, one of his freedmen, undertook to ſtrike the blow. A conſpiracy formed againſt him.

The day before he was killed, he ordered ſome fine fruit, which was preſented to him, to be reſerved for the next day; adding, *if it be my fortune to eat it:* then turning to thoſe about him, *To-morrow*, ſaid he, *the Moon will appear bloody in* Aquaris, *and ſomething will happen which will be much talked of.* About midnight he was ſo terrified that he leaped out of his bed. However, he went the next morning to the *forum*, to adminiſter juſtice, and returned to the palace an hour before mid-day, which was the time he dreaded moſt. Having therefore aſked what time of the day it was; and one of the conſpirators, on purpoſe to deceive him, anſwering that it was noon, he was overjoyed, as if he had eſcaped all danger, and thought of nothing but abandoning himſelf to mirth and jollity. As he was going to bathe, according to the *Roman* faſhion, before dinner, *Parthenius* told him he had ſomething of great importance to impart to him, and which could not be deferred. *Domitian* thereupon ordered his attendants to withdraw, and retired to his chamber, where *Parthenius* introduced to him *Stephanus*, who, the better to diſguiſe his deſign, had appeared for ſome days with his left arm wrapped up, and in a ſling, as if it had received ſome hurt. He preſented to *Domitian* a memorial, wherein he pretended to diſcover a dangerous conſpiracy; and while the emperor was

reading

Domitian reading with great attention, *Stephanus*, drawing ſuddenly a dagger, which he had concealed, ſtuck it into his belly. *Domitian*, finding himſelf wounded, called to a boy, who happened to be in the room, to reach him a dagger from under his pillow, and to run for aſſiſtance: but only the ſcabbard was found under his pillow, and the doors were all locked. *Domitian* ſtruggled for ſome time with *Stephanus*, and even threw him to the ground; but at length *Parthenius*, aſſiſted by four more, among whom was a famous gladiator, ruſhed in and put an end to the ſtrife, by piercing *Domitian* with many wounds. Some, not privy to the conſpiracy, hearing the noiſe, haſtened to the emperor's apartment, and finding him wallowing in his blood, killed *Stephanus*. The other conſpirators made their eſcape the moment of *Domitian*'s fall. It is ſaid that *Appollonius Tyaneus*, then at *Epheſus*, and diſcourſing to a numerous aſſembly, ſtopt on a ſudden, as if he had been intent upon ſomething elſe, and, fixing his eyes ſtedfaſt on the ground, after a ſhort ſilence, cried out, *Strike, ſtrike the tyrant home:* then, recovering himſelf, he bid the company, who ſtood amazed, be of good cheer, and rejoyce, *for that the tyrant had that moment expired.*

He is killed,

Thus died the laſt of the twelve, commonly called *Cæſar*'s, in the forty-fifth year of his age, after a reign of fifteen years and five days. The common people ſhewed neither joy nor ſorrow for his death; but the ſoldiers, whoſe pay he had encreaſed, and with whom he often ſhared his rapine, would have raiſed great diſturbances, had not their officers, moſt of whom were concerned in the conſpiracy, reſtrained them. The ſenate, on the contrary, elated with gladneſs, aſſembled in haſte, ordered all his ſtatues to be pulled down, his triumphal arches to be overturned, his memory to be deemed infamous, his name to be eraſed out of the conſular tables, and all inſcriptions, and his body to be thrown into the *Tiber*. All his acts were annulled, and thoſe whom he had baniſhed recalled. A woman, named *Phyllis*, who had taken care of him in his infancy, cauſed his body to be carried upon a bier, as that of a perſon of the meaneſt condition, to a houſe ſhe had not far from *Rome*, and there burnt it, and afterwards privately conveyed the aſhes to the temple he had built for the *Flavian* family, of which he was the laſt emperor.

his ſtatues broken, and his acts annulled.

Year of *Rome* 849. of *Chriſt* 98.

NERVA.

NERVA.

THE ſame day that *Domitian* was killed, *M. Cocceius Nerva* was declared emperor by the ſenate, and acknowledged as ſuch by the prætorian guards, notwithſtanding their fury, but a few hours before, for the death of their favourite prince; *Petronius Secundus*, one of their commanders, and the chamberlain of *Parthenius*, having ſoon reaſoned them into a cooler temper. *Nerva* declared emperor.

Nerva was a native of *Narnia* in *Umbria*, and his family came originally from the iſland of *Crete*; ſo that he was neither born a *Roman*, nor deſcended from an *Italian* family; but his father, grand-father, and great-grandfather, had been honoured in *Rome* with the conſular dignity. He himſelf was honoured with the prætorſhip by *Nero*, and with a ſtatue in the palace, having by his elegant poems (for he was one of the beſt poets of his time) gained the affection of that prince, who even inſcribed to him ſome of his own poetical performances. He was conſul with *Veſpaſian*, and afterwards with *Domitian*. His origin, and firſt riſe.

He had ſcarce aſſumed the ſovereignty, when a rupture was ſpread, that *Domitian* was ſtill alive, and the news of his death only an artifice to diſcover the deſigns of ſuch as he ſuſpected. The crowd about the new emperor immediately diſperſed, and he himſelf, naturally very timorous, knew not what to do, till *Parthenius* aſſured him that the report was quite groundleſs. He then went, firſt to the camp of the prætorian guards, and, after ſecuring them with a promiſe of the uſual donation, to the ſenate, where he was received with the greateſt mark of eſteem and affection. Numbers of congratulatory ſpeeches were made to him upon this occaſion; but that of *Arrius Antoninus*, grandfather to the emperor *T. Antoninus*, was very different from all the reſt; for, embracing *Nerva*, with whom he had long lived in great intimacy, *I am come*, ſaid he, *with the reſt, to congratulate the ſenate, the people of* Rome, *and the provinces of the empire, upon your promotion to this high poſt; but cannot pay the ſame compliment to you, who, after having, by your wiſdom and virtue, happily eſcaped the rage of ſo many wicked princes, now plunge yourſelf into new dangers and troubles, being expoſed to the cenſure and hatred both of your friends and foes; eſpecially of the former, who will never fail, if any of their ſuits are denied, to become your moſt inveterate enemies.* The honeſt ſpeech of *Arrius Antonius* to him.

Nerva, now confirmed in the ſovereignty, happily allied two things, ſays *Tacitus*, once thought irreconcileable; public liberty; and ſovereign power: for, under him, the *Romans* enjoyed all the former, and felt none of the evil effects of the latter.

Nerva.

The *Romans* happy under him.

latter. He immediately ſet at liberty all whom the late emperor had confined under pretence of treaſon; recalled thoſe who had been baniſhed for the ſame cauſe; reſtored them their poſſeſſions without the leaſt deduction; ordered that no perſon ſhould, for the future, be accuſed of violated majeſty, or proſecuted for living after the manner of the *Jews*, (by which was then meant the *Chriſtians*): he enacted ſevere laws againſt informers, and cauſed all the ſlaves and freedmen to be put to death, who had informed againſt their maſters and patrons. He ſolemnly ſwore, *That no ſenator ſhould ever be put to death by his order*: and he religiouſly obſerved his oath, though ſome of that body ſoon conſpired againſt him. He reſtored to the right owners all the effects which he found in the palace belonging to others: leſſened the taxes: delivered the *Jews* from the oppreſſions they laboured under from the collectors of the public revenues; and, to the greateſt ſatisfaction of all the *Romans*, annulled the laws of *Auguſtus*, by which the twentieth part of all inheritances was ordered to be paid into the Exchequer. At the ſame time, as juſt as he was merciful, he would not ſuffer *Licinianus*, who had been baniſhed for debauching a veſtal, to return to *Italy*. He allowed no gold or ſilver ſtatues to be erected to him; retrenched all ſuperfluous expences, and ſold great part of the gold and ſilver plate, and rich furniture, both of his own houſes, and of the imperial palace, together with ſeveral houſes and eſtates, to enable him to relieve the neceſſitous citizens, and reward his friends. He laid out a vaſt ſum upon a purchaſe of land, which he divided among the poor of *Rome*; and, at the ſame time, diſtributed among them another large ſum in money, and a great quantity of corn. Their children, in all parts of *Italy*, he cauſed to be brought up at the public expence. Of his diſintereſtedneſs, the following inſtance is a ſufficient proof: *Atticus*, a citizen of *Athens*, having found in his houſe a large treaſure, wrote to *Nerva*, deſiring to know how he ſhould diſpoſe of it. The emperor anſwered him in one word; *utere: uſe it:* but *Atticus*, not thinking himſelf yet ſecure, wrote to him a ſecond time, acquainting him, *That the treaſure was too great for a private man, and therefore he was afraid to uſe it.* To this the generous prince replied in two words, *Ergo abuiere; then abuſe it:* ſignifying thereby, that the treaſure was his without reſerve.

He confirmed, by one edict, all the grants of his predeceſſors; prohibited the caſtration of children; forbid any one to marry his niece, which had firſt been allowed in the reign of *Claudius*; applied himſelf cloſely to the reformation of manners; was aſſiduous in the adminiſtration of juſtice; and, in ſhort, behaved in ſuch a manner towards all, that he uſed to ſay, *He believed he might ſafely reſign the empire, and return to a private life, not being conſcious that he had done the leaſt thing that could give any man juſt motive of offence.* If he

he erred in any thing, it was in being too kind to men who were unworthy of his favour. *Nerva.*

Nerva had not been long upon the throne when *Calpurnius Craſſus* deſcended from an illuſtrious family of the *Craſſi*, with ſome others, conſpired againſt him. Being informed of it, he ſent for the conſpirators, carried them with him to the theatre, placed them next to himſelf, and preſented to them, as *Titus* had done on the like occaſion, the ſwords of the gladiators, which, as we obſerved before, were always brought to the emperor to be viewed. We are not told what effect this generoſity had upon the conſpirators: all we know is, that *Craſſus*, having owned his crime, was, with his wife, baniſhed to *Tarentum*. The ſenate were for condemning both him and his accomplices to death; but the emperor alledging the oath he had taken not to ſpill the blood of any ſenator, checked their zeal: whereupon *Fronto*, to whom *Nerva* had reſigned the conſulſhip, could not help ſaying, *That it was a great misfortune to have a prince under whom all things were criminal and forbidden; but ſtill a greater, to be governed by one under whom all things were allowed.* The emperor was ſo far from reſenting this freedom, that he acted with ſomewhat more ſaverity from that time. *Calpurnius Craſſus* conſpires againſt *Nerva*, who pardons him.

Shortly after this, the prætorian guards, headed by *Ælienus Caſperius*, their commander, raiſed diſturbances in the city, under pretence of revenging the death of *Domitian*, flew to the palace, and there beſieged *Nerva*, demanding loudly the death of all who had been any way concerned in the murder of the late emperor. *Nerva*, though naturally timorous, behaved with great firmneſs on this occaſion, offering his bare neck to the incenſed ſoldiery, and begging of them to be ſatisfied with his life, and to ſpare thoſe to whom he owed the empire, and whom, on that account, he could not in honour abandon. But this did not ſatisfy the enraged ſoldiers, who, unmoved by any thing he could ſay, cut in pieces *Petronius Secundus*, *Parthenius*, and the other conſpirators, and even obliged the emperor to return them public thanks, for putting to death the worſt of men. The prætorian guards raiſe a tumult, and force *Nerva* to comply with their demands.

The conſequences of this inſolence of the ſoldiery proved of great advantage to the ſtate; for it determined *Nerva* immediately to adopt *Marcul Ulpius Trajan*, whom he rightly judged to be the fitteſt perſon in the whole empire, both to aſſiſt and ſucceed him in the government, and whom, for that reaſon, he preferred before all his own relations. This adoption was received with joy both by the ſenate and people, and put a ſtop to the diſorders of the ſoldiery, who thereupon returned to their duty. *Nerva* gave him the title of *Ceſar*, with that of *Germanicus*, which he himſelf aſſumed about this time, inveſted him with the tribunitial power, honoured him with the title of *emperor*, and named him conſul for the enſuing year; ſo that he created him not only his ſucceſſor, but his actual partner in the empire. He adopts *Trajan.*

The

Nerva. The next year, *Nerva* entered upon his fourth conſulſhip, in which *Trajan*, now the ſecond time conſul, was his collegue: but ſhortly after, having over-heated himſelf in reproving with great ſeverity the infamous informer *Regulus*, he was ſeized with a fever, which, as he was weak, and advanced in years, ſoon put an end to his life, after he had reigned ſixteen months and eight, or, ſome ſay, nine days; and, according to *Dion Caſſius*, in the ſixty-ſixth, according to *Eutropius*, the ſeventy-firſt, and, according to *St. Jerome*, the ſeventy-third year of his age. He was ranked among the gods, and *Trajan*, out of gratitude, cauſed ſeveral temples to be built to him, both in *Rome* and the provinces. He is commended by all the ancients, as a prince of a moſt ſweet and humane temper, of great moderation and generoſity, and one who looked upon himſelf as raiſed to the empire not for his own advantage, but for that of the people. He ſeems to have been naturally timorous; and ſome writers charge both him and *Trajan* with being too fond of wine. Some of the provinces ſuffered greatly in his reign, through the rapaciouſneſs of their governors, who, preſuming on his lenity, enriched themſelves at the expence of the people committed to their care: but thoſe grievances would certainly have been redreſſed, had he lived long enough to know them.

Nerva's death.

Year of *Rome* 850. of *Chriſt* 98.

TRAJAN.

TRAJAN, who was born in *Spain*, and deſcended of an ancient rather than illuſtrious family of that country, was governor of *Lower Germany*, and commanded a powerful army there, when *Nerva* adopted him for his ſon and ſucceſſor. He was then in the forty-ſecond, or, as ſome will have it, the forty-fifth year of his age; healthy, robuſt, and inured to fatigue, having followed, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf in, the profeſſion of arms from his early youth. He did not ſeem in the leaſt elated with his new dignity, but, on the contrary, would rather have declined it, had not the officers of his own army, and deputies from thoſe in *Upper Germany* and *Mæſia*, inſiſted on his taking the title of *Cæſar*. He was at *Cologne*, when the news of *Nerva*'s death was brought him by his couſin *Adrian*, upon which he immediately aſſumed the title of *Auguſtus*, and was acknowledged as ſuch by the armies in *Germany* and *Mæſia*, who, with great joy, ſwore allegiance to him.

Trajan acknowledged emperor in *Germany*.

He had no ſooner taken poſſeſſion of the ſovereignty, than he wrote to the ſenate, aſſuring them, upon his oath, *That though*

Writes to the ſenate.

though he was raiſed to that high ſtation, he did not think himſelf any more exempted from the obſervance of the laws, than the meaneſt of the people; and that no man of probity ſhould ever be put to death, or injured in his fortune, by his order. He did not leave *Germany* immediately, but ſtaid there the remainder of this, and part of the following year,, during which, all the *German* nations ſent their ſubmiſſions to him; and the barbarians who dwelt beyond the *Danube*, and had uſed, in the winter, to paſs that river on the ice, and commit great devaſtations on the *Roman* territories, awed by his preſence, refrained from all hoſtilities. *Trajan.*

His journey to *Rome* was conducted with ſuch order and regularity, that not a ſingle perſon ſuffered the leaſt injury, even from any one of his numerous retinue. He entered the city on foot, and was received with the greateſt demonſtrations of joy, all ranks of people promiſing themſelves complete happineſs under ſo good and great a prince. He embraced his old friends who came to meet him, with the utmoſt cordiality and affection, and would not ſuffer them to treat him as their ſovereign, but as their friend, aſſuring them, *That they would always find him ſuch.* He went firſt to the capitol, attended by the ſenate and the whole city, and from thence to the palace. Arrives at *Rome.*

Soon after his arrival the ſenate decreed him the title of *Optimus*, *Beſt*, which he accepted with pleaſure, and valued more than all thoſe which were afterwards given to him for his victories. He paid part of the donation to the ſoldiery, and made large diſtributions both of money and corn among the *Roman* people, extending his generoſity not only to the abſent, but even to children, who had been hitherto excluded from any ſhare in ſuch largeſſes until they were eleven years old. By theſe largeſſes, which he frequently renewed, he is ſaid to have ſupported near two millions of ſouls. Nor did he confine his benevolence to *Rome* alone, but appointed very conſiderable ſums to be paid yearly out of the exchequer, for the maintainance and education of children whoſe parents were not able to bring them up. He took great care, that *Rome* ſhould be plentifully ſupplied with proviſions, eſpecially corn, which, during the whole of his reign, was extremely cheap. He publiſhed ſeveral laws againſt informers; baniſhed ſuch of them as had been ſpared by *Nerva*, and utterly aboliſhed the deteſted law of leſe-majeſty. He repaired ſeveral old buildings, at a vaſt expence, and enlarged the *circus*, but would not ſuffer the people to return him thanks for his public works, nor ever to mention his name either in the *Circus* or the theatre, which till then had reſounded, ſays *Pliny*, with the praiſes of wicked princes. The people were reſtored to their ancient privileges of creating magiſtrates; and *Trajan*, when the ſenate preſſed him to accept a third conſulſhip, appeared among the other candidates, like a private citizen, begging The title of *Optimus* decreed him.

The people reſtored to the privilege of creating magiſtrates.

the

Trajan. the suffrages of the tribes. At this time, few consuls held that dignity above three months.

He had no sooner assumed the fasces, than he ascended the *rostra*, and in the presence of the people, bound himself anew, by a solemn oath, as he had before done in his letter to the senate, *to observe the laws*; adding to the public vows which were made in the beginning of each year, for the health and prosperity of the emperor, these conditions: *if he observes the laws*; *if he governs the republic as he ought*; *if he seeks the happiness of his people*. Before he resigned the fasces, the cause of *Marius Priscus*, accused of extortion during his government of *Africa*, was heard by the emperor and senate. *Pliny* and *Tacitus* the historian, pleaded for the *Africans*. The trial lasted three days, the emperor being present all the time, and hearing the reasons on both sides, with great impartiality and attention. *Priscus* was degraded from the rank of senator, and banished *Italy*. This is doubtless the *Marius* we read of in *Juvenal**, who in spite of the angry gods, enjoyed in exile the immense wealth which he had accumulated by wicked means, whilst *Africa* lamented, without redress, the losses it had sustained by his avarice. His lieutenant and accomplice *Hostilius Tirminus*, was declared incapable of holding any employment in the empire. *Classicus*, proconsul of *Bætica*, likewise accused of extortion by that province, laid violent hands on himself before the time appointed for his trial: but the province pursued their action against his accomplices, who were all condemned, *Pliny* pleading against them. The estate which *Classicus* was possessed of before he went into *Spain*, was adjudged to his daughter: but the rest was divided among those whom he had plundered.

M. Priscus condemned for extortion.

Adrian marries *Julia Sabina.*

Towards the end of this year, *Julia Sabina*, grand-daughter to the emperor's sister *Marciana*, was married to *Trajan*'s cousin *Adrian*, the son of *Ælius Adrian Afer*. This match, which proved unhappy to both, was made by the empress *Plotina*, who had a particular kindness for *Adrian*.

War with the *Dacians.*

Decebatus, king of the *Dacians*, demanding, about this time, the yearly tribute which *Domitian* had engaged to pay; *Trajan* refused to pay it, saying, *That he had not been conquered by Decebatus.* Besides this, the *Dacians* grew daily more formidable, and their king maintained a good understanding with *Pacorus*, king of the *Parthians*, which gave no small jealousy to *Trajan*, who wanted an opportunity to display his military talents. The *Dacians* soon gave him a fair pretence, by their crossing the *Danube*, and committing some hostilities. Upon the news of this, he immediately marched against them with incredible expedition, at the head of a powerful army, passed the *Danube*, and defeated

* Sat. i. v. 49. and Sat. viii. v. 120.

Decebatus

Trajan.

Decebalus in a pitched battle, in which the ſlaughter was prodigious on both ſides, and the number of the wounded ſo great on that of the *Romans*, that they had not linen enough to bind up their wounds; whereupon *Trajan* tore his own robes to ſupply that want. The ſlain were buried with great ſolemnity, and an altar was erected upon the ſpot, and a yearly ſacrifice ordered to their memory. *Trajan*, purſuing his advantages, followed *Decebalus* ſo cloſe, that, being at laſt in danger of loſing his capital city, he agreed to make peace on terms very advantageous to the *Romans*; and after having ſworn to obſerve them, he was introduced to the emperor, before whom he threw himſelf on the ground, acknowledging himſelf his vaſſal. *Trajan* commanded him to ſend deputies to the ſenate, for the ratification of the peace, which he did accordingly. *Trajan* then placed garriſons in moſt of the cities of *Dacia*, and returned to *Rome*, where he triumphed for this victory, and took the ſurname of *Dacicus*, being the firſt *Roman* who had ever triumphed over that nation.

They are defeated.

Trajan the firſt who triumphed over the *Dacians*.

This peace was of very ſhort duration; for *Decebalus*, in little more than a year after, unable to brook what he called ſervitude, contrary to the late treaty, began to make preparations for a new war, raiſing men, providing arms, entertaining deſerters, fortifying his towns and caſtles, and inviting the neighbouring nations to join him; even invading the country of the *Jazyges*, for their refuſing ſo to do. The ſenate, being informed of this, declared *Decebalus* an enemy to the empire, and *Trajan* again marched in perſon againſt him. The *Dacian* now had recourſe to deceit and treachery, ſending aſſaſſins, under the name of deſerters, to murder *Trajan*: but they were diſcovered, and put to death. After this, inviting to a conference, under pretence of treating for peace, *Longinus*, one of *Trajan*'s favourites and chief commanders, he treacherouſly ſeized him, and then ſent the emperor word, *That if he would grant him an honourable peace, reſtore the country bordering on the* Danube, *and defray all the expences of the war, he would releaſe* Longinus; *but that otherwiſe he would inſtantly put him to death.* *Trajan*, in anſwer to this, ſent him word, *That peace and war did not depend upon the ſafety of one ſubject.* But while *Decebalus* was conſidering what farther meaſures to take, *Longinus* put an end to his own life by a doſe of poiſon.

Treachery of *Decebalus*.

In the mean time, *Trajan*, to facilitate the paſſage of his troops into the enemy's country, built over the *Danube* a bridge, which, the ancients ſay, was not only the moſt magnificent of all his works, but the moſt ſtupendous fabric of that kind in the univerſe. It was all of hewn ſtone, and contained twenty arches, each of them an hundred and fifty feet high above the foundation, and ſixty feet in breadth, all diſtant from each other an hundred and ſeventy feet. This prodigious building was begun and finiſhed in one ſummer,

Trajan builds a bridge over the *Danube*.

Trajan. and what renders it more amazing, is, that it was built in the narroweſt part of the river, and conſequently where the ſtream was ſtrongeſt and moſt rapid, and the foundation moſt difficult to lay. It was defended by two caſtles, one on the *Roman*, the other on the *Dacian* ſide of the river. Some remains of it are ſtill to be ſeen near *Zwerin* in *Lower Hungary*. *Trajan* built this bridge, that the *Romans* might the more eaſily fall upon the territories of the barbarians; but his ſucceſſor *Adrian* broke down the arches of it, for fear of the barbarians invading the territories of the *Romans*.

Enters *Dacia.* As the winter was drawing near when this bridge was finiſhed, *Trajan* did not think it adviſeable to enter the enemy's country in that ſeaſon; but early the next ſpring he paſſed the bridge, entered *Dacia* at the head of his forces, and renewed the war with more caution than haſte, not chuſing to expoſe his men to unneceſſary dangers. At length, after undergoing almoſt incredible hardſhips, and expoſing to many imminent dangers, he at length made himſelf maſter of *Zermizegethuſa*, the capital of *Dacia*, and of almoſt the whole country; inſomuch, that *Decebalus*, ſtripped of dominions, and dreading to fall into the hands of the conqueror, put an end to his own life. His head was brought to *Trajan*, and by him ſent to *Rome*. He had concealed his treaſures in a pit dug in the bed of the river *Sargetia*, now *Jotrig*, the ſtream of which was, for that purpoſe, turned into another channel, and afterwards brought back to its former courſe; and as for his rich moveables, he hid them in deep caves, which he cauſed to be dug by captives, whom he immediately after put to death, that they might not diſcover the ſecret. But one of his chief confidants, being taken in this war, diſcovered the whole to *Trajan*, who thereupon ſeized both the treaſure and moveables. *Dacia*, which, according to *Eutropius*, was a thouſand miles in compaſs, being thus ſubdued, was reduced to a *Roman* province, and continued ſuch till the reign of the emperor *Gallienus*. *Trajan* built ſeveral caſtles in the country, and placed garriſons in them, to keep the inhabitants in awe. He likewiſe planted a great number of colonies, diſtributing lands among the poor citizens of *Rome*, and of the other towns of *Italy*, who were willing to ſettle in *Dacia*. The famous pillar called *Trajan*'s, is thought to have been raiſed for a monument of this conqueſt; many of the remarkable events of the *Dacian* war being expreſſed thereon. *Trajan*, upon his return to *Rome*, triumphed over the *Dacians* a ſecond time; on which occaſion he entertained the people with public banquets, ſhews, in which ten thouſand gladiators entered the liſts, combats of wild beaſts, and ſeveral other diverſions, which laſted an hundred and twenty-three days. With the *Dacians*, *Trajan* reduced ſeveral nations in alliance with them; ſo that the fame of his conqueſts reaching the moſt diſtant countries, and even *India*, ambaſſadors were ſent from thence to congratulate

and reduces it to a *Roman* province.

Year of *Rome* 856. of *Chriſt*, 104.

gratulate him upon the ſucceſs of his arms. This year, the eighth of *Trajan*'s reign, is alſo remarkable for the intire reduction of *Arabia Petræa*, by *A. Cornelius Palma*, governor of *Syria*. *Trajan.* *Arabia Petræa* reduced.

Trajan finiſhed a noble harbour at *Centumcellæ*, now *Civita Vecchia*, a little before his expedition into *Dacia*; and about the ſame time, *Pliny* was ſent to govern *Pontus* and *Bithynia*, in quality of proprætor, with conſular authority; the emperor judging him a proper perſon to remedy many abuſes which wanted reforming in that province. About the ſame time alſo, *Trajan*, at the requeſt of the ſenate, publiſhed an edict, ſubjecting ſuch pleaders as received fees from their clients, to the penalties of the law againſt extortion; and by a decree of the ſenate, on the ſame occaſion, it was ordered, That the parties ſhould ſwear, before their cauſe was tried, that they had neither given nor promiſed any fee, preſent, or reward, to thoſe who were to plead for them. *Pliny*, ſpeaking of this law, declares, *That he was pleaſed to ſee that forbidden to others, which he had never practiſed himſelf.* *Pliny* appointed governor of *Pontus* and *Bithynia*.

In the ninth year of *Trajan*'s reign, the Capitoline ſports, inſtituted by *Domitian*, were celebrated the ſixth time, when the prize in poetry was won by a child, thirteen years old, named *L. Valerius Pudens*. This year *Trajan* made, at a vaſt expence, a road through the *Pontine* marches, ſince called *Trajan*'s *cauſey*. He likewiſe began ſeveral magnificent buildings, and, while they were carrying on, reſolved upon a journey into the eaſt. Before he ſet out for that country, a conſpiracy was formed againſt him by *Craſſus*, and ſeveral other perſons of great quality, but ſeaſonably diſcovered. The conſpirators were tried by the ſenate, who condemned them to baniſhment, *Trajan* refuſing to ſit as judge in a cauſe wherein he was perſonally concerned. A conſpiracy againſt *Trajan* defeated.

The pretence for *Trajan*'s journey into the Eaſt was, that *Exedares*, king of *Armenia*, had received his crown at the hands of *Coſrhoes*, king of *Parthia*; whereas the *Roman* emperors claimed a right of diſpoſing of that diadem ever ſince the reign of *Nero*; who had crowned at *Rome Tiridates*, king of *Armenia*: but the real motive, as *Dion Caſſius* informs us, was, a deſire of glory, which he hoped to reap from a war with the *Parthians*, who rivalled the *Romans* themſelves in power, and had given them ſeveral great overthrows. *Trajan*, pretending to be highly affronted at what *Coſrhoes* had done, demanded ſatisfaction, and threatened him with war if he did not immediately give it. The *Parthian* ſlighted his menaces; whereupon, having already made the neceſſary preparations, he croſſed directly over into *Greece*. *Coſrhoes* then, finding that he was in earneſt, ſent ambaſſadors, who met him at *Athens*, and, after offering him rich preſents, begged that he would not involve the two empires in a bloody and deſtructive war for ſo ſlight a cauſe; at the ſame time His expedition into the Eaſt.

Trajan. acquainting him, that *Exedares* had reſigned the crown, and beſeeching him to give it to *Parthamaſiris*. *Thrajan* replied, *That friendſhip was ſhewn by actions, and not by words: that he was going into Syria, and ſhould there take ſuch reſolutions as he ſhould think moſt proper.* He then diſmiſſed the ambaſſadors, without accepting any of their preſents, and proceeded to *Antioch*, which he entered, crowned with a branch of olive.

He arrives at *Antioch*.

Several of the eaſtern princes wait upon him.

During his ſtay at *Antioch*, *Abgarus*, king of *Edeſſa* in *Meſopotamia*, ſent him preſents, and, by his ambaſſadors, declared his deſire of living in friendſhip with the *Romans*. The other petty princes in thoſe parts came perſonally to offer their ſervice, and, according to the cuſtom of the eaſtern countries, brought him preſents. Among the reſt, one of them preſented him with a ſtately courſer, which, as he was brought before the emperor, kneeled down, bowed his head to the ground, and adored him, as he had been taught beforehand. *Trajan* received all theſe princes with great demonſtrations of kindneſs, and having made the neceſſary preparations for his intended expedition, he left *Antioch*, bending his march towards *Armenia*, and taking by the way ſeveral places without the leaſt reſiſtance. Upon his arrival at *Elegia* in the *Greater Armenia*, *Parthamaſiris* came to wait on him, and beg of him the crown of *Armenia*. *Trajan* received him ſeated upon a throne, and attended by the chief officers of his army. As *Parthamaſiris* approached the throne, he took off his crown, and laid it at the emperor's feet, without uttering a ſingle word, not doubting but he would immediately reſtore it to him. The ſoldiers, pleaſed to ſee the king of *Armenia* obliged thus to ſubmit, and reſign his crown to their general, congratulated him upon it with loud ſhouts of joy, which ſo terrified *Parthamaſiris*, that he attempted to withdraw; but finding himſelf ſurrounded on all ſides, he deſired to ſpeak to *Trajan* in private. Hereupon he was carried into the emperor's tent; but *Trajan* refuſing to comply with his propoſals, he went away in a great paſſion, and endeavoured to make his eſcape out of the camp. *Trajan* ordered him to be brought back, and, aſcending his tribunal anew, deſired him to repeat, in the hearing of all, the propoſals he had made to him in private, and his anſwers. Upon this, *Parthamaſiris*, no longer able to contain himſelf, ſaid, *That he had neither been conquered, nor taken priſoner; but came voluntarily, believing no injury would have been offered him, and that he ſhould receive his kingdom of* Trajan, *as* Tiridates *had received it of* Nero. *Trajan* replied, *That* Armenia *belonged to the* Romans; *that it ſhould receive a* Roman *governor, and be no longer a kingdom; and that, as for him, he had liberty to retire whither he pleaſed.* *Parthamaſiris*, thus diſmiſſed, endeavoured to maintain himſelf in his kingdom by force of arms, but loſt his life in the attempt; and *Trajan* thereupon reduced *Armenia* to a *Roman* province.

Armenia reduced to a *Roman* province.

Several princes

princes then ſubmitted of their own accord, amongſt whom were the kings of *Iberia*, *Sarmatia*, *Boſphorus*, and *Colchis*. *Trajan.*

Trajan, after leaving garriſons in all the ſtrong places of *Armenia*, advanced from thence to *Edeſſa* in *Meſopotamia*, where he was received in a very friendly manner by *Abgarus*, king of that diſtrict, who gave him a grand entertainment, at which, *Manes*, one of the chiefs of the *Arabians*, *Sporaces* prince of *Arbeniſia*, a province of *Meſopotamia*, *Mebarſapes* king of *Adiabene*, and *Maniſares* king of another diſtrict in thoſe parts, promiſed to join him, but ſtill delayed marching their troops, which made him begin to diſtruſt them, and not without reaſon, as appeared ſoon after by the treacherous behaviour of *Mebarſapes*, who having deſired and obtained a body of troops to protect his dominions, as he pretended, againſt the *Parthians*, put moſt of them to the ſword, and made the reſt priſoners. Among theſe laſt was a centurion, who, as *Trajan* approached *Ademyſtris*, a ſtrong fortreſs where he was kept, found means to break his chains, and, with the aſſiſtance of his fellow captives, killed the governor of the place, and opened the gates to the *Romans*. After this, great part of *Meſopotamia* ſubmitted voluntarily; and *Trajan*, having paſſed the *Tigris*, and penetrated into *Adiabene*, reduced the cities of *Niſibis* and *Batne*, after a vigorous reſiſtance. What *Coſrhoes* did, or attempted to do; to ſtop the progreſs of *Trajan*'s conqueſts, we know not; nor indeed do we find any thing recorded during the next ſix years of his reign by the compilers of the ancients, (for the works themſelves of the ancients have been long ſince loſt) except the names of the conſuls, the making of a highway from *Beneventum* to *Brunduſium*, the burning of the *Pantheon* by lightning, the overturning of ſeveral cities in *Galatia* by an earthquake, and the dedicating of the great ſquare in *Rome*, which took its name from *Trajan*. That he did not ſtay all this time in the eaſt, is pretty plain from ſome medals that have reached us, by which *Trajan* ſeems to have returned to *Rome* before the fifteenth year of his reign, and to have begun, either the ſame, or the following year, another expedition againſt the *Parthians*. In this, and indeed in all *Trajan's* wars, *Luſius Quietus*, a *Moor* by nation, and born in a country not ſubject to *Rome*, diſtinguiſhed himſelf ſo greatly, that *Trajan* honoured him with the conſulſhip, and, towards the end of his reign, made him governor of *Paleſtine*, to reward him for a ſignal victory which he gained over the *Jews* of *Meſopotamia*. *Quietus* alſo reduced, for *Trajan*, the *Mardi*, a people of *Aſia*, near *Armenia*, and not far from the *Caſpian* ſea.

Enters *Meſopotamia.*

Reduces great part of it, and of *Adiabene.*

Luſius Quietus diſtinguiſhes himſelf.

The eighteenth year of *Trajan*'s reign was remarkable for his victories over the *Parthians*, but what gave occaſion to this war, hiſtory ſays not. We are told, that *Trajan*, before he left *Syria*, ſent to conſult the oracle of *Heliopolis* in *Phœnicia*, to know whether he ſhould return from this war to

The ſecond *Parthian* war.

Trajan. *Rome*; and that the oracle gave, as usual, an ambiguous answer, which might be interpreted either way. However, early the next spring, he marched against the *Parthians*, who were encamped on the other side of the *Tigris*, which he passed over a bridge of boats, constructed with great expedition, in spight of the opposition of the enemy, who, with a numerous army, possessed the opposite bank, and annoyed him exceedingly with showers of darts and arrows. This done, he made himself master of the whole kingdom of *Adiabene*, and reduced all *Assyria*. After this, the *Parthians* being greatly weakened by their domestic wars, and still divided among themselves, he advanced to the famous city of *Babylon*, entered it without opposition, and reduced its vast territory, where the *Roman* eagles had never been seen before. Being now master both of *Chaldæa* and *Assyria*, he began a canal between the *Euphrates* and the *Tigris*, in order to convey his vessels from the former of these rivers into the latter, and with them form a bridge over the *Tigris*, to facilitate the siege of *Ctesiphon*, which stood on that river: but being informed that the bed of the *Euphrates* was much higher than that of the *Tigris*, and that the stream would, for that reason, be too rapid to be navigable, he dropped that design, and ordered his vessels to be brought upon land-carriages to the *Tigris*, which, in some places, is not very far distant from the *Euphrates*. Having formed a bridge with them, he passed his army over, and made himself master of *Seleucia*, and likewise of the great city of *Ctesiphon*, the metropolis of the *Parthians*, and afterwards of the *Persian* empire. At *Ctesiphon* he took the daughter of *Cosrhoes*, and seized the throne of the *Parthian* kings, which was of massy gold. *Cosrhoes* made his escape, and was still living in the reign of *Adrian*. The taking of this city put him in possession of all the neighbouring countries; and *Assyria*, *Armenia*, and *Mesopotamia* being now deduced to *Roman* provinces, the empire extended to the *Tigris*, and even beyond that river. *Eutropius* says, that all the countries between *Babylon* and *India*, were subdued. The conquered countries were subjected to a yearly tribute, and *Trajan* sent an account of his success to the senate, who, in return, decreed, that he should enter *Rome* in triumph as often as he pleased.

and *Assyria* intirely reduced

Trajan enters *Babylon.*

Makes himself master of *Seleucia* and *Ctesiphon.*

Towards the end of autumn, *Trajan* returned to *Antioch*, which was almost intirely ruined that winter by one of the most dreadful earthquakes recorded in history. What made this calamity still greater, was, that almost every nation and province in the whole empire shared in it; *Antioch* being then crouded, not only with troops, but with vast numbers of strangers, who had come from all quarters, either out of curiosity, or upon business and embassies. The earthquake continued several days and nights; the consul *Vargilianus*, with many other persons of great distinction, perished by it, and *Trajan* himself escaped, much hurt, through a window of the house

A dreadful earthquake at *Antioch.*

houſe where he was. Upon the return of the ſpring, *Trajan* left *Antioch*, and ſailed down the *Tigris* into the *Perſian Gulf*, where he made himſelf maſter of an iſland called *Meſene*, and obliged *Athambylus*, who reigned there, to pay him tribute. In this expedition *Trajan* alſo reduced *Arabia Fœlix*, and having reached the ocean, wiſhed he was young, that he might extend his conqueſts that way as far as *Alexander* had done. *Trajan.* *Trajan* reduces *Arabia Fœlix.*

Trajan now wrote again to the ſenate, acquainting them with the ſucceſs of his arms, and naming the ſeveral nations he had conquered, many of which were utterly unknown to them. Extraordinary honours were decreed him; among the reſt, that, upon his return to *Rome*, he ſhould triumph over each particular nation which he had ſubdued; a triumphant arch was built in his own ſquare, to perpetuate the memory of his conqueſts; and the people of *Rome* made great preparations to receive him with the utmoſt pomp. But he did not live to enjoy them; nor was the end of his actions anſwerable to the beginning; for moſt of the countries which he had conquered, revolted in his abſence, and murdered, or drove out, the *Roman* garriſons. *Luſius Quietus* and *L. Appius Maximus* were ſent againſt them, but with very different ſucceſs, *Maximus* being defeated and killed, but by whom we know not, and *Luſius* recovering *Niſibis*, and deſtroying *Edeſſa*. *Erucius Clarus*, and *Julius Alexander*, two other commanders of the emperor's, retook the city of *Seleucia* upon the *Tigris*, and ſeveral others, which had ſhaken off the yoke. The king of *Meſene* continued faithful; nor did the *Parthians* ſeem inclined to ſtir; but, for fear they ſhould, *Trajan* thought it adviſeable to give them a king of their own nation, inſtead of a *Roman* governor, and to that end, repairing to *Cteſiphon*, he placed the crown upon the head of *Parthamaſpates*, with great pomp and ſolemnity. Honours decreed him by the ſenate. He gives the *Parthians* a king.

The following year, the twentieth and laſt of his reign, *Trajan* marched into *Arabia*, and there made war upon the *Hagareni*, who had likewiſe revolted: but what part of *Arabia* they inhabited we cannot ſay, no farther mention being made of them till the time of the *Conſtantinopolitan* empire, when the name of *Hagareni* became common to the *Saracens* and *Arabians* in general. He laid ſiege to their city, called *Atra*, which was neither great nor beautiful, but thought to be very rich, numbers of people reſorting thither with preſents for the ſun, which was worſhipped there. But what rendered this city ſo ſtrong, that neither *Trajan* now, nor *Severus* afterwards, could take it, though both of them made a breach in the wall, was, its being ſurrounded by a barren ſand, deſtitute, to a great diſtance, of graſs, wood, and water; ſo that a numerous army could not poſſibly ſubſiſt long before it. *Trajan* narrowly eſcaped being killed in one of the attacks; for, having laid aſide the enſigns Year of *Rome* 870. of *Chriſt*, 118. Lays ſiege to *Atra*,

Trajan. signs of his dignity, that he might not be known, and heading his men in perſon, the enemy ſtill diſtinguiſhing him by his grey hairs and majeſtic air, aimed chiefly at him, wounded his horſe, and killed a horſeman by his ſide. Notwithſtanding this, the ſiege was ſtill carried on for ſome time, till at length violent ſtorms of thunder, hail, and rain, coming on, and the *Romans* being exceſſively annoyed in their camp by ſwarms of flies, *Trajan* was obliged to raiſe it, and retire. Soon after, being now advanced in years, and worn out with fatigue, he was ſeized with a dropſy and palſy, which he aſcribed to poiſon, but others thought natural. However, he was ſtill for returning into *Meſopotamia*, to reduce ſome places which had revolted there: but his diſtemper increaſing, he left the command of the army to *Adrian*, whom he appointed governor of *Syria*, and embarked for *Italy*. His departure was no ſooner known, than all the countries which he had conquered, at a vaſt expence, and with infinite danger, ſhook off the yoke, and recovered their former condition, in ſpight of the troops he had left to keep them in ſubjection. The *Parthians* drove out *Parthamaſpates*; the *Armenians* choſe themſelves a king; and the greateſt part of *Meſopotamia* revolted from the *Romans*, and ſubmitted to the king of *Parthia*. Upon his arrival at *Selinus*, afterwards called from him *Trajanapolis*, he was ſeized with a flux, which ſoon put an end to his life. His body was burnt at *Selinus*, and his aſhes carried by his widow *Plotina*, and his niece *Mauidia*, in a golden urn, to *Rome*, where they were received with extraordinary pomp, and depoſited under the ſtately pillar which he had erected, though it ſtood within the walls, where no one before him had been buried. Games, called *Parthic*, were for many years celebrated in memory of his victories in the eaſt. He died in the ſixty-third year of his age, after having reigned nineteen years, ſix months, and fifteen days, reckoning from the death of *Nerva* to the time when *Adrian* received at *Antioch* the news of his death, which had been concealed for ſome time, and thereupon cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed emperor. *Trajan* left no children, nor are we told that he ever had any. He poſſeſſed, in an eminent degree, all thoſe qualities which form a great and excellent prince. In military affairs, he was, without diſpute, the beſt commander of his age, and equal to the greateſt generals of antiquity. In the duties of war he was indefatigable; always marching on foot at the head of the army, and croſſing immenſe countries without ever once mounting on horſeback, or ſuffering himſelf to be carried, as other emperors had done, in a chariot, or litter. His diet was ſuch as chance preſented, and his garb little different from that of a common ſoldier. He frequently devoted whole nights to buſineſs; never retired to his tent, till he had viſited the camp, and was always the firſt in the field. He was as great in peace as he was in war;

but is obliged to raiſe it.

Is taken ill, and ſets ſail for *Italy*.

All the conquer'd countries revolt.

Trajan dies.

His character.

war; and though he was not himself a man of learning, having been trained up to arms from his infancy, he favoured the learned, and encouraged in others what he himself wanted. *Rome* was indebted to him for several stately buildings, besides his supplying with plenty of water those quarters of the city which had been hitherto neglected in that respect. To form the magnificent square which he made, and wherein he erected for his tomb the famous pillar called after his name, he levelled a hill an hundred and forty-four feet high, which is just the height of that pillar. He made, at an immense expence, a large and convenient road through many barbarous nations, from the borders of the *Euxine* sea to the *Gallic* ocean. He also built several magnificent libraries in *Rome*, and a stately theatre, and baths, in the field of *Mars*. Though he was very humane in other things, he suffered the Christians to be cruelly persecuted in most provinces of the empire. *Trajan.*

Plutarch, *Tacitus*, *Suetonius*, the younger *Pliny*, *Epictetus*, and several other excellent writers, flourished in this reign, under which the *Roman* empire was brought to its utmost grandeur and extent.

ADRIAN.

P. ÆLIUS ADRIANUS was the son of *Ælius* Origin, *Adrianus Afer*, cousin-german to *Trajan*, and of *Domitia Paulina*, sprung from an illustrious family in *Cadix*. His ancestors came originally from *Italica* in *Spain*, the native city of *Trajan*; and his great-grandfather *Marullinus* was the first *Roman* senator of his family. His father, dying when he was but ten years old, left him under the guardianship of *Trajan* and *Cælius Tatianus*, a *Roman* knight. He applied himself to the study of the *Greek* tongue, and was so thoroughly acquainted with that language, that, at the age of fifteen, he was commonly called *the young Grecian*. He then served in *Spain*, and staid there till he was recalled by *Trajan*, with whom he lived as his son: but though that emperor was his kinsman, his guardian, and even gave him his niece *Sabina* in marriage, he never conferred any extraordinary honours upon him. *&c.* of *Adrian.*

His elevation to the empire was chiefly owing to the management of the empress *Plotina*, who, after concealing for some days the death of her husband *Trajan*, that *Adrian* might have time to sound the temper of the troops, and she that of the nobility of *Rome*, produced a forged instrument, by which the deceased emperor was made to adopt him for his Is made emperor, in consequence of a forged adoption.

Adrian. his ſon and ſucceſſor. The ſtratagem took, and the army immediately ſwore fidelity and obedience to him. *Adrian* thereupon wrote to the ſenate from *Antioch*, where he then was, excuſing his having aſſumed the empire without their previous conſent and authority; alledging, that he had been forced to it by the ſoldiery, and begging of them only to confirm his title, without conferring any other honours upon him till he had deſerved them. In the ſame letter he promiſed never to put any ſenator to death, nor to tranſact any thing of conſequence without their counſel and advice. At the ſame time he doubled the uſual donative to the ſoldiery, and appointed *Tatianus*, formerly his guardian, and *Similis*, a man of great probity, prudence, and moderation, captains of the prætorian guards. The ſenate immediately confirmed what the army had done, and *Adrian* was acknowledged emperor by all ranks of men.

He abandons all *Trajan*'s conqueſts.

Adrian was about forty years of age when he took poſſeſſion of the empire; one of his firſt acts in which was to deprive the brave *Luſius Quietus* of the command of his countrymen the *Moors*, ſuſpecting him of aſpiring at the ſovereignty. As to the conqueſts made by *Trajan*, he reſolved to abandon them all: and accordingly withdrew his troops from *Armenia*, *Meſopotamia*, and *Aſſyria*; ſo that the *Euphrates* became again the boundary of the *Roman* empire. He ſuffered the *Armenians* to chuſe themſelves a king, and the *Parthians* to recal *Coſrhoes*, and diſpoſſeſs *Parthamaſpates*, whom he made king of ſome neighbouring nation. He had likewiſe thoughts of abandoning *Dacia*, but was prevailed upon to keep that province, on account of the great numbers of *Roman* citizens ſettled there. However, he ordered the arches of the famous bridge which *Trajan* had built over the *Danube* to be broken down, leſt the barbarians ſhould poſſeſs themſelves of it, and invade the *Roman* territories. After this, having given the neceſſary orders for maintaining the tranquility of the eaſt, and appointed *Catilius Severus* governor of *Syria*, he ſet out for *Rome*, but did not arrive there till the next year. Some ſay, that he went firſt into *Egypt*; and that, paſſing by *Jeruſalem*, he reſolved to rebuild that city; a deſign, which, however, he did not put in execution before the latter end of his reign.

Arrives at *Rome.*

He was received at *Rome* with the greateſt demonſtrations of joy, but could not by any means be prevailed upon to accept the triumph which had been prepared for *Trajan*, and was now decreed to him; but, at his deſire, that honour was conferred upon the image of *Trajan*, which he himſelf

His generoſity.

ſeems to have carried. Soon after his arrival, he remitted all debts whatever due to the exchequer, to the amount of upwards of ſeven millions of our money, and publicly burnt the bonds and regiſters relating thereto. He likewiſe leſſened the taxes throughout the whole empire, and eaſed the provinces of the burden which *Trajan* had laid upon them,

of

of supplying such as travelled for the service of the public with horses and carriages, which he ordered to be thenceforth provided at the expence of the emperor. He declared, *That the forfeited estates of condemned persons should never be paid into his private coffers, but be returned into the public treasury.* He increased the allowance which *Trajan* had made for the education of poor children; and upon such of the senators as were reduced to poverty by misfortunes, he settled pensions suitable to their rank, and the number of their children; giving likewise great presents to such of the knights as were not able to support their dignity. *Adrian.*

In the second year of his reign the *Sarmatians* and *Roxolans*, whose country bordered on the *Palus Mæotis*, invaded *Illyricum*; upon which *Adrian* hastened into *Mæsia*, where he defeated them as they were returning home, and by that means put a speedy end to the war. He then appointed *Martius Turbo* governor of *Pannonia* and *Dacia*, and led his army into *Illyricum*, from whence he wrote to the senate, complaining of *Cornelius Palma*, *L. Publius Celsus*, *Domitius Nigrinus*, and *Lusius Quietus*, as if they had formed a conspiracy against him. They were all consulars, men of extraordinary parts, and had been greatly esteemed by *Trajan*: but nevertheless the senate, out of complaisance to the emperor, ordered them immediately to be put to death, without so much as acquainting them that they had been accused. As no one believed them guilty, their death drew the public hatred upon *Adrian*, who thereupon hastened back to *Rome*, where he openly declared, upon his oath, *That they had been executed against his will, and without his knowledge.* But this also was not believed by those who knew, that *Palma* and *Celsus* had always been his enemies, and that he was jealous of *Nigrinus* and *Quietus*, who were highly esteemed by the *Roman* people. Several other persons of great merit and distinction were likewise condemned, as privy to the supposed conspiracy. These proceedings filled the whole city with dread and terror; but having now got rid of those whom he chiefly feared, he calmed the minds of the people by shews, largesses, and an edict, forbidding any more to be accused or tried upon the law of lese-majesty. He would indeed have been glad to have had *Tatianus* also put to death; for he was a man of an haughty temper, and assumed greater power than *Adrian* liked; but not thinking it adviseable to spill more blood, he dissembled his hatred for the present, and persuaded him to exchange his command of the prætorian guards for a place in the senate, and the consular ornaments. *Martius Turbo* was put in his room, as was *Septicius* in that of *Similis*, who likewise resigned his command of the prætorians of his own accord, and retired from the city. This year the emperor went into *Campania*, where he relieved the poor inhabitants of all the cities thro' which he passed.

The *Sarmatians* and *Roxolans* defeated.

Four consulars put to death.

Several other persons condemned.

The

Adrian. The next year, *Adrian*, who uſed to ſay, *That an emperor ought to imitate the ſun, which enlightens all the corners and regions of the earth*, ſet out with a deſign to viſit all the provinces of the empire, and to examine the ſtate of each of them, that he might not be obliged to depend intirely upon the accounts he received from his miniſters and governors. In this progreſs he employed almoſt the whole remainder of his reign, that is, near ſeventeen years; moſt commonly travelling on foot, and always with his head bare, making no difference between the frozen ſummits of the *Alps*, and the ſcorching ſands of *Egypt*. He went firſt into *Gaul*, where he viſited the chief cities and forts, and ſignalized himſelf by his extraordinary bounties, relieving the poor wherever he paſſed. From *Gaul* he went into *Germany*, where he ſpent ſome time in reviewing and diſciplining the flower of the *Roman* troops, then in that country. From *Germany* he returned to *Gaul*, and from thence paſſed over into *Britain*, where he built a prodigious wall, eighty miles in length, from the river *Eden* in *Cumberland* to the *Tine* in *Northumberland*, in order to ſecure the poſſeſſions of the *Romans* againſt the incurſions of the warlik *Caledonians*, who, upon the departure of *Agricola*, had revolted, and recovered their ancient liberty. He there diſgraced his ſecretary *Suetonius Tranquillus*, no doubt the hiſtorian, and *Septicius Clarus*, captain of the prætorian guards, for their diſreſpectful behaviour towards the empreſs *Sabina*.

Adrian reſolves to viſit all the provinces of the empire.

Year of *Rome* 873. of *Chriſt* 121.

Having ſettled the affairs of *Britain*, he returned to *Gaul*, and built at *Niſmes* a magnificent edifice in honour of *Plotina*, *Trajan*'s widow. The famous amphitheatre, of which the remains are ſtill to be ſeen in that city, is likewiſe ſuppoſed to have been raiſed by him, or by his ſucceſſor *Antoninus*. From *Gaul* he went into *Spain*; rebuilt at *Tarraco*, (now *Tarragona*) the temple which *Tiberius* had erected to *Auguſtus*, and held a general aſſembly of the ſtates of *Spain*, in order to ſettle ſome differences which had ariſen about the levying of recruits for the *Roman* armies. At *Tarraco* he was very near being killed by a ſlave, who aſſaulted him with a drawn ſword, while he was walking in a garden. The ſlave was ſeized, and being found diſordered in his ſenſes, *Adrian* committed him to the care of his phyſicians. From *Spain* he returned to *Rome*, but did not ſtay there long; for, in the beginning of the following year, the third of his progreſs, he was at *Athens*, from whence he went into the eaſt, where he prevented a war with the *Parthians*, by a conference with their king *Coſrhoes*. The following year, he returned from the eaſt through *Aſia*, and viſited *Cilicia*, *Lycia*, *Pamphylia*, *Cappadocia*, *Bithynia*, and *Phrygia*; ordering temples, ſquares, and other edifices to be built, at his expence, in moſt of the chief cities of thoſe provinces. He likewiſe viſited the iſlands of the *Archipelago*, arrived in *Achaia*

He narrowly eſcapes being killed in *Spain*.

Adrian.

Achaia in the beginning of the next year, and ſpent the remainder of it at *Athens*, where he was initiated in the rites of *Ceres* and *Proſerpine*, called the *Eleuſinian myſteries*. From *Athens*, after he had preſided there at the public games, and beſtowed innumerable favours upon the *Athenians*, he went to *Sicily*, out of curioſity to ſee the top of mount *Ætna*, and from thence returned to *Rome*, in the beginning of the following year. The two next years, the eleventh and twelfth of *Adrian*'s reign, are quite barren of events. The next year, he re-built, at his own expence, the cities of *Nicomedia*, *Cæſarea*, and *Nicæa*, in *Bithynia*, which had been almoſt intirely deſtroyed by an earthquake. For this he was ſtiled the *Reſtorer of Bithynia*. In the thirteenth year of his reign he ſet out again upon a new progreſs, paſſing firſt into *Africa*, where, upon his arrival, it rained, after a five years drought, which, with the many favours he beſtowed upon the inhabitants of that province, gained him the affections of all ranks of men. From *Africa* he returned to *Rome*, and there cauſed the obſequies of *Plotina*, to whom he owed the empire, to be performed with the utmoſt pomp and magnificence. She died either while he was in *Africa*, or ſoon after his return from thence. He appeared for nine days in deep mourning for her, wrote an elegy in her praiſe, and cauſed her to be ranked among the gods.

Rebuilds ſeveral cities at his own expence.

Platina dies, and is ranked among the gods.

The next year *Adrian* built a magnificent temple at *Rome*, in honour of that city, and of the goddeſs *Venus*, which was called the *Temple of Rome*, and the *Temple of the fortune of Rome*. On account of this temple he changed the ancient name of the feaſt, which was kept yearly on the twenty-firſt of *April*, for the foundation of *Rome*, calling it *Romana*, inſtead of *Palilia*. This temple, and *Trajan*'s pillar, were two of the things which the emperor *Conſtantius* admired moſt when he came to *Rome*. It was afterwards burnt by accident, and re-built by *Maxentius*. In the beginning of the fourteenth year of his reign he returned to *Aſia*, where he conſecrated ſeveral temples. In *Cappadocia*, he purchaſed a great number of ſlaves for the ſervile offices of the camp. He ſent back to *Coſrhoes* his daughter, who had been taken priſoner by *Trajan*, and promiſed him his golden throne, but never gave it. He invited to a conference all the neighbouring kings, and loaded them with rich preſents. From *Syria* he paſſed into *Paleſtine* and *Arabia*, and from thence into *Egypt*.

The temple of *Venus* and *Rome*.

The next year, *Salvius Julianus*, one of the moſt learned civilians of his age, compiled, by the emperor's command, the *perpetual edict*, containing the ſubſtance of all the laws which had been publiſhed by the prætors. It was called *perpetual*, becauſe it was to continue in force for ever, to be as a body of ſtanding laws, to prevent the great confuſion occaſioned by new edicts, and to ſerve as a rule in the adminiſtration of juſtice throughout the whole empire.

The *perpetual edict*.

Adrian [illegible]

Adrian. continued in *Egypt* all this and the following year. He disliked the fickle and satirical temper of the *Egyptians* in general, and particularly of the *Alexandrians*. But, notwithstanding this, he repaired, at his own expence, their city which had been almoſt intirely ruined by the *Romans*; reſtored them to their ancient privileges, which they had forfeited, and heaped many new favours upon them. The *Alexandrians* were very thankful for all this while he was among them; but the moment he was gone, they loaded him with virulent lampoons. From *Egypt Adrian* paſſed into *Lybia Cyrenaica*, where he killed with his own hand (for he took great delight in hunting) a lion of a monſtrous ſize, which had committed great ravages in that country.

Death of *Antinous.* The death of *Antinous*, a beautiful youth, greatly beloved by *Adrian*, who was addicted to the moſt unnatural pleaſures, happened during his ſtay in *Egypt*. The account which *Adrian* himſelf gave of his death was, that he fell accidentally into the *Nile*, as he was ſailing on that river with him, and was drowned. But *Dion Caſſius* aſſures us, that *Adrian*, who had great faith in magic, being made to believe, that he ſhould prolong his life by ſacrificing an human victim to the infernal gods, accepted of the tender which *Antinous* made him of his life, all the reſt preferring their own ſafety to the emperor's. *Adrian* would rather have ſacrificed his deareſt friends; but no compulſion was to be uſed, and *Antinous* was the only perſon who would voluntarily lay down his life for him. *Adrian* bewailed him with all the tenderneſs of a woman lamenting the death of her huſband. To allay in ſome meaſure his grief, he deſired the *Greeks* to rank him among the gods, which they did accordingly; ſo that in a ſhort time all the eaſtern provinces were filled with ſtatues, temples, and chapels, conſecrated to this new divinity.

He is ranked among the gods.

The following year *Adrian* left *Egypt*, and returned to *Syria*, where he ſtaid this and the next year; and in the ſpring of the year after, having viſited *Thrace* and *Macedon*, he ſet out in order to return to *Italy*, but ſtaid a long time at *Athens*, during which the *Jews* revolted, provoked chiefly at his ſending a *Roman* colony to *Jeruſalem*; at his calling that city after the name of his family, *Ælia Capitolina*; and at his erecting a temple to *Jupiter Capitolinus* in the place where the ancient temple ſtood. But of this revolt, and the fatal conſequences that attended it, we ſhall ſpeak farther in a more proper place. About the ſame time, the *Alani*, or *Meſſagetæ*, a people of *Sarmatia*, under the conduct of their king *Pharaſmanes*, committed dreadful ravages in *Media*, entered *Armenia*, and penetrated into *Cappadocia*; but ſoon withdrew from thence, not caring to encounter *Flavius Arrianus*, governor of that province, who was prepared to meet them.

In

Adrian.

In the mean time, *Adrian* continued at *Athens*, being mightily taken with the cuſtoms and learning of the *Athenians*. He was there admitted to the great myſteries of *Eleuſina*, different from thoſe in which he had been initiated ſome years before. Having been created archon of *Athens* before he was emperor, he aſſumed the habit peculiar to that dignity, and, with the other magiſtrates, celebrated the great feſtival of *Bacchus*; on which occaſion he diſtributed large ſums of money, and an immenſe quantity of corn among the people. He embelliſhed the city of *Athens* with a library of wonderful ſtructure, and ſo many noble buildings of other kinds, that he was looked upon as the ſecond founder of that city, one quarter of which was from him called *Adrianopolis*. He likewiſe finiſhed the magnificent temple of *Jupiter Olympus*, begun, according to *Philoſtratus*, five hundred and ſixty years before. In this temple he dedicated an altar to himſelf; and he likewiſe ſuffered the *Greeks* to build a temple to him.

His generoſity to the *Athenians.*

Adrian having now ſpent almoſt ſeventeen years in travelling into the ſeveral provinces of the empire, that is to ſay, almoſt over all the then known world, left *Athens*, and returned at length to *Rome*, where he had not been long, when ambaſſadors arrived from *Vologeſes*, king of *Armenia*, with complaints againſt *Pharaſmanes*, king of *Iberia*; and from the *Jazyges*, a people of *Sarmatia*, who were deſirous to have their ancient treaties with the people of *Rome* confirmed by the emperor. *Adrian* conducted them to the ſenate, where their requeſt was granted. *Pharaſmanes* came to *Rome* in perſon, with his wife and ſon, to anſwer the complaints of *Vologeſes*; bringing with him rich preſents for *Adrian*, who not only repaid them with others far more valuable, but likewiſe preſented him with fifty elephants, five hundred choſen men for his guard, enlarged his dominions, and cauſed an equeſtrian ſtatue to be erected to him.

He returns to *Rome.*

Soon after this, *Adrian* fell into a lingering diſorder, attended with frequent bleeding at the noſe, which the phyſicians of thoſe days aſcribed to his going conſtantly with his head uncovered in all ſorts of climes and weather. As he was advanced in years, the loſs of blood was followed by a dropſy, from which having no hopes of recovering, he began to think of naming a ſucceſſor. *Servianus*, who had married his ſiſter; *Fuſcus*, his own great nephew; *Pletorius Nepos*, his ancient and intimate friend; and *Tirentius Gentianus*, a man greatly beloved and eſteemed by the ſenate, occurred to him, as the moſt capable of the ſupreme power; but nevertheleſs, neglecting them, nay, conceiving an irreconcileable hatred of them, for no other reaſon but becauſe they were equal to the empire; contrary to the expectation of all, and the advice of his friends, he made choice of *L. Commodus Verus*, who was indeed ſprung from an illuſtrious fa-

He falls into a lingering diſeaſe.

Adopts *L. Commodus Verus*,

mily,

Adrian. mily, and was endowed with many good qualities, but w judged rather not unfit for the empire, than equal to it. H was of a very weak conſtitution, and, at the ſame tim exceſſively debauched; nay, it was commonly thought, th the price of his adoption was his conſenting to ſatisfy *Adr an*'s infamous paſſion for him. This adoption occaſione great rejoicings in *Rome*, and *Adrian* treated the people wit games in the *Circus*, and combats of gladiators, and diſtri buted a conſiderable largeſs among them and the ſoldiery *Verus* was created prætor a few days after, and ſent to go vern *Pannonia*, where he behaved remarkably well, but i

who dies, and is ranked among the gods. leſs than a year was ſeized with a bloody flux, of which h died. His funeral was performed with the utmoſt pomp his aſhes were depoſited in the *mauſoleum* which *Adrian* ha begun for himſelf, and he was, at the emperor's deſire, rank ed among the gods, and ſtatues and temples were erected t him in ſeveral cities.

Adrian retires to *Tibur*, where he abandons himſelf to lewdneſs and cruelty. In the mean time, *Adrian* retired to *Tibur*, (now *Tivoli*), where, as *Tiberius* had done before at *Capreæ*, he gave himſelf up to all manner of lewdneſs; and a bloody flux having ſoon after reduced him to a very low ſtate, he abandoned himſelf to his natural cruelty, which he had reſtrained till then, ordering many illuſtrious perſons to be arraigned and executed under various pretences, and others to be privately murdered. Among the former were his brother-in-law *Servianus*, and his great nephew *Fuſcus*, who, he pretended, had formed a deſign of ſeizing the empire. To palliate his cruelty, he uſed to lament the unfortunate condition of princes, who, he ſaid, were never thought to be in danger till they were killed. He was ſome time in ſuſpence whom

He adopts *Titus Antoninus.* he ſhould adopt in the room of *Verus*, but at laſt pitched upon *Titus Antoninus*, on condition that he ſhould adopt *M. Annius Verus*, called afterwards *M. Aurelius*, and *L. Verus*, the ſon of the deceaſed prince of that name. Soon after

Death of the empreſs *Sabina.* this adoption, which diſpleaſed many, the empreſs *Sabina* died, and was, by *Adrian*'s order, ranked among the gods; though he had either poiſoned her, or, by his ill uſage, forced her to lay violent hands on herſelf.

Trajan's impatience in his illneſs. *Adrian* bore his illneſs a long time with firmneſs and patience; but at laſt, being tormented with violent pains in every joint of his body, and theſe, as well as the dropſical humour, increaſing daily, he grew quite furious, and in his rage put ſeveral ſenators to death, and ordered *Antoninus* to take care that ſome others, whom he named, were executed. But that good-natured prince warned them of their danger, and adviſed them to keep out of the way, which accordingly they did, and were ſaved. In the mean time, *Adrian*, racked with excruciating pains, wiſhed for death to end his miſery, and often called for a dagger and for poiſon, promiſing impunity, and offering a great reward to whoever ſhould bring him either; but nobody would do it. Having

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one day by chance found a dagger, he was going to ſtab himſelf with it, when one of his domeſtics wreſted it out of his hand. He then commanded his chief phyſician to give him poiſon; but this laſt choſe rather to kill himſelf in his preſence, than obey his command. In this condition *Adrian* removed to *Baiæ* in *Campania*; and there, neglecting the advice of his phyſicians, and living without any rule, eating and drinking whatever he liked beſt, haſtened his death. Juſt before he expired, he compoſed and recited ſome remarkable lines, inquiring of his ſoul, *Whither it deſigned to go?* He died at *Baiæ*, on the tenth of *July*, after having lived ſixty-two years, five months, and ſeventeen days; and reigned twenty years and eleven months, wanting one day. His body was burnt at *Puteoli*, and his aſhes conveyed to *Rome*, and depoſited in the magnificent mauſoleum which he had built for himſelf.

Adrian.

He removes to *Baiæ*, where he dies.

Year of *Rome* 890. of *Chriſt* 138.

Adrian's cruelties had provoked the public hatred to ſuch a degree, that the ſenate were for annulling all his acts; and, at firſt, unanimouſly oppoſed *Antoninus*'s demanding for him the ſame honours which had been decreed to former emperors: but on his remonſtrating, that they could not condemn the memory of *Adrian* without annulling his adoption, and degrading him from the empire; the reſpect and veneration which they all had for him prevailed; eſpecially when they ſaw a great number of perſons appear, who were thought to have been murdered, but had been ſaved by *Antoninus*; and divine worſhip was accordingly decreed a prince whom all abhorred. *Antoninus* built a magnificent temple to him at *Puteoli*, and inſtituted games, prieſts, and ſacrifices, to his honour.

The ſenate are for annulling his acts, but deify him at the requeſt of *Antoninus*.

No prince, perhaps, ever raiſed ſo many public and private edifices as *Adrian*; for he built in moſt cities of any note, eſpecially at *Athens*; and *Greece* was full of his edifices, bridges, and aqueducts; of which, one of the moſt famous was that in *New Athens*, a city built entirely at his expence in the iſland of *Delos:* At *Rome*, he rebuilt the *Pantheon*, the temple of *Neptune*, the ſquare of *Auguſtus*, the baths of *Agrippa*, and an infinite number of other edifices. His palace at *Tivoli* was a ſtupendous ſtructure, as appears by the remains of it now in the hands of the *Roman* Jeſuits. He built a new bridge over the *Tiber*, now called the bridge of *Saint Angelo*, and near it his own mauſoleum, which we have already ſpoken of, more like a caſtle than a tomb, and at preſent the only fortreſs of *Rome*, now called *Caſtel Sant Angelo*. *Carthage*, *Jeruſalem*, two cities in *Spain*; *Murſa*, now *Eſſek*, in *Pannonia*; *Stratonice*, in *Macedon*; *Palmyra*, in *Syria*; and *Necocæſaræa*, in *Pontus*, for ſome time bore his name, and were either built, repaired, or peopled by him; as were alſo, *Adrianopolis*, in *Thrace*; *Adriane*, or *Adrianopolis*, in *Lybia Cyrenaica*; *Antinopolis*, in *Egypt*, called alſo *Adrianopolis*;

His buildings.

Adrian. polis; *Adrianothera*, in *Myſia*; and *Adriane*, in the ſame province.

His regulations. His regulations, with reſpect to the army, the court, and the tribunals of juſtice, were ſtill obſerved in the end of the fourth century. He was the firſt who employed the *Roman* knights in the quality of ſecretaries, and committed to them the care of his domeſtic affairs; other emperors having employed only their freedmen in ſuch offices. The *Romans* had many private manufactures, or work-houſes, where they kept great numbers of people, eſpecially ſlaves, at work. Theſe houſes were like to many priſons, to which maſters ſent ſuch of their ſlaves as had diſobliged them, and even kept them there in chains. Many, to avoid being inliſted, or puniſhed for their crimes, concealed themſelves in theſe work-houſes; the owners of which were likewiſe thought to ſeize paſſengers and ſtrangers, ſlaves or freedmen, and ſhut them up, and make them work, without their being ever afterwards heard of. To remedy theſe abuſes, *Adrian* ſuppreſſed all work-houſes that did not belong to the emperor or the public.

His character. *Adrian* was a man of moſt extraordinary parts, and had ſome great virtues, but allayed with no leſs vices. He was endowed with a memory almoſt beyond belief. He could repeat by heart a whole book, however difficult and intricate the ſubject of it was, after having once read it: he knew the name of every ſoldier in the army, and remembered the names of all the old ſoldiers, who had ever ſerved under him, though they had been long diſbanded. He excelled in every branch of learning, and was, without compariſon, the beſt orator, poet, grammarian, philoſopher, and mathematician of his time; well ſkilled in phyſic, and acquainted with the virtues and properties of moſt herbs and minerals. He was an excellent painter, and the beſt muſician of the age he lived in. He even applied himſelf to the ſtudy of judicial aſtrology and magic, in which he had far too much belief. He would, at the ſame time, write, dictate to ſeveral ſecretaries, give audience to his miniſters, and diſcourſe with them about affairs of the greateſt importance; for no man was better acquainted with his domeſtic affairs, than he was with thoſe of the whole empire. He was a great favourer of learned men, and his court was conſtantly crouded with philoſophers, orators, poets, mathematicians, *&c.* for whom he always ſhewed a particular eſteem, and took pleaſure in diſputing with them, and challenging the poets by extemporary verſes, at which he had an extraordinary talent. Having one day excepted againſt an expreſſion uſed by *Favorinus*, that philoſopher modeſtly yielded, though he might have produced ſufficient authorities for his expreſſion; which ſeeming ſtrange to his friends, *Do you think*, ſaid *Favorinus* pleaſantly, *that I will pretend to be more learned than one who has thirty legions at his back?*

The

Adrian.

The beginning of his reign afforded many inſtances of his clemency and good-nature; but he afterwards cauſed ſeveral perſons to be unjuſtly put to death: whence ſome writers extol him as a moſt merciful prince, whilſt others repreſent him as naturally inclined to cruelty, but often forgiving injuries through fear of ſuffering the fate of *Caligula*, *Nero*, and *Domitian*. *Tatianus* adviſing him to put to death three perſons, *who, he ſaid, would not fail to raiſe diſturbances, and of whom two had actually conſpired againſt him*: *Adrian* anſwered, *That it would be highly unjuſt to puniſh any one for a crime which he was only likely to commit*. He freely forgave thoſe who had injured him while he was a private perſon; and one day meeting one of them after he was emperor, he told him, *That he had eſcaped by his promotion to the empire*. He allowed every one free acceſs to him, and ſeemed never better pleaſed than when they ſpoke to him freely, or admoniſhed him of his faults. He was courteous and affable to all, converſed familiarly with his friends, and viſited them, nay even his freedmen, when indiſpoſed, twice or thrice a day, comforting them in their ſickneſs, and aſſiſting them with his counſels. He was aſſiduous and impartial in the adminiſtration of juſtice, had always an high reſpect for the ſenate and magiſtrates, and narrowly inquired into the conduct and behaviour of his miniſters, diſcharging them when guilty of the leaſt miſdemeanor. He allowed his freedmen no power; and ſuch as pretended to have any, in order to gain by that means wealth or credit, he puniſhed with the utmoſt ſeverity. He was an enemy to all pomp and parade, would never ſuffer the ſenate to attend him but upon buſineſs, and, out of *Rome*, laid aſide the ſtate of an emperor. His liberality knew no bounds; and, where-ever he went he left behind him marks of a magnificence truly great and princely. He is ſaid never to have ſeized unjuſtly the property of any man; nor would he ever receive legacies left him by perſons he did not know, or by ſuch of his friends as had children. He revived and reſtored the ancient military diſcipline, which had been decaying ever ſince the time of *Auguſtus*.

He is generally blamed by the ancients as too inquiſitive, and prying into every one's ſecrets, though they no way concerned him; as addicted to the moſt infamous pleaſures, and abandoned to all manner of ſuperſtition; which was the chief cauſe of his perſecuting the *Chriſtians*, whom he looked upon as enemies to his gods. He gave ear to ſlanderers, and believed every tale they told him, even againſt his beſt friends; to which was owing, that all thoſe whom he had moſt favoured, and raiſed to the higheſt honours, were in the end diſgraced, treated by him as enemies, and either put to death or baniſhed. He took great delight in hunting, and loved his dogs to ſuch a degree, that he built them tombs, and wrote himſelf their epitaphs. He was the firſt emperor who let his beard grow, to cover ſome ſcars

Adrian. which disfigured that part of his face. Upon the whole, he was endowed with great virtues, which were strangely allied with as great vices; but in his government and administration he was admirable, and the empire received vast advantages from his establishments, which produced a peace and security far more lasting than could have been expected from so degenerate a republic.

Among the writers who flourished at this time, we must reckon *Adrian* himself; for he published several works both in prose and verse. Of the philosophers, *Epictetus* was by far the most renowned. *Plutarch*, *Suetonius*, *Florus*, *Arrian*, *Philo*, &c. graced his reign.

ANTONINUS PIUS.

Antoninus surnamed the *Pious.* *TITUS ANTONINUS*, who succeeded *Adrian*, was born at *Nismes* in *Languedoc*, of a very ancient family, but not distinguished early with preferments at *Rome*; his grandfather *Titus Aurelius Fulvus*, being the first consul of the *Aurelian* family, which was that of *Antoninus*. His father was likewise honoured with that dignity, and universally esteemed on account of his extraordinary accomplishments and integrity.

We know so little of the actions of this great prince, *Julius Capitolinus*, who wrote his life, being but a very indifferent historian; and what *Dion Cassius* said of him being lost long since; that we can only give a general idea of his reign.

His engaging behaviour towards all his relations, even from his infancy, induced many of them to leave him their estates; by which means he became extremely rich. He discharged the offices of quæstor, prætor, and consul, with great reputation. *Adrian*, before he adopted him, made him one of his council, and transacted nothing without his advice. Upon the death of that prince he was immediately declared emperor, without the least opposition. He was then turned of his fiftieth year.

Declared emperor.

His first care was to free all those whom *Adrian* had condemned in his last sickness, and not executed; declaring that *Adrian* would have done the same, if he had recovered. This, together with his obtaining for that prince the same honours which had been conferred upon the very best of emperors, and his continuing all the magistrates and officers in their former stations, was what, according to some writers, made the senate decree him the glorious surname of *Pius*. Others think that this title was given him for the great care he took of his aged father-in-law; and others again say, it was in re-

Honoured with the title of *Pius*.

ward

ward for his natural ſweetneſs of temper, and the extraordinary reſpect he ſhewed on all occaſions for religion and its miniſters, *Pauſanius* thinks he deſerved not only this title, but likewiſe that which was given to *Cyrus*; namely, *the father of mankind*; in conſideration of his paternal care of all men. He was likewiſe honoured with the title of *Auguſtus*, and of *high pontiff*; and his wife *Fauſtina*, with that of *Auguſta*. He refuſed many other honours which the ſenate offered him; and, among the reſt, the title of *father of his country*; which, however, he accepted the following year. *Antoninus*

He was no ſooner ſeated on the throne, than he leſſened moſt of the impoſts and tributes, and ſtrictly injoined his receivers to levy them without any rigour; ſaying, *That he had rather be poor, than have his coffers filled at the expence of an oppreſſed people.* He diſpoſed of the greateſt part of his private eſtate, which was very great, in favour of indigent citizens; and when the empreſs *Fauſtina* repined at his generoſity, he told her, *That a prince ought to have no private intereſt, no private property, nor any thing in view but the public welfare.* He ſuppreſſed ſeveral penſions which *Adrian* had granted to uſeleſs perſons; ſaying, *That he could not bear to ſee the ſtate devoured by thoſe who were of no ſervice to it, but lived in idleneſs upon the labours of others.* He leſſens the taxes.

In the ſecond year of his reign, he married his daughter *Annia Fauſtina* to *M. Aurelius*, whom he created *Ceſar*. About the ſame time one *Celſus* revolted in *Dacia*, or *Germany*: but all we know of this affair, is, that the empreſs was greatly diſpleaſed with *Antoninus*'s clemency towards his enemies. Soon after, *Fauſtina* died; and, notwithſtanding the diſſolute life ſhe had led, was ranked among the gods, and honoured with divine worſhip, temples, ſacrifices, ſtatues of gold and ſilver, *&c.* The emperor was not unacquainted with her irregular conduct, but did all he could to keep her diſorders concealed from the public. Marries *Fauſtina* to *M. Aurelius.*

The next year the *Brigantes* in *Britain* revolted, but were ſoon reduced by *Lollius Urbicus*, governor of that province, who deprived them of great part of their country, ſubdued the more northern nations, and built a new wall between the *Friths* of *Forth* and *Clyde*. For the victories gained by *Lollius*, *Antoninus* was honoured with the ſurname of *Britannicus*. The following year, *Antoninus* gave the manly robe to *Lucius Verus*, whom he had adopted at the requeſt of *Adrian*, and who was now entered into the fifteenth year of his age. On this occaſion, he aſſumed the conſulſhip for the fourth time; *M. Aurelius Ceſar*, the ſecond time conſul, being his colleague. Shortly after this, ſome diſturbances were raiſed in *Germany* and *Dacia*; but were ſoon ſuppreſſed by the governors of thoſe provinces. The *Alani* too, attempting to invade the *Roman* territories, were driven back into their own country. The *Britons* revolt, and are reduced.

Antoninus shews a great esteem for *M. Aurelius*, but none for *L. Verus*.

Antoninus, highly pleased with the conduct of *M. Aurelius*, invested him with the tribunitian and proconsular power, consulted him in all affairs of moment, often followed his advice, and suffered him to govern as if he had been his partner in the sovereignty: but as the conduct of *L. Verus* was very different from that of *M. Aurelius*, the emperor treated him in quite another manner; neither giving him the title of *Cæsar*, or any other peculiar to the apparent heir of the empire.

Several of the following years of *Antoninus*'s reign are barren of events, and afford nothing remarkable, unless it be the extraordinary union of the consuls of one of these years, *Quintilius Condianus*, and *Quintilius Maximus*. They were brothers, both very learned, both rich, and both experienced in civil and military affairs. They acted on all occasions as if they had not been two, but one person. They governed the provinces together, the one being lieutenant to the other; were consuls together; wrote to the emperor, received answers, judged causes, published books, in common; and were in the end unjustly condemned and executed together by order of the emperor *Commodus*.

He stops the persecution against the *Christians*

In the fifteenth year of *Antoninus*'s reign, *Justin Martyr* published his first apology for the *Christians*, and presented it to the emperor, to his adopted sons, and to the senate. The emperor was so moved by it, and by the informations which he received from other quarters, that he wrote a letter to the whole province of *Asia*, in favour of the distressed *Christians*, concluding it with these words: *If any one, for the future, shall molest the* Christians, *and accuse them, merely on account of their religion; let the person who is arraigned be discharged, though he is found to be a* Christian, *and the accuser be punished according to the rigour of the law.* At the same time he wrote in behalf of the *Christians* to the *Athenians*, *Thessalonians*, *Larissæans*, and all the *Greeks*. These letters put a stop to the persecution for the present; but it broke out anew under his successor *M. Aurelius*.

Several calamities

Year of *Rome* 903.

In the following year, the *Tiber*, overflowing its banks, laid the lower part of *Rome* under water. The inundation was followed by a fire, which consumed part of the city; and a famine, which swept off great numbers of its inhabitants, notwithstanding all the care which the good-natured emperor took to have corn brought from even the most distant provinces. The same year the cities of *Narbonne* in *Gaul*, and *Antioch* in *Syria*, and the principal square at *Carthage*, were greatly hurt by fire; but *Antoninus* soon restored them to their former condition. This year *L. Verus* discharged the office of quæstor, and the following year he was raised to the consulship. The year after, the cities of *Cos* and *Rhodes*, with several others in *Lydia* and *Caria*, were overturned by an earthquake: but *Antoninus* restored them to their former lustre, and made good the losses of the inhabitants.

The

The remaining years of this emperor's reign are quite barren of events. In the laſt of it, *M. Aurelius Cæſar*, the third time, and *L. Verus*, the ſecond, were conſuls; when *Antoninus* was ſeized with a violent fever at *Lorium*, one of his country-ſeats, which put an end to his life on the ſeventh of *March*, after he had lived ſeventy-three years, five months, and ſixteen or ſeventeen days; and reigned twenty-two years, ſeven months, and twenty-ſix days. When he found death approaching, he ſent for the captains of the prætorian guards, and the chief officers of the court, and in their preſence confirmed the adoption of *M. Aurelius*, and recommended the empire to him, without taking the leaſt notice of *Lucius Verus*. He then ordered the golden image of *Fortune*, which always ſtood in the emperor's bed-chamber, to be removed to that of *M. Aurelius*. He left his paternal eſtate to his daughter, and legacies to all his friends and domeſtics; and, though he died in an advanced age, he was as much lamented by all his ſubjects, as if he had been ſnatched off in the bloom of his youth. His remains were depoſited in the ſtately mauſoleum of his predeceſſor *Adrian*, and the ſenate ranked him among the gods, and decreed him a temple, prieſts, ſacrifices, and annual games.

Antoninus The death of *Antoninus*. Year of *Rome* 911. of *Chriſt* 163. He is ranked among the gods.

Antoninus is juſtly extolled by all the ancients for his many virtues. He was naturally of a ſweet mild temper, ever inclined to mercy, even to the moſt wicked. He was affable and obliging to all, and eaſy of acceſs even to the meaneſt of his ſubjects, eſpecially if they came with any juſt complaint againſt his officers or miniſters. He was an utter enemy to all pomp and oſtentation. His acceſſion to the empire made no alteration in him. His table was rich, without extravagance; and frugal, without meanneſs. He never courted the favour of the people, but ſeemed rather to deſpiſe popular applauſe. He never flattered others, nor ſuffered any one to flatter him. His obſervance of the laws and ceremonies of the *Romans*, was very ſtrict and ſincere; and his behaviour at all public acts of religion, ſuch as ſhewed a profound reſpect for the Deity. As he never admitted any to his friendſhip till he knew them well, he was unalterably conſtant in his attachment. During his whole reign of three and twenty years, he is ſaid never to have done any one thing that ſavoured of cruelty, or ill nature, or that could give the leaſt juſt motive of offence to any perſon; nor ever to have removed ſuch as diſcharged their office to the ſatisfaction of the people, unleſs they themſelves deſired it. He was unboundedly generous with his own money, but ſparing of that of the public: whence, at his death, his private coffers were found empty, but the Exchequer full. He avoided war as much as poſſible, and was often heard to ſay, *That he had rather ſave one citizen, than deſtroy a thouſand enemies*

His character.

Among the writers who flouriſhed under this prince, were *Juſtin*, the hiſtorian, *Appian*, and *Ptolemy* the aſtrologer.

MARCUS AURELIUS ANTONINUS.

Marcus Aurelius Antoninus.

THE reign of *Marcus Aurelius* is, by the ancients, commonly called *the golden age*; for this prince made good the saying of *Plato*, which he often repeated, *That states would be happy when princes were philosophers.* He was of the *Annian* family, which some writers derive from *Numa Pompilius*, the second king of *Rome*.

His extraction,

His grandfather, originally of the province of *Betica* in *Spain*, was the first *Roman* senator of this family. His father was raised to the rank of a patrician by *Vespasian*, made governor of *Rome*, and twice honoured with the consulship. His mother was *Domitia Calvilla*, or *Lucilla*, the daughter of *Calvisius Tullus*, who had also been twice consul. *Aurelius* was born in *Rome*, during his grandfather's second consulship, in the year of *Christ* 121. His first name was *Catilius Severus*, which was that of his mother's grandfather: but his father dying, he was adopted by his grandfather *M. Annius Verus*, and took his name. When he was adopted by the name of *Antoninus*, he took the name of *Ælius Aurelius Verus*, the name of *Aurelius* being peculiar to the family of *Antonius*, and that of *Ælius* to the family of *Adrian*, into which *Antoninus* had been adopted. Upon his accession to the empire, he laid aside the name of *Verus*, and took that of *Antoninus*; without which, *Julius Capitolinus* tells us, *That neither the people nor soldiery could, for upwards of an hundred years, look upon any one as truly emperor*; *so great was their veneration for* Antoninus Pius. But historians generally distinguish him from his predecessor, either by the prænames of *Marcus*, or the surname of *Philosophus*.

and education.

He was brought up with great care by the emperor *Adrian*, in his palace, under the greatest men of that age in every branch of literature: and we are told that *Adrian* would have adopted him, had he not been too young. He studied philosophy under the celebrated *Sophist Sextus* of *Chæronea*, *Plutarch*'s nephew, and other masters; eloquence under *Herodius Atticus*, and *M. Cornelius Fronto*; and the law under *L. Volusius Metianus*, the most learned civilian of that age. *M. Aurelius* is said to have excelled in all these branches of learning; but his favourite study was philosophy, and particularly that of the stoics, among whom he entered himself when he was but twelve years old; wore their habit, and practised all their austerities; lying on the ground, fasting, and abstaining from several meats. His respect and veneration for those who had instructed him, was so great, even after he was emperor, that he raised *Junius Rusticus*, who was one of them, twice to the consulship, and prevailed on the senate to erect him a statue. He shewed no less regard for his other preceptors, setting up their images in gold in his closet, visiting

ing their ſepulchres, and adorning them with flowers. Tho' he was naturally of a ſtrong conſtitution, he impaired his health by his cloſe application to ſtudy, and the auſteritics which he practiſed, to ſuch a degree, that he became very feeble and infirm: his ſtomach, in particular, was greatly weakened by faſting; to remedy which, he uſed to take every day a preparation of treacle, made up by the celebrated *Galen*. However, as he led a very regular life, he lived almoſt to the age of ſixty, applying himſelf all that while to buſineſs with greater aſſiduity than any of his predeceſſors had done. He had an averſion to all public ſhews and diverſions, being naturally grave and ſerious: but out of complaiſance to the people he now and then appeared at them; but would read, write, or talk to his miniſters about buſineſs all the while. When he was but ſixteen, he made a preſent of his paternal eſtate to his ſiſter; ſaying, *That his grandfather's was enough for him*. *Adrian*, as we have obſerved, adopted *Antoninus Pius* on condition that he ſhould adopt *M. Aurelius*, then eighteen years old; and *L. Commodus*, who was only in the ſeventh or eighth year of his age. At the ſame time *Adrian* appointed *M. Aurelius* quæſtor for the enſuing year; and after the death of that emperor, *Antoninus* gave him in marriage his daughter *Annia Fauſtina*. *Aurelius.*

Upon the death of *Antoninus*, who had declared *M. Aurelius* his ſucceſſor, the ſenate inſiſted that this laſt ſhould take upon him the ſovereignty; but took no ſort of notice of *L. Verus*, who was likewiſe *Antoninus*'s ſon by adoption, but entirely abandoned to all manner of debauchery, and more inclined to tread in the ſteps of *Nero* and *Caligula*, than to imitate the virtues of *Antoninus* and *Aurelius*. *Antoninus*, who ſaw this, had not ſo much as given him the title of *Cæſar*. However, *M Aurelius* immediately declared him not only *Cæſar*, but *Auguſtus*, and his partner in the empire; ſo that *L. Verus* now ſaw herſelf, for the firſt time, governed by two ſovereigns at once. They were both conſuls together this year, and *Aurelius* gave *Lucius* the name of *Verus* inſtead of *Commodus*, and aſſumed himſelf that of *Antoninus*. The two emperors governed with great mildneſs and unity, and their adminiſtration was ſuch that none had occaſion to repent the loſs of *Antoninus*. To render this union the more laſting, *Aurelius* betrothed his daughter to *L. Verus*; and on that occaſion, great addition was made to the number of children who were ſupplied with corn at the public expence. Is made emperor. Declares *L. Verus* his partner in the ſovereignty. The happineſs of the empire interrupted by many calamities.

The happineſs which *Rome* and the whole empire enjoyed under theſe two ſovereigns, was interrupted in the beginning of the following year by a dreadful inundation of the *Tiber*, which deſtroyed a great part of *Rome*, carried away vaſt numbers of people and cattle, and laid the neighbouring country under water to a conſiderable diſtance. This inundation was followed by earthquakes and conflagrations in ſeveral

Aurelius. several provinces, and a general infection of the air, which produced such numbers of insects, that what the flood had spared was devoured by them, and a pestilential disorder and famine ensued in *Rome*. The emperors did what they could to alleviate these calamities, ordering corn from all parts, and making good the losses of individuals as far as in their power. At the same time, the *Parthians* declared war, the *Catti* made irruptions into *Germany* and *Rhætia*, and the *Britons* began to revolt. *Calpurnius Agricola* was sent against these last, and *Sufidius Victorinus* against the *Catti*: but what success they had, we know not. *L. Verus* marched in person against the *Parthians*, whilst *Aurelius* staid at *Rome*. Great disturbances happened likewise at the same time in *Armenia*, occasioned probably by *Vologeses*, the son of *Cosrhoes*, king of the *Parthians*. *Severinus*, governor of *Cappadocia*, having entered *Armenia* at the head of several legions, was there attacked by the *Parthians*, and cut off, with all his army, not a single man escaping the general slaughter.

A whole *Roman* army cut off by the *Parthians.*

Vologeses, elated with this victory, entered *Syria*, and committed dreadful ravages there, and in *Cappadocia*, which he likewise invaded, after having defeated *Cornelianus*, who commanded in *Syria*. *Aurelius* hoped that a military life would give his colleague *Verus* a distaste to the idle amusements and debaucheries of the town, and for that reason chiefly sent him against the *Parthians*. But *Verus* had proceeded no farther than *Canusa* when he was seized with a violent distemper, occasioned by his debaucheries on the road; and when he recovered of it, though he pursued his journey, passing over into *Greece*, and from thence into *Asia*, *Pamphylia*, and *Cilicia*, yet he stopped at every place upon the road that could afford him any diversion; and arriving in *Syria* when the year was far spent, he took up his abode at *Antioch*, and there abandoned himself to all manner of lewdness; while *S. Priscus*, *A. Cassius*, *M. Verus*, *Saturnius*, *Fronto*, and *Tatianus*, who commanded under him, and were all men of great experience, carried on the war. All we know of this war, is, that, though it lasted four years, the emperor *Verus* never quitted his pleasures to appear, even once, at the head of his army, which consisted of the flower of the *Roman* troops; that his lieutenants performed great exploits in *Armenia*, *Syria*, *Mesopotamia*, *Media*, and upon the banks of the *Tigris*; that they besieged *Edessa*; gained many signal victories; and gave the *Parthians* a total overthrow at *Europe*, a city of *Syria*, on the *Euphrates*.

L. Verus marches against them.

They are totally defeated.

Whilst *L. Verus* wallowed in debauchery at *Antioch*, *Aurelius*, by his own example, and several wholesome laws, endeavoured to reform the manners of the *Romans*, and to reclaim the vicious by gentleness, rather than severity. The people now enjoyed all the blessings of liberty, and were, in fact, as free under him, as their ancestors had been in the

beſt times of the republic. He paid a greater deference to the ſenate than even *Antoninus* had done, referring to them the deciſion of cauſes which belonged to his own tribunal, and undertaking nothing without their approbation, ſaying, *That it was more reaſonable for him to follow the advice of ſo many wiſe men, than for ſo many wiſe men to follow his.* He never failed attending the ſenate, delivering his opinion there like a private ſenator. He adminiſtred juſtice in perſon, with great aſſiduity and impartiality; heard with patience all complaints againſt his miniſters; and, ſo far as was conſiſtent with equity, ſent no one away diſſatisfied. He ſuffered no criminal to be condemned or executed, till he himſelf had examined the charge with great attention, and heard what the accuſed could ſay in his defence. He was naturally merciful, but puniſhed enormous crimes with great ſeverity. The inſtances of his clemency are innumerable; but thoſe of his ſeverity very few. *Aurelius.*

The next year, *Verus*'s lieutenants reduced *Armenia*, and reſtored that kingdom to *Sohemus*, who, upon his being expelled by *Vologeſes*, had retired to *Rome*, where he had been made a ſenator, and honoured with the conſulſhip. For this conqueſt, the title of *Armenicus* was decreed to both the emperors, who likewiſe aſſumed that of *Imperator*. The following year, *M. Aurelius* ſent his daughter *Lucilla* into *Syria*, to be married there to *L. Verus*, to whom ſhe had been betrothed for ſome time. The year after this, *Vologeſes* having attacked the *Romans*, at the head of a numerous army, was intirely defeated by *Verus's* lieutenant *Caſſius*, who, purſuing his victory, advanced to *Cteſiphon*, the capital of *Parthia*, took that city, laid the palace of the *Parthian* monarchs in aſhes, and made himſelf maſter of *Edeſſa*, *Babylon*, and all *Media*. The city of *Seleucia* on the *Tigris* opened its gates to him, and received the *Romans* as friends: but nevertheleſs *Caſſius* ordered the inhabitants, to the number of four hundred thouſand ſouls, to be maſſacred, and the city to be utterly demoliſhed. For theſe ſucceſſes the ſenate beſtowed on *L. Verus*, though he had never ſtirred from *Antioch*, the glorious title of *Conqueror of the* Parthians *and* Medes. The next year, *L. Verus* returned to *Rome*, and entered the city in triumph, with *M. Aurelius*, who took his children with him in the triumphal chariot. The title of *Parthicus* was decreed to both emperors, and both aſſumed that of *Father of their country*. *L. Verus* begged that the title of *Cæſar* might be conferred on *Commodus* and *Annius Verus*, the two ſons of *M. Aurelius*, which was accordingly done. *Armenia* reduced. The *Parthians* utterly defeated.

The return of *L. Verus* proved fatal to the whole world; for he carried the plague into all the provinces thro' which he paſſed; ſo that the infection ſpread not only over all *Italy*, but extended to the moſt diſtant countries which had any communication with the *Romans*. The plague was followed by a dreadful famine, earthquakes, inundations, and other calamities; A general plague, famine, earthquakes, &c.

Aurelius. calamities; and at the ſame time the *Marcomanni*, one of the moſt warlike nations in *Germany*, having drawn into their alliance the *Sarmatians*, *Suevians*, *Quadi*, *Hermonduri*, *Nariſci*, *Victovali*, *Roxolani*, *Baſternæ*, *Coſtobochi*, *Alani*, *Vandali*, *Jazyges*, and all the other barbarous nations which bordered on the *Roman* dominions, from *Gaul* to *Illyricum*, invaded the empire. This war, which the hiſtorians of thoſe times call one of the greateſt that *Rome* ever ſuſtained, was judged to be of ſuch importance, that both emperors, after having offered innumerable ſacrifices to the gods, and implored their aſſiſtance by all ſorts of ceremonies, haſtened to *Aquileia*, to make the neceſſary preparations, and early the next ſpring took the field. The enemy, ſtruck with terror at their approach, re-paſſed the *Danube*, put to death the authors of the war, and ſent ambaſſadors to the emperors to make their ſubmiſſions, and aſk pardon for having diſturbed the peace of the empire. *Verus*, who had quitted the diverſions of the city with great regret, was thereupon for returning immediately to *Rome*; but *Aurelius*, ſuſpecting the ſincerity of the barbarians, would not agree to that till he had fortified *Aquileia* with new works, and provided with great care for the ſafety of *Italy* and *Illyricum*. *Aurelius* judged rightly; for the very next year the war broke out again, and the *Romans* gained a ſignal victory over the *Marcomanni*, *Quadi*, *Sarmatians*, and *Dacians*; and the year after, the *German* nations in general took the field with ſuch numerous forces, that both emperors left *Rome*, and returned to *Aquileia*, in the very depth of winter, with a deſign to attack the enemy early in the ſpring: but the plague beginning to rage there with great violence, they thought it adviſeable to haſten back to the metropolis. As they were on the road in the ſame coach, *L. Verus* was ſeized with an apoplexy, near *Altinum*, and died three days after, having lived thirty-nine years, and reigned eight and ſome months. His body was conveyed to *Rome*, where *Aurelius* cauſed it to be interred with great pomp, and prevailed upon the ſenate to rank him among the gods.

War with the *Marcomanni.*

Both emperors take the field.

L. Verus dies.

Year of *Rome* 919. of *Chriſt* 171.

Aurelius, now ſole emperor, applied all his thoughts to the carrying on of the war againſt the *Marcomanni*; and we find that his lieutenants gained ſome advantages over that formidable enemy in the very beginning of the next year; for he took the title of *Imperator* ſoon after the death of *Verus*. However, the *Marcomanni* ſoon returned to the charge, and falling upon a detachment commanded by *Vindex*, captain of the prætorian guards, cut him and moſt of his men to pieces. After this, they approached the *Roman* territories, where they were met by the flower of the troops of the empire, and a bloody battle enſued, in which theſe laſt were intirely defeated, and put to flight, after having loſt twenty thouſand men. The barbarians purſued them to the very walls of *Aquileia*, and entered *Italy* itſelf, deſtroying al

The *Romans* worſted by the *Marcomanni.*

all with fire and ſword, and committing every where dreadful devaſtations. As the plague, which ſtill raged in moſt parts of the empire, had greatly weakened the army; ſlaves, gladiators, and all ſorts of people were admitted among the troops, and *Aurelius* even prevailed upon ſome mercenary *Germans* to ſerve againſt their countrymen. By this means a conſiderable army was ſoon raiſed; but as money was wanting to pay them, and defray the other charges of ſo dangerous a war, *Aurelius*, rather than burthen his people with new taxes, expoſed to public ſale the furniture of the palace, the gold and ſilver plate, pictures, and ſtatues belonging to the crown, and even his wife's robes and jewels. The ſale laſted two months, and produced ſuch an immenſe ſum, as enabled the emperor not only to bear the vaſt expence of this war for five years, but alſo to relieve the people with an extraordinary largeſs, at a time when proviſions were exceeding dear. Juſt before *Aurelius* left *Rome*, he loſt his ſecond ſon *Annius Verus Cæſar*, who died in the ſeventeenth year of his age: and about this time he married his daughter *Lucilla*, the widow of *Verus*, to *Claudius Pompeianus*, who was originally of *Antioch*, and the ſon of a private *Roman* knight, but a perſon of extraordinary merit, wiſdom, and integrity, which the emperor ever preferred to wealth and nobility.

Aurelius.

Aurelius ſells his plate, jewels, &c. to defray the charges of the war.

The account which the ancients have left us of this war with the *Marcomanni* and their allies, is very ſuccinct and confuſed. The barbarians, ſay they, laid waſte ſeveral provinces of the empire, and defeated great armies. The *Marcomanni* and the *Vandals* made themſelves maſters of *Pannonia*. The *Caſtobochi* over-ran *Greece*, and advanced as far as *Elatea*, a city of *Phocis*, committing horrid ravages every where. However, they were at length overcome by *Aurelius*, who, during the whole of this bloody and deſtructive war, gave innumerable inſtances of the greateſt prudence and intrepidity. The *Marcomanni*, *Quadi*, *Sarmatians*, and *Vandals*, were forced to abandon *Pannonia*, and retire beyond the *Danube*, after being terribly defeated. The *Jazyges* too were defeated twice; firſt in *Pannonia*, and the ſecond time as they were croſſing the *Danube* on the ice. *Pompeianus*, the emperor's ſon-in-law, who commanded a body of troops, deſired to have *Pertinax* joined in the commiſſion with him: *Aurelius* readily complied with his requeſt, though he had, not long before, upon ſome complaints, deprived *Pertinax* of an employment which he had in *Dacia*. *Pertinax* behaved ſo well in his new commiſſion, that the emperor admitted him into the ſenate; and finding *Pertinax* afterwards that the complaints againſt him were groundleſs, raiſed to to repair the injury he had done him, he honoured him with the conſu- the prætorian ornaments, and appointed him governor of lar digni- *Rhætia* and *Noricum*, from whence he drove the *Ger-* ty.

mans,

Aurelius. mans, who had broken into that province, for which he was raiſed to the conſular dignity.

While the *Romans* were ſtill engaged in the war with the *Marcomanni*, another broke out in *Egypt*, the robbers and ſhepherds of that country, who were very numerous, having taken up arms, at the inſtigation of their prieſts, and committing dreadful diſorders. They were headed by one *Iſidorus*, a man of great reſolution and intrepidity; and being joined by great numbers of *Egyptians* from all parts, they defeated the *Romans* in a pitched battle, over-ran the whole country, and would have made themſelves maſters of *Alexandria* itſelf, had not *Caſſius*, the ſame who had ſignalized himſelf in the *Parthian* and *German* wars, found means artfully to ſow diviſions among them, by which he at laſt obliged them to lay down their arms. *Caſſius* then marched into *Armenia* and *Arabia*, where he performed great exploits; but the particulars of them have not reached us. At the ſame time, the *Moors* over-ran the greateſt part of *Spain*, and committed horrid ravages in that country: but at length they were driven out by *Aurelius*'s lieutenants. *Severus*, who was afterwards made emperor, was at that time quæſtor of the province of *Bætica*.

Diſturbances in *Egypt*,

Quelled by *Caſſius*

Spain invaded by the *Moors*.

Aurelius and his army in great danger.

In this war with the *Marcomanni*, *Aurelius* very narrowly eſcaped being cut off with his whole army. The enemy, who were poſted on the other ſide of the river *Gran*, in the country of the *Quadi*, beyond the *Danube*, galled the *Romans*, by means of their archers and ſlingers, to ſuch a degree, that the emperor thought it adviſeable to paſs the river and diſlodge them; which was accordingly done, with great ſlaughter on both ſides. The *Marcomanni* retiring, drew the *Romans*, who advanced with more courage than caution, into a defile, among barren mountains, quite deſtitute of water. The *Romans*, cloſing their ranks, defended themſelves with great bravery, and repulſed the enemy, who thereupon gave over the attack, ſeized the avenues, and blocked them up on all ſides. Thus pent up, wearied with fatigue, ſpent with their wounds, expoſed to the burning heat of the ſun, and tormented with exceſſive thirſt, they made ſeveral attempts to open themſelves a way through the midſt of the enemy, but in vain. In this diſtreſsful ſituation, *Aurelius*, more affected with the ſufferings of his men, than his own, flew through all the ranks, endeavouring to comfort them, and rouſe their courage: but officers, as well as ſoldiers, began to abandon themſelves to abſolute deſpair, and looked upon themſelves as irretrievably loſt; when, on a ſudden, clouds gathered in the air, the ſky was overcaſt, and, to their inexpreſſible joy, rain fell in great plenty, which the fainting ſoldiers received, holding their mouths, helmets, and bucklers up to heaven, as they are repreſented on the famous pillar of *Antoninus* at *Rome*. In this

Is ſaved by a ſhower of rain and a great ſtorm.

this posture the barbarians fell upon them; and, as they were more eager to quench their thirst, than to repulse the enemy, they must all have been cut in pieces, had it not been for a violent storm of hail, attended with prodigious thunder and lightning, which discharged itself upon the barbarians as they advanced against the *Romans*, who, now somewhat refreshed, attacked them with such fury, that they cut in pieces all who resisted them, put the rest to flight, and took great numbers of prisoners. These circumstances seem to us sufficiently wonderful, without heightening the description of this battle, as almost all historians have done, so as to make an absolute miracle of it, by saying, That if any of the fire chanced to fall upon the *Romans*, it did not burn, or even seem hot to them, and was immediately extinguished; and that the rain which fell upon the barbarians was so far from overcoming the flames which consumed them, that, on the contrary, it doubled their violence, as if it had not been water, but oil. For this victory *Aurelius* was proclaimed emperor the seventh time, and the empress *Faustina* was honoured by the senate with the title of *Mater Castrorum*, or *The mother of armies*. Notwithstanding this great loss, the barbarians continued the war above a year longer, till at last, quite overpowered by *Aurelius*, who would have reduced the countries of the *Marcomanni* and *Sarmatians* to *Roman* provinces, had he not been interrupted by the revolt of *Cassius*, they resolved to abandon their native soil, and settle elsewhere. *Aurelius*, being informed of their design, prevented them from putting it in execution, laid waste their fields, and cut off their communication with the neighbouring nations; so that famine soon constrained them to sue for peace. It was granted to the *Quadi*, who, with their ambassadors, sent back all the *Roman* deserters, and thirteen thousand prisoners, whom they had taken during the war: but they soon broke it, joined with the *Marcomanni*, *Jazyges*, *Buri*, *Narisci*, and several other nations, of whom we find no farther mention in history, and attacked the *Romans*, by whom they were again intirely defeated. After this victory, most of the *German* nations sent ambassadors, offering to submit on such terms as the conqueror should think fit to impose upon them. The *Marcomanni* were ordered not to settle within five miles of the *Danube*; and the *Jazyges* were to retire still farther from that river. These last, who were a very powerful and warlike people, had taken above an hundred thousand prisoners in this war, whom they now set at liberty, and likewise furnished *Aurelius* with a body of eighty thousand horsemen, of whom he immediately sent five thousand into *Britain*, where the *Romans* were threatened with a new war. The *Buri*, *Narisci*, and other *German* nations, obtained a peace upon easier terms than they would have done, had not the emperor been in haste to quell the revolt of *Cassius*. The *Quadi*,

Aurelius.

The enemies sue for peace.

Aurelius. *Quadi* alone ſeem to have continued in arms till the reign of *Commodus*.

Revolt of *A. Caſſius.*

Avidius Caſſius, who, as we obſerved before, had diſtinguiſhed himſelf greatly in the wars againſt the *Parthians* and *Sarmatians*, was, at the time of his revolt, governor of *Syria*. Taking advantage of *Aurelius*'s being fully employed in the *Marcomannic* war, and, it is ſaid, of a report which was ſpread of that emperor's death, he cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed in his room, and ſoon became maſter of all the countries beyond mount *Taurus*, and of *Egypt* itſelf, the governor of which declared in his favour. Several foreign princes and nations eſpouſed his cauſe, but none with more ardour than the *Jews*. *M. Verus*, governor of *Cappadocia*, was the firſt who informed the emperor of this revolt. *Aurelius* concealed it for ſome time; but when he found it divulged by public fame, he acquainted his ſoldiers with it in a very judicious and modeſt ſpeech, only complaining of the ungrateful return which *Caſſius* made him for the kindneſs he ever had, and ſhould ever have for him, notwithſtanding his revolt, as he hoped to ſhew, as ſoon as he had brought him to a ſenſe of his duty. Nor did *Caſſius*, on his ſide, utter any injurious reflections againſt *Aurelius*; but only charged him with neglecting the moſt important affairs of the ſtate, to attend to the ſtudy of philoſophy, and with ſuffering, through an exceſs of goodneſs, many diſorders which it was incumbent upon him, as emperor, to correct.

Aurelius, having terminated the war with the *German* nations, as we have related above, ſet out for *Illyricum*, with a deſign to purſue his march from thence into the Eaſt, and meet *Caſſius*, declaring, *That he was ready to reſign the empire to him, if it ſhould be thought expedient for the public good, which alone was what induced him to ſuſtain ſo many daily toils and inceſſant labours.* But he was not advanced far on his march,

He is killed.

when news was brought him, that *Caſſius* had been killed by ſome of his own men: and when the rebel's head was brought him ſoon after, he expreſſed great ſorrow, turned his eyes away, and cauſed it to be honourably interred, complaining, that he had been robbed of an opportunity of

Aurelius's great clemency.

ſhewing his mercy. *Aurelius* himſelf would neither try, impriſon, nor condemn, any ſenator concerned in this affair, but referred the whole to the ſenate, at the ſame time requeſting of them, for their honour, ſaid he, as well as his, that no ſenator or perſon of diſtinction might be put to death, or puniſhed any way, on account of this revolt; but that it might be ſaid, that ſuch only periſhed in this rebellion, as were killed in the tumult of the war. The ſenate complied with this requeſt, and returned him thanks for the regard he had always ſhewn even to the moſt undeſerving members of their body. As for the children of *Caſſius*, *Aurelius* took them under his protection, forbid any one to reproach them with the misfortunes of their family, and raiſed them

them to great preferments. He gave the government of *Syria* to *M. Verus*, on whose bravery he could depend, and appointed his son-in-law *Pompeianus* consul for the following year; which nomination the senate, in their answer to the emperor's letter, confirmed, at the same time, begging of him to return to *Rome*, to invest his son *Commodus* with the tribunitial power. The latter part of this request he complied with; but we do not find that he returned to *Rome*, or, if he did, he staid there but a very short time; for we are told, that, immediately after the death of *Cassius*, he went into the East, and took with him his son *Commodus*, and his wife *Faustina*, which last died suddenly in a village called *Halala*, at the foot of Mount *Taurus*. She was a woman of an abandoned life, unworthy of such a father as *Antoninus*, or such a husband as *Aurelius*, whom some did not believe to be the father of *Commodus*.

Aurelius. *Commodus* invested with the tribunitial power. *Aurelius* goes into *Egypt*. *Faustina* dies.

Aurelius, arriving in the East, freely forgave all the cities and communities there, which had sided with *Cassius*, except *Antioch*, the inhabitants of which having distinguished themselves above all others by their zeal for that rebel, and their hatred to him, he deprived of all their privileges, suppressed their public assemblies, and took from them their shews and spectacles, which they were extremely fond of. But his anger being soon appeased, before he left *Syria*, he restored them to their former condition, and even condescended to visit them. From *Syria* he passed into *Egypt*, where he not only forgave, but enriched with several privileges, the city of *Alexandria*, which had likewise sided with *Cassius*. Having visited most of the chief cities in the East, and given every where innumerable instances of his humanity and good-nature, he went to *Athens*, where he was initiated in the *Eleusinian* mysteries, and after conferring many favours on that city, and establishing in it professors of all the sciences, with handsome allowances, to be paid out of the exchequer, he returned to *Rome* with his son *Commodus*, whom he named consul for the ensuing year, though he was at that time but sixteen. Soon after, he honoured him with the title of *imperator*, which he himself assumed for the eighth time, probably for some victory gained over the *Germans* by *Pertinax*, whom he had appointed governor of *Illyricum*. After this, both he and *Commodus* entered *Rome* in triumph, distributing, on this occasion, among the people as many pieces of gold a-head, as he had been absent years. At the same time, he exhibited most magnificent shews, though he himself took no pleasure in such diversions. The next year, *Commodus* was honoured by the senate with the title of *Father of his country*, and by the emperor with that of *Augustus*; on which occasion *Aurelius* remitted whatever was owing by private persons, either to the emperor, or to the exchequer, ever since the time of *Adrian*'s forgiving all such debts. *Aurelius* continued all this year at

Aurelius's great goodness.

Returns to *Rome*.

Year of *Rome* 925. of *Christ* 173.

Which he enters in triumph with *Commodus*.

Aurelius. *Rome*, and reformed ſeveral abuſes, partly by his example, and partly by wholeſome laws. He could not ſuppreſs the combats of gladiators, without diſobliging the people; but, as he was an enemy to all cruelty and bloodſhed, he took from them their ſharp ſwords, and allowed them only blunt ones, in the nature of our foils, ſaying, *That they might diſplay their ſkill equally well with them.*

The *Marcomanni* renew the war.

The next year, the *Marcomanni* and their confederates having renewed the war, *Aurelius* reſolved to march againſt them in perſon, with his ſon *Commodus*. But, before he left *Rome*, he married *Commodus* to *Criſpina*, the daughter of *Buttius Præſens*; and repairing to the ſenate, deſired leave to take out of the public treaſure the neceſſary ſums for carrying on the war, ſaying, *That an emperor had nothing of his own, not even the palace he lived in; but that all belonged to the ſenate and people.* He then went to the capitol, where he declared upon his oath, *That, ſince his acceſſion to the empire, no ſenator had been put to death by his order; that ſuch as had periſhed in the rebellion, had been killed without his knowledge; and that he would have ſpared them all*, Caſſius *himſelf not excepted, had it been in his power ſo to do.* In this expedition

Aurelius gains a ſignal victory over them.

Aurelius gained a ſignal victory over the *Marcomanni*, *Hermonduri*, *Quadi*, and *Sarmatians*; for which both he and his ſon *Commodus* took the title of *Imperator*. Hiſtorians tell us, that the conſequence of this battle muſt have been the total reduction of all *Germany*, and the different nations inhabiting it, had not *Aurelius* been prevented by death from compleating ſo great a work. He died the following year, either at *Sirmium*, now *Sirmich*, in *Sclavonia*, or at *Vendobona*, now *Vienna*, in *Auſtria*, authors are not agreed which, after having lived fifty-eight years, ten months, and twenty-two days, and reigned, from the death of *Antoninus Pius*, eighteen years, and ten or eleven days. Two days before he died, he recommended his ſon *Commodus* to the army, and conjured his friends to aſſiſt him with their advice. We need not ſay how great was the concern of the ſenate and *Roman* people for the loſs of ſo good an emperor. His aſhes were conveyed to *Rome*, and depoſited in the *Mauſoleum* of *Adrian*. He was immediately ranked among the gods, and held in ſuch veneration, that *Julius Capitolinus* ſays he was, in his time, that is, in the reign of *Domitian*, ſtill worſhipped in moſt families, among their domeſtic gods; and whoever had not ſome image or ſtatue of him in his houſe, was looked upon as a ſacrilegious perſon.

His death.

Year of *Rome* 929. of *Chriſt* 177.

He is ranked among the gods.

His character.

He was, without doubt, one of the greateſt and beſt princes that ever ſwayed a ſceptre. His only fault was too much good-nature; for though he rewarded the good and virtuous with great generoſity, he was not ſevere enough to the vicious and wicked; whence ſome governors of provinces, preſuming upon his gentleneſs, plundered, and often with impunity, the people committed to their care. He has been blamed

blamed for winking at the monſtrous exceſſes of his wife; and indeed ſome of his friends once adviſed him to divorce her; but he anſwered, *If I divorce her, I muſt return her her dower, that is, the empire, which I received of her father.* The emperor *Julian* prefers him to *Ceſar*, to *Auguſtus*, and to all the other princes who had reigned till his time; but at the ſame time finds fault with him for bequeathing the empire to his vicious ſon *Commodus*, and not to his ſon-in-law *Pompeianus*, who was a perſon of extraordinary parts, and well qualified for ſo great a truſt. *Aurelius.*

The Meditations of *Aurelius*, which have reached our times, are highly commended by all the ancients, as an epitome of the beſt rules that human reaſon or philoſophy can ſuggeſt for the conduct of a virtuous life. As this emperor was a great encourager of learning, many eminent writers, eſpecially philoſophers, flouriſhed in his reign. The moſt eminent of theſe were *Lucian*, *Creſcentius*, *Celſus*, *Demonax*, *Alexander*, the two *Sextuſes*, *Numenes*, *Hermogenes*, *Ariſtides*, *&c.* few, or none, of whoſe works we have, except thoſe of *Lucian*, which are deſervedly admired for the elegance and purity of the ſtile, but filled with impious and atheiſtical ſentiments.

CHAP. II.

From the Death of M. Aurelius, *to the Death of* Alexander, *when the Empire was firſt transferred, without the Conſent of the Senate.*

COMMODUS.

COMMODUS was the firſt emperor who was born in his father's reign, and the ſecond who ſucceeded his father in the empire, to which he was raiſed when he was little more than nineteen years of age. *Commodus* emperor.

A few days after his father's death, he went to the camp, attended by all the chief officers, and there, after a plauſible and popular ſpeech to the ſoldiers, preſented them with the uſual donative. That done, he was for returning immediately to *Rome*, to enjoy the diverſions of that city: but his friends, and particularly his brother-in-law *Pompeianus*, with much difficulty prevailed upon him to ſtay a little while in *Pannonia*, where, impatient to be able to give a looſe to his deſires, he patched up a peace with the *Marcomanni*, *Quadi*, and other *German* nations, even purchaſing it of ſome of them He patches up a peace with the *German* nations,

Commodus them with very large ſums. He then haſtened to *Rome*, where he was received with all poſſible demonſtrations of joy, and honoured with a triumph, the ſurname of *Pius*, and all the marks of diſtinction that had ever been conferred upon the moſt deſerving princes.

Advantages gain'd by his lieutenants.

He had not been long upon the throne when he took the title of *Imperator* for the fifth time, on account of ſome advantages gained by his lieutenants *Albinus* and *Niger*, over the barbarians who dweſt beyond *Dacia*. He took it again, ſoon after, for the ſixth time, with the ſurname of *Britannicus*, for a great victory gained by *Ulpius Marcellus* over the *Caledonians*, who had paſſed the wall which parted them from the *Romans*, and committed dreadful devaſtations.

He diſmiſſes his father's friends and counſellors.

For a little while *Commodus* had liſtened to the advice of his father's friends and counſellors; but now, thinking himſelf qualified to govern without ſo many tutors about him, as he expreſſed it, he diſmiſſed them all, and took, in their room, either the companions of his debauchery, or ſuch as were recommended by them. *Peſcennius Niger* was preferred to the command of the armies in *Syria*, at the recommendation of the wreſtler *Narciſſus*; and many others were raiſed to great employments by means of the emperor's freedmen, ſlaves, concubines, *&c.* whoſe behaviour drew upon the young prince the hatred and contempt of the ſenate, for which he, in return, put many of them to death, under various pretences. His ſiſter *Lucilla*, ſeeing him adhorred by all the great men of *Rome*, and not being able to brook her being obliged to give place to *Criſpina*,, the wife of *Commodus*, though ſhe herſelf was graced with the title of empreſs, and all the honours belonging to it; formed a conſpiracy againſt him, with a deſign to place in his room a perſon whom ſhe was thought to love above her brother, and her huſband *Pompeianus*. She drew into this conſpiracy *Claudius Pompeianus*, to whom ſhe had betrothed her daughter, *Quadratus*, and many other ſenators of diſtinction; and it was agreed, that they ſhould fall upon him as he paſſed through a narrow paſſage which led to the amphitheatre, and that *Pompeianus* ſhould give him the firſt blow. Accordingly, they attacked him at the appointed place; but *Pompeianus* ſhewing him, inſtead of ſtriking at once, the naked dagger, and crying out, *The ſenate ſends thee this*, the guards had time to reſcue the emperor, and ſeize the conſpirators, who were ſoon after put to death. *Lucilla* was baniſhed to the iſland of *Capreæ*, where ſhe was afterwards murdered privately by her brother's order. This ſame year, the empreſs *Criſpina* was likewiſe confined to the ſame iſland, and there murdered by the emperor's command, for imitating him in his debaucheries. *Commodus* was thought to be put upon the wicked meaſures he was now purſuing, by *Anterus*, his favourite freedman, who had a great aſcendant over him; for which reaſon, the captains of the guards cauſed him to be killed

A conſpiracy formed againſt him by his ſiſter *Lucilla* and others who are all put to death.

killed by one *Cleander*, who afterwards became prime minister. The emperor was greatly concerned for his death; and being informed that *T. Paternus*, one of the captains of the guards, was privy to it, he caused him to be assassinated a few days after, with *Salvius Julianus*, to whose son the daughter of *Paternus* had been betrothed. The same year, several persons of consular rank, among whom were the two *Quintilii*, whom we mentioned before, in the life of *Antoninus*, were falsely accused of treason, condemned, and executed. *Sextus Condianus*, the son of *Maximus*, who had been consul, and was a young man of extraordinary parts, was condemned, with his father and uncle, but escaped, by causing a report to be spread that he was dead; but some attesting that he was still alive, numbers, who had never seen him, were accused of having concealed him, and, upon that charge, were either banished or put to death. *Æmilius Junctus*, and *Attilius Severus*, were both banished in their consulship, and with them many senators and knights of great distinction.

Commodus

Several persons of distinction executed.

The next year, the emperor's favourite minister *Perennis*, who was captain of the prætorian guards, and an excellent commander, but disliked by the troops on account of his great severity, was accused of aiming at the empire, and, by *Commodus*'s command, cut in pieces by the soldiery, together with his wife, his sister, and two of his sons. To his eldest son, who commanded the army in *Illyricum*, and knew nothing of what had passed, the emperor wrote an obliging letter, enjoining him to come to *Rome* with all possible expedition, to receive new marks of his esteem and affection for him and his father: but he had no sooner entered *Italy*, than he was murdered by the soldiers who attended him. *Perennis* was succeeded by *Cleander*; for the emperor himself was so taken up with his pleasures, that he could not bestow one moment on the affairs of the state, not even so much as to sign his letters. *Cleander* was by birth a *Phrygian*, and originally a slave, having been sold as such in *Rome* by auction, which was the usual way of selling slaves in those days. He belonged first to *M. Aurelius*, and afterwards to *Commodus*, who married him to *Demostracia*, one of his concubines, brought up the children he had by her in the palace, gave him his liberty, and appointed him his chamberlain. Having, by the death of *Perennis*, ingrossed all the power to himself, he abused his authority in the most flagrant manner, publicly selling offices, provinces, public revenues, public justice, and the lives of men both innocent and guilty; but none dared to complain of him: even the prince's brother-in-law, *Antistius Burrhus*, was, for taking that liberty, accused by *Cleander* of aspiring to the empire, and put to death, with all who espoused his cause, or attempted to defend him. Among these were *Ebutianus*, captain of the guards, in whose room *Cleander* persuaded

Perennis is prince's brother-in-law, who abuses his authority.

Commodus the emperor to ſubſtitute him and two others, whom he named to him. Upon the death of *Perennis*, that employment had been given to one *Niger*, who held it only ſix hours; another enjoyed it only five days, and ſeveral others not ſo long, the timorous emperor changing the captains of his guards almoſt daily and hourly; and moſt of them loſt their lives with their employment.

The war of the deſerters under the conduct of *Maternus*.

The war, called that of the deſerters, happened the next year. A common ſoldier, by name *Maternus*, having fled from his colours, grew in a ſhort time ſo powerful, by the great numbers of other deſerters and banditti who flocked to him from all parts, that he over-ran and plundered great part of *Gaul* and *Spain*, and committed ſuch havock, that it was thought adviſeable to ſend an army againſt him. *Maternus*, being reduced to great ſtreights, divided his men into ſeveral ſmall bands, who paſſed the imperial troops unobſerved, and, by different ways, marched them privately into *Italy*, with a deſign to murder *Commodus*, during a feſtival which was kept annually in honour of the mother of the gods, and then to ſeize the empire for himſelf. They all arrived at *Rome* undiſcovered, and ſome of them had already mixed with the emperor's guards, when others of his own party betrayed him. He was immediately ſeized and executed; and his death put an end to the diſturbances which ſome of his followers had begun to raiſe in other provinces. A dreadful plague raged violently at *Rome* this and the two or three following years.

Year of *Rome* 935. of *Chriſt*, 183.

who is ſeized and executed.

The next year *Commodus* gave out, that he deſigned to viſit *Africa*, and, under that pretence, exacted from his ſubjects very conſiderable ſums, which he afterwards ſpent in revels in and about *Rome*, without ſtirring any farther. A great part of the capitol, ſeveral libraries, and numbers of other buildings, were, this year, burnt down by lightning; and, at the ſame time, the city was afflicted with a dreadful famine, occaſioned, ſome ſay, by *Cleander*, who, having now nothing leſs than the ſovereignty in view, bought up underhand all the corn, in order to raiſe the price of it, and afterwards gain the affections of the ſoldiery and people by diſtributing it among them. Others ſay, that *Papirius Dionyſius*, whoſe province it was to ſee the city ſupplied with proviſions, contributed towards the famine, in order to make the people riſe againſt *Cleander*, who now began to act in a more arbitrary manner than ever. Whichever of theſe was the caſe, the people did riſe againſt him, put to flight the prætorian horſe, which he had called in to his aſſiſtance, purſued him to the palace, and there inſiſted on his death in ſo peremptory a manner, that the emperor, quite terrified, was obliged to order his head to be ſtruck off, and given to them, before they could be appeaſed. His wife, his children, and moſt of his creatures were maſſacred at the ſame time, and their bodies, as well as his, treated with

Part of the capitol burnt.

Rome afflicted with a famine.

The people riſe againſt *Cleander*, and obtain his death.

with the utmoſt ignominy, dragged through the ſtreets, and then thrown into the common ſewers. *Pertinax* was recalled from *Britain*, whither he had been ſent, and charged with the care of ſupplying the city with proviſions, in the room of *P. Dionyſius*, who was put to death. *Commodus.*

The following year, *Severus* was appointed commander of the troops in *Illyricum*; and *Pertinax* was ſent into *Aſia* with the character of proconſul; from whence he was recalled the next year and made governor of *Rome*, and *Didius Julianus* was ſent to *Aſia* in his ſtead. And now *Commodus*, filled with jealouſies and ſuſpicions, by reaſon of the ſeveral conſpiracies which had been formed againſt him and his miniſters, abandoned himſelf to unbounded cruelty and bloodſhed. Among the multitudes of all ranks and conditions who were maſſacred this year, were *Petronius Mamertinus*, who had married one of his ſiſters; his ſon *Antoninus*; *Annia Fauſtina*, couſin-german to *M. Aurelius*; *Sulpicius Craſſus*, proconſul of *Aſia*; and ſix conſulars, in one day. All the relations of *Avidius Craſſus*, whom we ſpoke of in the laſt reign, however diſtant, were burnt alive. Commodus gives an unbounded looſe to his cruelty

Shortly after this, the magnificent temple of *Peace*, built by *Veſpaſian*, and enriched with all the ſpoils and ornaments of the temple of *Jeruſalem*, was burnt down to the ground, together with all the houſes near it, and a great number of ſtately edifices; among the reſt, the temple of *Veſta*, and part of the imperial palace, to which the veſtals fled with the ſtatue of *Pallas*, which was ſuppoſed to have been brought from *Troy*, and had never before been expoſed to public view. The conflagration laſted ſeveral days; and *Commodus*, on this occaſion, returned from the country where he was when the fire broke out, and expoſed his own perſon in order to encourage others to exert themſelves in extinguiſhing the flames, which was at laſt done by a ſudden and violent ſhower of rain. The temple of *Peace*, and that of *Veſta*, conſumed by fire.

This year the *Roman* troops were defeated by the *Saracens*, of whom this is the firſt mention we find made in hiſtory. About this time, *Commodus* appointed *Clodius Albinus* governor of *Britain*, with leave to him, ſays *Julius Capitolinus*, to aſſume the title of *Cæſar*, and the ornaments peculiar to that dignity. But *Albinus* prudently declined that honour, fearing to be involved in the ruin of *Commodus*, which he appreheded to be near at hand. The *Saracens* now mentioned for the firſt time.

The remaining part of this emperor's life, as related by *Dion Caſſius* and *Herodian*, who were eye-witneſſes of it, was a continual ſeries of follies and extravagancies; his whole time being ſpent in public ſhews, in which he himſelf was a principal performer. He excelled particularly in ſhooting with the bow: as an inſtance of his dexterity at which, we are told, that, at a combat of wild beaſts, a panther having ſeized a man, and being ready to devour him, *Commodus* let fly an arrow at the beaſt with ſo much ſkill and force, that The remainder of this emperor's life ſpent in follies and extravagancies.

Commodus the panther fell dead to the ground before the man received any hurt. He had often appeared on the public ſtage in the *Amazonian*, and other fantaſtical dreſſes. The former, in particular, he was very fond of, becauſe it was that in which he firſt ſaw his favourite concubine *Marcia*, when he fell in love with her. But now he was not aſhamed to enter the liſts with the gladiators, or to act and dance in the theatre quite naked: and not ſatisfied with theſe follies, he reſolved to appear, on the firſt day of the next year, as conſul, and at the ſame time as gladiator: to which end, he ordered the two conſuls elect to be murdered. This deſign he imparted to *Marcia* the day before it was to be put in execution. She, *Lætus*, captain of the guards, and *Electus*, his chief chamberlain, did all they could to diſſuade him from it, but to no purpoſe; for, inſtead of yielding to their intreaties, he flew into a violent paſſion, and threatened to make them repent their daring to oppoſe his will. They thereupon, terrified with his menaces, and no longer able to bear his cruelties and follies, reſolved immediately to poiſon him; and accordingly *Marcia* adminiſtred the doſe on his return from bathing. Being ſoon after ſeized with a heavy ſlumber, he retired to refreſh himſelf with ſleep; and *Electus*, laying hold of that opportunity, ordered the company to retire, hoping, by that means, to conceal the cauſe and manner of his death; but *Commodus*, awaking very ſoon, was ſeized with a violent vomiting, and, ſuſpecting that he had been poiſoned, began to threaten all about him with immediate death: upon which, the conſpirators, fearing leſt he ſhould void the poiſon, and eſcape, ſent in haſte for his great favourite *Narciſſus*, the famous wreſtler, who, being gained by great promiſes, threw himſelf upon the emperor, and, ſeizing him by the throat, ſtrangled him. His body was privately conveyed away and buried in the fields; but was afterwards taken up by *Pertinax*, who ſucceeded to the empire, and depoſited in the monument of *Adrian*. The conſpirators gave out that he died of an apoplexy. Such was the miſerable end of *Commodus*, after having lived thirty-one years and four months; and reigned twelve years, nine months, and fourteen days. He was, as *Lampidius* ſays, a prince who lived only for his ſubjects miſchief and his own ſhame. Both the *Ælian* and *Aurelian* family were extinguiſhed in him, as the *Julian* was in *Nero*, and the *Flavian* in *Veſpaſian*; the three former, monſters of mankind.

Marcia, *Lætus* and *Electus*, conſpire againſt him.

He is murdered. Year of *Rome* 940. of *Chriſt* 188.

The inſtances of this tyrant's cruelty would be too long to mention here. He put to death many innocent perſons, inſtead of thoſe who were guilty, ſuffering theſe laſt to eſcape, if they had but money to give him; and if any perſon wanted to be revenged of an enemy, by bargaining with *Commodus* for a certain ſum, he was allowed to inflict death, or any other puniſhment. He commanded a perſon to be caſt to the wild beaſts

beasts, only for reading the life of *Caligula* in *Suetonius*, because he himself happened to be born on the same day as *Caligula*. Another he ordered to be thrown into a burning furnace, because he had made his bath too warm. His cruelty was odd and whimsical, as well as monstrous: for, seeing one day a very fat man pass by, he immediately cut him asunder; partly to try his strength, in which he excelled all men; and partly out of curiosity, as he himself owned, to see his entrails drop out at once. He took pleasure in cutting off a foot, or putting out an eye, of such as he met in his rambles through the city; telling the former, by way of raillery, after he had thus maimed them, *That they now belonged to the nation of the* monopodii; and the latter, *That they were now become* luscinii; alluding to the word *luscinia*, a nightingale, and *luscus*, one eyed. Some he murdered, because they were negligently dressed; others, because he thought them too spruce. He pretended a great skill in surgery, particularly at letting blood: but sometimes, instead of easing by that means those whom he visited, or who were prevailed upon to recur to him, he cut off, by way of diversion, their ears and noses. He assumed the name and habit of *Hercules*, appearing publicly in a lion's skin, with an huge club in his hand, and ordering several persons, though not guilty of any crime, to be disguised like monsters, that, by knocking out their brains with his club, he might have a better claim to the name of the great destroyer of monsters. In short, the shedding of blood seemed to be his chief diversion. *Commodus*

Two actions of his, however, merit great applause. The first, his establishing a company of merchants, and a fleet for conveying corn from *Africa* to *Rome*, when any misfortune should befall the fleet that transported it from *Egypt*: and the second, this: One *Manilius*, who had been secretary to *Avidius Cassius*, and privy to his conspiracy, having made his escape, and concealed himself since his death, was apprehended in the reign of *Commodus*, to whom he offered to discover many things of great importance: but *Commodus* not only would not hear him, but burnt all his letters without opening any one of them. This, indeed, happened in the very beginning of his reign, when he followed the advice of the wise counsellors whom his father had placed about him.

His death was no sooner known, that the senate assembled and declared him a public enemy; loaded him with curses; ordered his statues, with which he had filled the city, to be pulled down and broken; his name to be razed out of all public inscriptions; and demanded his body, that it might be dragged through the streets; and when they were told, *That it was buried*; they desired to know, *who had presumed to pay that honour to a gladiator, a parricide, a more cruel and bloody* His statues pulled down, and his acts annulled.

Commodus bloody tyrant than Nero *or* Domitian; and immediately annulled all his acts. Though he was thus detested, yet the emperor *Severus* ſtiled himſelf his brother; cauſed him to be ranked among the gods; appointed prieſts and ſacrifices to his honour; and ordered his birth-day to be obſerved with great ſolemnity.

PERTINAX.

Letus and Eclectus offer the empire to Pertinax;

THE moment *Commodus* was dead, and his body carried away, *Letus* and *Eclectus* repaired immediately to the houſe of *Publius Helvius Pertinax*, and offered him the empire, as the perſon whom they judged the moſt worthy of it. *Pertinax* was then in bed, it being paſt midnight; and, not knowing that the emperor was dead, or hearing them enter, ſuſpected that they were ſent by *Commodus* to kill him. However, he ordered his ſervants to let them in, and, without riſing from his bed, or betraying the leaſt concern, told them, *That he had long expected to fall a ſacrifice to the tyrant*; and bid them ſtrike, and put their orders in exeecution. *Letus*, admiring his intrepidity, told him, *That the tyrant was dead, and that they were come to offer him the empire.* *Pertinax*, doubting the truth of this, ſent ſome of his friends to inquire into the fact; and upon their returning, and aſſuring him that it was ſo, he went to the camp of the prætorian guards, with *Letus*, their captain, who preſented him to the ſoldiers, telling them, *That*, Commodus *being dead of an apoplexy, he brought them a new emperor, the moſt deſerving perſon in all the ſenate; and who, he was ſure, would be received with great joy in all the armies of the empire.* *Pertinax* then addreſſed them, and in his ſpeech promiſed to each ſoldier three thouſand drachmas; which would have more than ſatisfied them, had he not, very unreaſonably, added, *That by their means he hoped to reform ſeveral abuſes:* from whence they concluded, that he deſigned to reſtore the ancient diſcipline, and deprive them of many privileges which had been granted them by *Commodus*. This occaſioned an univerſal diſcontent: however, ſome few having ſaluted him emperor, the reſt followed their example, ſwore allegiance to him, and, after the uſual ſacrifices, crowned him with laurel, and accompanied him to the ſenate, where he was received with the greateſt demonſtrations of joy. *Pertinax* then earneſtly entreated them to conſider his old age, and to chuſe one more able to diſcharge the important truſt of ſovereign, and better qualified by his nobility and birth for ſo high a ſtation; naming to them, in particular, *Acilius Glabrio*, who had been twice conſul.

consul: but *Glabrio*, and all the reſt, declaring that they would have no other prince but him, he was forced to yield; and the ſenate ſaluted him with the title of *Auguſtus*, and decreed him all the other titles peculiar to the imperial dignity, that of *Father of his country* not excepted, which was never before given to any prince on the firſt day of his reign. At the ſame time the ſenate decreed the title of *Auguſta* to his wife *Flavia Titiana*; and that of *Cæſar* to his ſon. But he could not, by any means, be prevailed on to accept the honour for his wife, whoſe conduct he diſliked; and as to his ſon, he told the ſenate, *That he ſhould enjoy the title they had decreed him when he deſerved it.*

who accepts it againſt his will.

Pertinax was now in the ſixty-eighth or ſixty-ninth year of his age. His father, who had either been a ſlave himſelf, or was the ſon of an enfranchiſed ſlave, got his living by making charcoal. However, he had taken care to give his ſon an education which enabled him to keep a grammar-ſchool in *Rome*: but that not anſwering his expectation, he betook himſelf to a military life, and ſerved firſt in *Syria*, in the reign of *Antoninus Pius*, as a common ſoldier; but was ſoon raiſed to the rank of a centurion; in which poſt he diſtinguiſhed himſelf ſo greatly under *Lucius Verus*, in the *Parthian* war, that he was rewarded with the command of a cohort in *Syria*; from whence he was ſent into *Britain*; from thence to *Mæſia*, and from thence to *Germany*, where he commanded the *Roman* fleet. From *Germany* he was ſent into *Dacia*, and there, upon ſome falſe information, deprived of his employment, which *Capitolinus* ſays was that of governor of that province, by *M. Aurelius*; who, being ſoon after convinced of his innocence, created him a ſenator, honoured him with the ornaments of prætor, and gave him the command of the firſt legion: with which he did ſuch eminent ſervices, recovering *Rhætia* and *Noricum* in one campaign, that *M. Aurelius* made him conſul. He was afterwards ſent into *Syria* againſt *Caſſius*, and from thence to *Illyricum*, where he had the command of the army: after which he was appointed governor of the two *Mæſias*, then of *Dacia*, and laſtly of *Syria*; which poſt he held till the reign of *Commodus*, when he returned to *Rome*, and was ordered by *Perennis*, who then governed with an abſolute ſway, and who ſuſpected all men of merit, to retire to *Liguria*, his native country, where he lived three years in a kind of exile. After the fall of *Perennis*, *Commodus* ſent him into *Britain*, where he reſtored diſcipline among the troops, which were ready to revolt. He was recalled from thence at his own requeſt, and, upon his return, charged with the care of ſupplying the city with proviſions; then appointed proconſul of *Africa*; and, laſtly, governor of *Rome*; which employment he held when *Commodus* was killed. He was, according to *Dion Caſſius* and *Herodian*, who were his cotemporaries, and perſonally acquainted with him, every way qualified for the high poſt to which he was

and life.

now

Pertinax. now raiſed. He was brave, affable, aſſiduous to buſineſs, grave without moroſeneſs, mild without indolence, prudent without craft, exact without affectation, frugal without avarice, and great without pride or oſtentation.

His character.

Year of *Rome* 941. The exchequer having been quite exhauſted by *Commodus*, he ordered all the gold and ſilver ſtatues of that emperor, which had been pulled down by order of the ſenate, to be melted and turned into money; and ſold by auction all his concubines and catamites, his horſes, arms, gold and ſilver plate, rich furniture, and equipages; among which, we are told of chariots ſo contrived, as to ſhew the hour, and meaſure the way. By this means, he paid the prætorians what he had promiſed them, diſcharged ſeveral debts contracted by *Commodus*, and gave a largeſs to the people. At the ſame time he reſtored to the lawful owners whatever had been taken from them by *Commodus*; recalled ſuch as had been baniſhed for pretended treaſon; aboliſhed ſeveral taxes, and publicly declared, *That he would not accept of any legacies or inheritances from ſuch as had children, or lawful heirs of their own:* ſaying. *That he had rather be poor, than wallow in riches diſhonourably acquired.*

This conduct gained him the affections both of the ſenate and people; but the prætorian guards, highly exaſperated at his endeavouring to curb their licentiouſneſs, and reſtore the ancient diſcipline, murmured loudly againſt him; and, after attempting twice to ſet up another emperor, poſitively declared they would no longer obey or acknowledge *Pertinax*. In this they were ſtirred up underhand by their commander *Lætus*, who at firſt had been ſo zealous for *Pertinax*; but now, not thinking his ſervices ſufficiently rewarded, in order to exaſperate the incenſed ſoldiery ſtill more, cauſed ſeveral of the mutineers to be publicly executed; pretending, that he therein obeyed the emperor's orders.

The prætorian guards mutiny.

The ſedition increaſed daily, and at laſt roſe to ſuch a height, that about three hundred of the mutineers ſuddenly left the camp, paſſed through the ſtreets of *Rome* with their drawn ſwords, and went directly to the palace, which they entered without oppoſition; the emperor's freedmen and officers either running away through fear, or treacherouſly opening the gates to them. The firſt notice *Pertinax* had of it was by his wife, who, running into his apartment in a great fright, told him, that the prætorian guards had revolted, and were already in the palace: whereupon he diſpatched *Sulpicianus*, his father-in-law, whom he had appointed governor of *Rome*, to appeaſe the tumult in the camp; and ordered *Lætus* to ſtop thoſe who had entered the palace: but *Lætus*, inſtead of obeying, hid his face, that he might not be known, and retired to his own houſe. As the mutineers ſtill advanced, ſome of the emperor's friends, who had remained with him, adviſed him to conceal himſelf, till the people, who loved him, could come to his aſſiſtance. But

About 300 of them enter the palace,

this

this he refuſed to do, ſaying, *To ſave his life by flying, would be unworthy of an emperor.* He therefore reſolved to meet them, thinking that, awed by his preſence, they would return to a ſenſe of their duty. Accordingly, he appeared unexpectedly before them, and, without betraying the leaſt fear or concern, aſked them, *Whether they, whoſe duty it was to defend their emperor, were come to betray and murder him?* At the ſame time, he repreſented to them the heinouſneſs of their crime, and the ignominy it would caſt upon their memories, with ſuch energy, that many of them, moved by his words, began to ſheath their ſwords. But one *Tauſius*, a *Tongrian*, darting his javelin at the emperor's breaſt, and crying out, *The ſoldiers ſend you this*, the reſt fell on with great fury, and pierced him with many wounds. *Pertinax* made no reſiſtance, but, covering his head with his robe, and calling on *Jupiter the Avenger*, received their blows. *Eclectus*, who alone remained with him to the laſt, and endeavoured to defend him, was killed by his ſide. The aſſaſſins cut off his head, and carried it upon the point of a ſpear in triumph to the camp; whither they retired in great haſte, before the people could aſſemble, who, they knew, would not fail to revenge the death of a prince whom they ſo tenderly loved. Such was the unfortunate end of *Pertinax*, after a reign of eighty-ſeven daysr His head and body were interred with great ſolemnity by his ſucceſſor *Didius Julianus*. His memory was afterwards honoured with a ſtill more magnificent funeral by *Septimus Severus*, who, with the title of emperor, took the ſurname of *Pertinax*; puniſhed with great ſeverity all thoſe who had been acceſſory to his death; diſbanded the prætorian guards, and cauſed him to be ranked among the gods. The day of his acceſſion to the empire, and his birthday, were celebrated for many years after.

Pertinax.

and kill *Pertinax.*

Honours paid him after his death.

DIDIUS JULIANUS.

SULPICIANUS, who, as we obſerved before, had been ſent to the camp of the prætorians, to appeaſe the tumult, had not been long there when the murderers of *Pertinax* arrived with the head ſtuck upon a ſpear. To theſe aſſaſſins of his ſon-in-law, *Sulpicianus* applied for the empire, and offered them money for it: but they, reſolved to make the moſt of it, got upon the ramparts of the camp, and publicly proclaimed, *That the empire was put up to ſale, and ſhould be given to the higheſt bidder.* When this infamous proclamation was firſt brought to *Rome*, *Didius Julianus*, the richeſt

The empire put up to ſale, and given to *Didius Julianus*.

Julianus. richeſt man in the city, was entertaining ſome of his friends at a banquet, who, in the midſt of their jollity, adviſed him, as he had more ready-money than any man in *Rome*, not to loſe the opportunity of making ſo valuable a purchaſe. *Julianus*, raviſhed with the dazzling proſpect of riches and empire, hattened to the camp, where finding *Sulpicianus* already bargaining with the ſoldiers, he told them, *That his competitor would not fail one day to revenge the death of his ſon-in-law*; *and, that he would not only enter into a written engagement to reſtore all things to the condition they were in under* Commodus, *but would immediately give them more money than* Sulpicianus *could offer.* The licentious ſoldiery, pleaſed with this, let them bid upon each other, *Sulpicianus* in the camp, and *Julianus* at the gate; till the latter, riſing at once from five thouſand drachmas a man, to ſix thouſand two hundred and fifty, ſilenced the other, was admitted into the camp, and proclaimed emperor, on condition that he ſhould forgive his competitor. At the ſame time the troops begged him to take the name of *Commodus*, which he did.

and purchaſed by *Didius Julianus.*

After the uſual ceremonies, the prætorian guards, to the number of about ten thouſand, accompanied him in battle-array to the ſenate. The people did not offer to oppoſe his march; but no acclamations were heard; and ſome, who were at a diſtance, even uttered invectives againſt him. As for the ſenators, thoſe who were moſt grieved to ſee him emperor, were the moſt forward in congratulating him: and among theſe was *Dion Caſſius*, the hiſtorian, as he himſelf owns. His ſpeech to the ſenate was very ſhort and remarkable: *You want*, ſaid he, *an emperor*; *and I am the fitteſt perſon you can chuſe.* This, backed with the powerful argument of an army ready to ſupport him, made the ſenate immediately declare him emperor, and inveſt him with the tribunitial and proconſular powers. From the ſenate he repaired to the palace, where the ſenators and *Roman* knights waited upon him the next morning, and were received with great courteſy. He then returned to the ſenate, to thank them for his promotion, and went with them to the capitol, to offer the uſual ſacrifices; the ſenators, who attended him, ſtriving to ſhew great joy in the height of their grief. But the people, ſtrangers to diſſimulation, openly loaded him with curſes and reproaches, and even diſcharged ſhowers of ſtones at him, wiſhing aloud, as he was ſacrificing in the capitol, *That he might never obtain any favours of the gods.* He endeavoured to appeaſe them with great promiſes; but they anſwered boldly, *That they ſcorned to receive any thing from ſuch an murder and parricide.* Upon this, to diſperſe them, for they had quite ſtopped up the way, he ordered his ſoldiers to fall upon thoſe that were neareſt; which they did, and killed or wounded ſeveral of them. This exaſperated the people to ſuch a degree, that they all took arms, and in the *circus*, where

He is acknowledged by the ſenate, but openly curſed by the people.

where the emperor assisted at the public games, renewed their curses and imprecations both against him and the prætorian guards, imploring aloud the assistance of the other armies and generals, and particularly that of *Pescennius Niger*, who then commanded the troops in *Syria*. *Spartian* tells us, that *Julianus* bore all this with great patience, and during his short reign, gave many instances of an extraordinary sweet temper. He appointed his son-in-law *Repentinus* captain of the prærorian guards, and, to please the soldiery, reestablished many things which had been appointed by *Commodus*, and abolished by *Pertinax*. *Julianus*.

His origin preferments,

M. Didius Severus Julianus, who was now raised to the empire, was descended from the celebrated civilian *Salvius Julianus*, who flourished under *Adrian*, and compiled the *Perpetual Edict*. *M. Aurelius*, who had a great affection for him, created him first quæstor, then edile, afterwards prætor, and gave him the command of the twenty-second legion, then quartered in *Germany*. Not long after he appointed him governor of *Belgic Gaul*, where he repulsed the *Cauci*; for which service he was honoured with the consulship. At the expiration of that office, he was sent into *Illyricum*; where he distinguished himself so well against the neighbouring barbarians, that he was made governor of Lower *Germany*; from whence he was recalled to *Rome*, and charged with the care of supplying that city with provisions. *Commodus*, on a suspicion of his being privy to the conspiracy of *Salvius Julianus*, his uncle by the mother, confined him for some time to the city of *Milan*: but afterwards, not only discharged him, but preferred him to the government of *Bithynia*, and after that to the consulship, in which he had *Pertinax* for his collegue, whom he succeeded in the proconsulship of *Africa*. All authors agree, that he was immensely rich. *Dion Cassius* says he was covetous, a glutton, an extremely bad speaker, and a lover of riot and confusion: and *Herodian*, that he was generally despised on account of his disorderly life; and that he thought of nothing but his pleasures and diversions. Both these writers were his cotemporaries. and character.

Julianus was now in the 57th year of his age, and tho' the people had so openly testified their abhorrence of him, he began his reign with as much severity, as if the empire had descended to him by right of inheritance, and he had been sure of the hearts of all his subjects; giving himself up to ease and indolence, and troubling himself very little obout public affairs. This hatred of the people against *Julianus*, and their great desire of a change, gave *Niger*, then in *Syria*, a fair opportunity of promoting his own interest, which he did not doubt to effect, being a man of years, experience, and reputation; one who had held great offices and governments, shewn his valour on several occasions, and gained the love of the people by the fame of his wisdom and clemency, and the report of his imitating *Pertinax* in his life and manners.

With

Julianus. With theſe qualifications, he eaſily prevailed upon his arm in *Syria* to proclaim him emperor in oppoſition to *Julianu* and was acknowledged as ſuch by all the eaſtern nation:

Percennius Niger proclaimed emperor in the Eaſt, and *Severus* in *Illyricum.*

About the ſame time, *Septimius Severus*, who was generall allowed to be the moſt active, vigilant, laborious, and enter priſing man in the whole empire; equal to the greateſt com manders of ancient times, but a great diſſembler, and alway ready to ſacrifice every thing to his intereſt and ambition; wa ſaluted emperor by the army in *Illyricum*, which he com manded. The troops in *Gaul* likewiſe ſwore obedience t him immediately after; and their example was followed b all the armies, provinces, and cities in *Europe*, except the cit

Year of *Rome* 941.

of *Byzantium*. *Severus* then wrote to *Albinus*, governor o *Britain*, who, he knew, was in a condition to thwart his de ſigns, a moſt obliging letter; wherein he declared his inten tion of adopting him, and gave him the title of *Cæſar*; whic *Albinus* aſſumed with great pomp, at the head of his army After this, exhorting his men to revenge the death of *Perti nax*, who was once their ſucceſsful general in *Illyricum*, h began his march towards *Rome*.

Julianus received the news of theſe two revolts nearly at th ſame time. That of *Niger*, who, inſtead of advancing, re mained at *Antioch*, indulging himſelf in luxury and pleaſure gave him little concern: but *Severus*'s attempt filled him witl ſuch terror, that he repaired immediately to the ſenate, an

Severus declared a public enemy.

cauſed him to be declared an enemy to his country, and like wiſe his ſoldiers, if they did not abandon him within a li mited time. Deputies were alſo ſent by the ſenate, to per ſuade the ſoldiers to quit *Severus*, and join *Julian*: but they inſtead of executing their commiſſion, joined *Severus*, an encouraged his ſoldiers to purſue their march and revenge th death of *Pertinax*. Among theſe deputies were, *V. Catulinus* who was appointed by *Julianus* to ſuperſede *Severus*, and tak upon him the command of his troops; and one *Aquilius*, centurion, the chief miniſter of the cruelties of *Commodus* who was ordered to diſpatch *Severus* as ſoon as his ſoldiers ha deſerted him. At the ſame time the prætorian guards wer ordered to their arms, and the marines were ſent for from or board the fleet at *Miſenum*. By this means a great body o men was ſoon aſſembled: but as they had been long ac cuſtomed to idleneſs, they ſcarce knew how to uſe thei arms, and ſhewed great backwardneſs to make head againſ

He advances towards *Rome.*

the enemy, who advanced with long marches, were receive every were with loud acclamations, and plentifully ſuppli with all ſorts of proviſions. *Julianus*, finding he could no depend upon his troops, ordered his palace to be fortified, a if he could have maintained himſelf there after loſing ever thing elſe; and at the ſame time commanded *Marcia* an *Lætus*, the chief authors of the death of *Commodus*, to b murdered; not doubting but they favoured *Severus*. He like wiſe ſent a great many aſſaſſins, to try if they could by an means

means murder *Severus*; and caused an incredible number of children to be inhumanly butchered, in order to make use of their blood in the abominable mysteries of magic. *Julianus.*

In this extremity, *Julianus*'s friends advised him to march immediately against *Severus*, and stop his passage over the *Alps*: but *Julianus*, incapable of such a resolution, only sent some of his troops into *Umbria*, where, instead of defending the passes, they declared for *Severus*, who entered *Italy* without opposition, and with the same ease made himself master of several important cities, particularly *Ravenna*, and of the fleet then there. This so terrified *Julianus* that he assembled the senate, and, by one of his ministers, desired them, in his name, to send out the vestals to meet the enemy, and intreat them to retire: but this proposal being rejected, as no less ridiculous than ineffectual, he went in person to the senate, and desired that a decree might be passed, declaring *Severus* his partner in the empire. This was readily agreed to, and *Tullius Crispinus*, captain of the prætorian guards, was directly dispatched with the decree to *Severus*, who not only refused the proffered association, but ordered *Crispinus* to be cut in pieces, upon a suspicion of his having private orders to kill him. To complete *Julianus*'s misfortunes, the prætorian guards, who had raised him to the throne, now forsook him, and agreed not to oppose *Severus*, on his promising them impunity, provided they delivered up to him those who had murdered *Pertinax*. *Julianus*, thus abandoned by all, shut himself up in the palace, with his son-in-law *Repentinus*, and one of the captains of the guards. In the mean time the prætorians, having seized such of their comrades as had been any way concerned in the death of *Pertinax*, acquainted therewith the consul *Silius Messala*, who immediately assembled the senate, and a decree was passed, by which *Julianus* was deprived of the empire, sentenced to death, *Severus* declared emperor, and *Pertinax* ranked among the gods. This decree was carried to *Severus* by some of the chief men in the senate, who intreated him, in the name of the rest, to hasten his march to *Rome*: and at the same time a band of soldiers was sent to the palace, to put to death *Julianus*, whom they found drowned in tears, and ready to resign the empire if they would spare his life. His head was struck off by a common soldier, and his body exposed to public view. Such was the end of *Didius Julianus*, after a reign of only two months and six days: for which he wasted his immense estate, ruined his reputation, and ignominiously lost his life. *Severus*, upon his arrival at *Rome*, delivered his body to his wife and daughter, by whom it was interred in the tomb of his ancestors.

Severus declared emperor, and *Julianus* put to death.

SEVERUS.

An hundred senators deputed to meet *Severus*.

SEVERUS received the news of his competitor's death when he was yet some days journey from *Rome*: however, he continued his march in the same order as before, encamping every night, as if he had been in an enemy's country. As he approached nearer, the senate deputed an hundred of the most distinguished of their body, to congratulate him upon his accession to the empire, and assure him of their obedience. He received them at the head of his troops, and ordered them to be searched, as if he had suspected their fidelity; but afterwards entertained them with great civility, and made them considerable presents. Drawing nearer to the city, he sent orders thither for the execution of all those who had any hand in the death of *Pertinax*; and likewise for the other soldiers of the guards to meet him without their arms, and in the attire which they wore when they attended the emperor in great solemnities. His orders were obeyed; the guards imagining they were sent for to attend the emperor's entry. When they were arrived in the camp, *Severus* sent them word to wait till he was at leisure to receive and harangue them: and in the mean time gave private orders to his own troops to surround them. He then ascended his tribunal,

He disbands the prætorian guards.

and, after severely reprimanding them for the murder of *Pertinax*; for selling the empire by auction, to the eternal ignominy of the *Roman* name; and for afterwards abandoning, like cowardly traitors, *Julianus*, whom they themselves had chosen; told them, *That no punishment could be equal to the enormity of their crimes; that, nevertheless, he granted them their lives; but commanded them immediately to quit all their military badges, and retire an hundred miles from* Rome; solemnly declaring, *That whoever of them should be found within that distance of the city, should be irremissibly put to death.*

His entry into *Rome*.

Severus entered *Rome*, attended by all his troops under arms, and with the standards of the prætorian guards reversed. He came to the gate on horseback, and in his military habit; but there took his gown, and made his entry on foot, accompanied by the senators in their robes, with crowns of laurel on their heads; which the people likewise wore, who, on this occasion, were all clad in white. After visiting the capitol, and the usual temples, he retired to the palace; but the soldiers spread themselves all over the city, and committed great disorders, threatening to plunder the houses of those who refused them any thing. This warlike entrance gave the people great dislike to the new emperor. The next morning *Severus* went to the senate, attended by his troops under arms; but he had scarce begun to speak, when he was interrupted by tumultuous cries of his soldiers without,

without, who demanded of the ſenate a large ſum, which, they ſaid, was their due, becauſe the ſame had been formerly given to the troops that attended *Auguſtus* to *Rome*. The ſenate was ſtruck with terror, and the emperor himſelf could not help betraying ſome fear. However, he went to them, and, with ſome difficulty, pacified them with a promiſe of two hundred and fifty drachmas a man, inſtead of two thouſand five hundred, which they demanded. Then, returning to the ſenate, he excuſed himſelf for having aſſumed the title of emperor without their conſent; promiſed to tread in the footſteps of *M. Aurelius* and *Pertinax*; and not only ſolemnly ſwore to obſerve all the laws, and particularly that no ſenator ſhould, for any crime whatever, be put to death in his reign, without being firſt tried and condemned by the ſenate; but even obliged the ſenate to paſs a decree, declaring ſuch emperors as acted otherwiſe, and thoſe who obeyed them therein, public enemies. This gave great ſatisfaction to the generality of the ſenators; but the moſt diſcerning, and thoſe who knew his dark and reſerved temper, his falſhood and diſſimulation, gave no credit to his fair promiſes; but, on the contrary, looked upon him as a ſecond *Tiberius*. However, they unanimouſly conferred upon him all the titles peculiar to the imperial dignity, and confirmed his grant of the title of *Cæſar* to *Albinus*. He then gave an extraordinary largeſs to the ſoldiers and people, and inrolled the emperor *Pertinax* among the gods with greater pomp and ſolemnity than had ever been ſeen before on the like occaſion. *Severus*

Severus was about forty-ſeven years of age when he was made emperor. He was born at *Leptis*, in *Africa*; but his anceſtors had been *Roman* knights, and afterwards admitted into the ſenate: for he was nephew, by his father, *M. Septimius Geta*, to two conſuls, *M. Agrippa*, and *Septimius Severus*. He ſtudied the law, but made no great figure at the bar. *M. Aurelius* admitted him into the ſenate, and appointed him governor of *Sardinia*; from whence he was ſent to *Africa* in quality of lieutenant to the proconſul. On his return from thence he was created prætor, and after his prætorſhip preferred to the command of the fourth legion, then in *Syria*. He was afterwards made governor of the country of *Lyons*, and from thence removed to *Pannonia*; which province he governed with proconſular authority, as he did afterwards that of *Sicily*: after which he was raiſed to the conſulſhip, and then appointed commander of all the troops in *Illyricum*. He married *Julia*, a native of *Emeſa*, in *Syria*; by whom he had, *Baſſianus*, commonly called *Caracalla*; another ſon, named *Geta*; and two daughters. His extraction and preferments.

He had no ſooner entered upon the empire, than he ſet about reforming ſeveral abuſes in the city; choſe new guards in the room of thoſe he had caſhiered, and four times as many; ſeized upon all the children of thoſe who had commands, or were in authority, in the Eaſt, or in *Aſia*, and He chuſes new guards.

Severus. detained them as pledges for their father's loyalty; and made the ſenate proſcribe all the friends and adherents of *Julianus*, of whom all that were diſcovered were executed without mercy. He then ſupplied the city with great plenty of corn, and made ſuch excellent regulations in that reſpect, that there never was any want during his whole reign.

Sets out againſt *Niger*, Having thus ſettled affairs in *Rome*, and given the neceſſary orders for ſecuring the provinces, he ſet out with a prodigious army againſt *Niger*, who, now rouzed from his lethargy, made great preparations to reſiſt him. A ſkirmiſh happened near *Perinthus*, afterwards called *Heraclea*, which ended to the advantage of *Severus*, to gain whoſe favour, the ſenate thereupon declared *Niger* a public enemy, together with *Æmilianus*, then proconſul of *Aſia*, a man of extraordinary talents, and great experience, who ſided with *Niger*, and who, the next year, was defeated, taken, and put to death. The remains of the vanquiſhed troops fled to *Niger*, who was then at *Antioch*, from whence he marched againſt *Severus*. Both armies met near the city of *Iſſus*, on the very ſpot where *Alexander the Great* firſt conquered *Darius*. The battle was exceeding bloody; and though *Niger* did all that an able general could do, he was totally defeated, with the loſs of twenty thouſand men, and forced to fly. Some of *Severus*'s men overtook him, cut off his head, and carried it to *Severus*, who, after ordering it to be ſhewn to the inhabitants of *Byzantium*, ſent it to *Rome*. *Severus* was not preſent at either of theſe battles, nor do hiſtorians tell us where he was at that time: but thus much we know, that he puniſhed without mercy all ſuch as had ſided with his competitor, putting them to death, and ſeizing their eſtates; and ſuch cities as had furniſhed him with money, though they had been abſolutely forced to it, he obliged to pay him four times as much. He then paſſed the *Euphrates*, and reduced the *Oſrhoenians*, *Adiabenians*, and *Arabians*, the two former of which, taking advantage of the late diſturbances, had murdered the *Roman* ſoldiers left among them, and ſhaken off the yoke; and the latter had either revolted, or joined *Niger*. He likewiſe made war upon the *Parthians*, but did not bring them under ſubjection. The *Scythians* were preparing to attack him, and had already begun their march, but were deterred from purſuing their deſigns by a ſtorm, in which three of their chiefs were ſtruck dead with lightning.

who is defeated and ſlain.

The city of *Byzantium* taken and deſtroyed. In the beginning of the next year, *Byzantium*, by far the ſtrongeſt, greateſt, and moſt wealthy city of *Thrace*, was forced, by famine, to ſurrender, after a three years ſiege. *Niger* had ſeized it at the firſt breaking out of the war, and *Severus* laid ſiege to it as ſoon as he arrived in *Thrace*. All the magiſtrates and ſoldiers were put to the ſword; the inhabitants ſtripped of their effects, and ſold for ſlaves; the walls levelled with the ground, and all the buildings laid in aſhes. *Severus* ſent an account of theſe ſucceſſes

ſucceſſes to *Rome*, and at the ſame time ordered *Niger*'s wife and children to be put to death, and their eſtates confiſcated. *Severus.*

Peace being now eſtabliſhed in the Eaſt, *Severus* began to conſider how he might ſecure the empire to his family; to which end he reſolved to deſtroy *Albinus*, whom he had lulled aſleep with the title of *Cæſar*, while he was employed againſt *Julianus* and *Niger*. *Albinus* was as much beloved, as *Severus* was hated, and the affair required diſpatch. However, not thinking it adviſeable to declare himſelf an open enemy to one who had not given him the leaſt provocation, he had recourſe to treachery, and ſent aſſaſſins, who, under pretence of delivering him a letter, had ſecret orders to murder him. *Albinus* having diſcovered their deſign, aſſembled a mighty army, cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed emperor in *Britain*, and paſſed over into *Gaul*, where he was joined by ſeveral perſons of great diſtinction. Upon the firſt news of this revolt, *Severus* haſtened from the Eaſt into *Gaul*: but before he could arrive there, ſeveral ſkirmiſhes had happened between the troops which had declared for him in that country, and thoſe of *Albinus*, and had generally ended to the advantage of this laſt. While he was upon his march, he gave the title of *Cæſar* to his eldeſt ſon, making him quit that of *Baſſianus*, and ſtile himſelf thenceforth *M. Aurelius Antoninus*. In the mean time, the ſenate declared *Albinus* a public enemy: and *Severus*, having paſſed the *Alps* in the midſt of winter, approached *Lyons*, where *Albinus* had ſtaid, with a deſign to enter *Italy* early in the ſpring. A battle was fought in the neighbourhood of that city, one of the moſt ſharp and bloody recorded in hiſtory; the *Britiſh* legions, which *Albinus* had brought with him, being no way inferior, either in courage or experience, to thoſe of *Illyricum*. It ended in the defeat of *Albinus*, whoſe army, no longer able to keep the field, fled to *Lyons*, whither they were purſued by the conquerors, who, entering the city with the fugitives, firſt plundered it, and then laid it in aſhes. *Albinus*, who had concealed himſelf in a houſe on the *Rhone*, finding no means of eſcaping, killed himſelf. *Severus* beheld with pleaſure the dead body of his competitor, rode over it ſeveral times, making his horſe trample it under foot; and left it before his tent till it was half putrified, and torn in pieces by dogs, and then ordered it to be thrown into the *Rhone*. The head was cut off, and ſent to *Rome*. *Severus* at firſt, pardoned his wife and children; but ſoon after cauſed them to be maſſacred, and their bodies to be thrown into the river. All his friends, and moſt diſtant relations, without diſtinction of ſex or age, and moſt of the great men of *Gaul* and *Spain*, who had ſhewn any attachment to *Albinus*, underwent the ſame fate, and all their eſtates were confiſcated; by which means *Severus* amaſſed an immenſe treaſure, enriched his ſoldiers, and, at his death, left

Severus ſends aſſaſſins to murder *Albinus*, who is declared emperor in *Britain*, and paſſes over into *Gaul*.

Severus marches againſt him.

Albinus defeated; kills himſelf.

Cruelty of *Severus*.

Severus. left his children greater wealth than any prince had done before him. The cities that had declared for *Albinus* were ſoon reduced, and their inhabitants puniſhed, ſome with death, and ſome with forfeiture of their eſtates.

Severus then ſet out for *Rome*, leading with him his victorious army. His approach filled the city with terror; the more ſo, as when he ſent the head of *Albinus* to *Rome*, he wrote a letter to the ſenate, in which, after reproaching them with ingratitude, and taxing them with affection to his rival, he extolled the conduct and government of *Commodus*, and told them, *He ſent them* Albinus's *head, that they might thereby know they had provoked him, and ſee with their own eyes the effects of his reſentment.* The day after his arrival he went to the ſenate, and read a ſpeech filled with bitter invectives againſt the partizans of *Albinus*; produced ſeveral letters which he had ſeized among that general's papers; commended the cruelties of *Sylla*, *Marius*, and *Auguſtus*, as neceſſary precautions; aſcribed the ruin of *Pompey*, and the death of *Cæſar* to their unſeaſonable clemency; and ordered *Commodus* to be ranked among the gods, and an annual feſtival to be inſtituted to his honour. He then returned to the palace, and filled *Rome* with maſſacres and bloodſhed. In a few days, forty-two ſenators, moſt of whom had been conſuls or prætors, were ſacrificed to his fury; and, if we may believe *Herodian*, none of any order eſcaped his rage, whoſe birth or riches gave them any power in the ſenate, or the provinces. After he had ſpent ſome months at *Rome*, and there cut off all that gave him the leaſt umbrage, he ſet out for the Eaſt, with his two ſons *Caracalla* and *Geta*, with a deſign to make war upon the *Parthians*, who had made themſelves maſters of great part of *Meſopotamia*. Upon his arrival there, the *Parthians* retired back into their own country. He then proceeded to *Seleucia* and *Babylon*, both which places he took without oppoſition, the enemy having abandoned them. From thence he advanced to *Cteſiphon*, the metropolis of *Parthia*, which he took after a painful ſiege, and gave up to be plundered by his ſoldiers, who put all the men to the ſword, but ſpared the women and children, whom, to the number of an hundred thouſand, they ſold for ſlaves. For theſe advantages the ſenate decreed him a triumph, and the title of *Parthicus Maximus*. The next year he attacked the city of *Atra* twice, but was obliged to abandon his enterprize, after having loſt a great many men, and moſt of his engines of war. He ſpent the following year in ſearching after, and putting to death, ſuch of *Niger's* friends as had not yet been diſcovered; on which occaſion numbers were condemned, eſpecially if they were rich, or nobly born. After this, he gave the manly robe to his eldeſt ſon, though he was then but fourteen years old, and named him conſul with himſelf for the following year, in which he went into *Arabia*, and from thence into *Paleſtine*, where

He goes into the Eaſt, to make war upon the *Parthians.*

Takes *Seleucia*, *Babylon*, and *Cteſiphon.*

Year of *Rome* 949. of *Chriſt* 197.

Severus.

The fifth general perſecution.

where he publiſhed an edict, forbidding, under the ſevereſt penalties, the ſubjects of the empire to embrace either the *Jewiſh* or the *Chriſtian* religion; which gave riſe to the fifth general perſecution. From *Paleſtine* he paſſed into *Egypt*, viſited all the cities and curioſities of that country, and then went to *Alexandria*, from whence he returned to *Rome*, where he diſtributed among the ſoldiers and people a much greater largeſs than any prince had given before. He likewiſe treated them with moſt magnificent ſhews, which laſted ſeven days; at the end of which he gave the manly robe to his ſecond ſon *Geta*, and married his eldeſt ſon *Caracalla* to *Plautilla*, the daughter of his chief favourite and prime miniſter *Plautianus*, who, from a very mean deſcent, had raiſed himſelf to ſuch a height of power, that even the emperor's brother, and the empreſs herſelf, feared him. His enormous abuſe of this power was ſtill worſe; for he condemned, baniſhed, and even put to death, whoever gave him the leaſt umbrage, let them be never ſo illuſtrious, without ſo much as conſulting the emperor, or letting him know it. The ſenators and ſoldiers ſwore by *the fortune of* Plautianus; public vows and ſacrifices were offered for his ſafety, as if he had been emperor; *Rome* was filled with his ſtatues, moſtly erected by the authority of the ſenate; his table was better ſerved than that of the emperor, and his equipage far more magnificent: and as all favours were conferred thro' his channel, his houſe was conſtantly crouded with ſuitors of all ranks, to whom he was harder of acceſs, than even the emperor. His riches were ſo immenſe, that *Dion Caſſius* ſays, he gave his daughter upon her marriage as much as would have been a ſufficient dower for fifty queens. He was captain of the guards, and conſul this year. But this great elevation ſerved only to accelerate his ruin: for *Caracalla*, unable to bear the imperious temper of his wife *Plautilla*, and hating both her and her father *Plautianus*, openly declared, *That if ever he obtained the ſovereign power, they ſhould both feel the effects of his reſentment.* *Plautianus* being told of this, reſolved to be beforehand with him; not doubting but that, if he was removed, he ſhould be able to ſeize the empire for himſelf, as *Severus* was now advanced in years, and greatly troubled with the gout. In the mean time, the emperor's brother *Geta* being taken ill, deſired to ſee *Severus* before he died, and repreſented to him ſo ſtrongly the unjuſtifiable conduct of his favourite miniſter, that the emperor began to look upon him with a jealous eye, and by degrees leſſened his overgrown authority. Upon this, *Plautianus* reſolved to make uſe of the power he ſtill had left; and, by the murder of the emperor's ſon, to ſecure the ſovereignty to himſelf. His deſign being diſcovered, he was ſent for to the palace, and as he was entering the emperor's room, *Caracalla* ruſhed upon him, ſnatched his ſword from his ſide, which he wore as captain of the guards, and

Caracalla married to the daughter of *Plautianus*.

Great power of that miniſter.

He is murdered

Severus. ordered thoſe who were preſent to diſpatch him, being prevented by the emperor from doing it himſelf.

As the empire now enjoyed a profound peace, *Severus* was at leiſure to reform many abuſes, which he did accordingly, making ſeveral laws equally juſt and neceſſary. He choſe for governors of the provinces men of unblemiſhed characters, and appointed captain of the guards, in the room of *Plautianus*, the celebrated civilian *Papinianus*; for at this time the chief province of that officer was to decide lawſuits with the emperor, or in his name. But in the midſt of this tranquility his cruelty ſtill prevailed; and the following year was remarkable for the death of many illuſtrious ſenators, inhumanly butchered by his command.

The *Britons* revolt

The next year the *Britons* revolted, and committed dreadful ravages in the territories which the *Romans* poſſeſſed in their iſland. *Severus* thereupon reſolved to go over thither in perſon, and took with him both his ſons, after inveſting *Geta*, the youngeſt of them, with the tribunitial power, and conferring upon him the title of *Auguſtus*, which he had given three years before to *Caracalla*; ſo that there were now three *Auguſtuſes* at a time, which had never happened before.

Severus paſſes over into *Britain.*

Severus ſpent the firſt winter after his landing in *Britain* in the ſouthern parts of the iſland, from whence he purſued his march, the next ſpring, to the moſt northern coaſts, laying the country waſte, and putting all to fire and ſword; inſomuch, that the *Caledonians* were in the end obliged to purchaſe a peace, by yielding up part of their country, and delivering up their arms. But for the particulars of this expedition, and the wall which *Severus* built from ſea to ſea, to part the *Roman* territories from thoſe of the North *Britons*, not ſubject to *Rome*, the reader is referred to our hiſtory of *England*.

Caracalla attempted firſt to murder, and afterwards to depoſe his father in *Britain*, but miſcarried in both: however, the grief which this unnatural behaviour of his ſon gave him, increaſed his diſtemper ſo much, that it ſoon brought him to the grave. Finding his end approaching, he cried out, *I have been all that a man can be, and find it nothing.* He then ordered the urn to be brought, in which his aſhes were to be incloſed, and laying his hand upon it ſaid, *Little urn, thou ſhalt contain one, for whom the whole world was not big enough.* After this, he ſent for his two ſons, and ordered the ſpeech of *Micipſa* to his children, in *Salluſt*, to be read to them, exhorted them to concord and unity, and recommended to them, to enrich the ſoldiers, and gain their affection, without caring whether they were beloved or hated by the reſt of their ſubjects. As his pains increaſed, eſpecially in his feet, he called for poiſon; but no one daring to adminiſter it to him, he is ſaid to have glutted himſelf with coarſe meats, which, for want of digeſtion, ſoon put an

an end to his life. He died at *York*, on the fourth of *February*, in the year 211, after having lived ſixty-five years, nine months, and twenty-five days, and reigned ſeventeen years, eight months, and three days. His body was burnt at *York*, and his aſhes conveyed by his two ſons to *Rome*, where he was ranked among the gods. He was certainly a perſon of extraordinary parts; but all his good qualities were quite eclipſed by his exceſſive cruelty, and inſatiable avarice. The exchequer, which he found quite empty, was exceeding rich when he died; and the public granaries were ſtored with corn enough to ſupply the city for ſeven years. It was ſaid of him, after his death, if *Spartian* is to be credited, as it had been formerly ſaid of *Auguſtus*, *That he ought never to have been born, or never to have died*; ſo great were his cruelties, and ſo excellent his regulations.

Severus.

His death

Year of *Rome* 959. of *Chriſt* 211.

CARACALLA.

SEVERUS was ſucceeded by his two ſons *Baſſianus* and *Geta*, who were born of two mothers, the former of *Martia*, and the other of *Julia*. *Baſſianus* is moſt commonly known by the name of *Caracalla*, a *Gauliſh* word for a kind of caſſock uſed in *Gaul*, which he firſt introduced among the *Romans*. In his infancy he was mild and ſweet tempered, but abandoned himſelf to all manner of cruelty as he grew up, and proved in the end a moſt inhuman tyrant. *Geta*, on the contrary, in his tender years, ſeemed as void of humanity as his father; but afterwards became ſo mild and affable, that he was the darling both of the ſoldiery and people. They ſhewed, from their childhood, an utter averſion to each other, and were continually quarrelling, even in their diverſions. This antipathy increaſed as they advanced in years; and the moment *Severus* was dead, *Caracalla* ſolicited the army to exclude his brother; but they rejected his ſuit, and proclaimed them both emperors. *Caracalla* immediately concluded a ſhameful treaty with the *Britons*, and he and his brother ſet out for *Rome*, with their mother *Julia*, who uſed every endeavour to reconcile them, but in vain; for *Caracalla* attempted to murder *Geta* on the road; and this attempt increaſed their animoſities to ſuch a degree, that they thenceforth marched with ſeparate guards, and watched each others motions as carefully as if they had been declared enemies.

Caracalla and *Geta* emperors.

Caracalla endeavours to murder *Geta*.

Upon their arrival at *Rome*, after performing the obſequies of their deceaſed father with great ſolemnity, they divided between them the palace, which, *Herodian* ſays, was larger

Their arrival at *Rome*.

Caracalla larger than any city in the empire, *Rome* excepted. *Caracalla* ſoon attempted again to murder *Geta*, the conſequence of which was an almoſt open war between the two princes, and the loſs of many lives. *Julia* did all ſhe could to reconcile them; and *Caracalla*, feigning to yield to her deſires, invited his brother to an interview in her chamber, where ſome centurions, whom he had ſuborned, and privately concealed in an adjoining room, ruſhed in, and killed *Geta* in his mother's arms. *Geta* was then under three and twenty years of age, and *Caracalla* about twenty-four. *Caracalla* fled directly to the camp of the prætorians, where, pretending that a conſpiracy had been formed againſt his life, he, by degrees, let the ſoldiers know that he was ſole ſovereign, and now able to beſtow upon them what wealth and honours he pleaſed, as an earneſt of which he immediately doubled their pay, already very high, and added a largeſs of two thouſand five hundred drachmas a man, which he gave them leave to take that inſtant out of the public treaſury. He then told them, *That his brother* Geta *had attempted to murder him, but had loſt his life in the attempt*: upon which the ſoldiers ſaluted him ſole emperor, and declared the unhappy *Geta* a traitor and a public enemy. By this extravagant largeſs *Caracalla* ſpent in one day, what *Severus* had been eighteen years heaping up, by innumerable murders and unjuſt confiſcations.

Geta murdered

Caracalla paſſed all that night in the camp, and the next day went to the ſenate, with a cuiraſs under his robes, and guarded by all his troops, ſome of whom he even placed among the ſenators, for his greater ſecurity. He then made a ſpeech, wherein he endeavoured to blacken *Geta*, and juſtify himſelf; and, after inſtancing *Romulus*, and ſome others, who had revenged with death injuries offered them by their brothers, he concluded with giving leave to all that were in baniſhment to return home. From the ſenate he returned to the palace, where he gave orders for the dead body of his brother to be interred with great magnificence, and prevailed upon the ſenate to rank him among the gods. He then vented his fury upon many illuſtrious perſons, whom he diſliked, under pretence of their being friends to *Geta*, among whom was the celebrated civilian *Papinian*, whoſe crime was, his having refuſed to compoſe a ſpeech for *Caracalla*, to juſtify the murder of *Geta*. When the emperor preſſed him to it, he anſwered with great firmneſs, *It is not ſo eaſy a thing to juſtify a parricide, as to commit it; and it is a ſecond parricide to defame an innocent perſon, after having taken away his life.* *Caracalla*, provoked at this anſwer, ordered his head to be immediately ſtruck off. A daughter of the emperor *M. Aurelius*; *Septimius Severus Afer*, the ſon of *Geta*, brother to the late emperor *Severus*; *Pompeianus*, who had been twice conſul, and was grandſon to the emperor *M. Aurelius*; *Helvius Pertinax*, ſon to the emperor of that name;

Caracalla goes to the ſenate

Cauſes *Geta* to be ranked among the gods.

Caracalla's cruelties at *Rome*.

name; and *Lætus*, one of *Caracalla*'s moſt intimate friends, fell, among numbers of other illuſtrious perſons, victims to his rage, which extended to the enemies as well as the friends of *Geta*. Even thoſe of the veſtal virgins who had pitied *Geta*, were ordered to be ſtrangled. In ſhort, no ſex, rank, or age eſcaped his cruelty. The people were loaded with enormous taxes, and often put to death merely for his diverſion. No prince ever employed more iniquitous means of raiſing money, or ſquandered it away with more prodigality, and always upon thoſe who leaſt of all deſerved it, ſuch as, his guards, buffoons, players, gladiators, &c. He was author of the famous law, by which all the free ſubjects of the empire were declared *Roman* citizens. *Caracalla*

Finding himſelf generally hated at *Rome*, he reſolved to leave the city, and, after the example of *Adrian*, to viſit all the provinces of the empire. Accordingly, in the third year of his reign, he went into *Gaul*, where he exerciſed as great cruelties as he had done at *Rome*, and, in conſequence thereof, ſoon became as much deſpiſed there. The next year he returned to *Rome*, but made only a ſhort ſtay there, the *Catti* and *Alemanni*, whom we now find mentioned for the firſt time in hiſtory, and ſeveral other *German* nations, having taken up arms, and made incurſions into the *Roman* dominions. *Caracalla* marched againſt them, and in that expedition ſhewed himſelf a better ſoldier than commander; for, though he behaved with great courage, and even challenged the braveſt of the enemy to a ſingle combat, yet, for want of conduct, he was obliged to purchaſe a peace with large ſums. This was no ſooner known, than all the nations of *Germany* threatened him with war, if he did not give them money too. Intimidated by theſe menaces he agreed to pay them yearly ſtipends, and by that means reduced himſelf to ſuch ſtreights, that he was obliged to coin falſe money, to be circulated at home, whilſt all the good gold and ſilver was ſent abroad. When he concluded this ſhameful treaty with the deputies of the barbarians, he ſuffered no one to be preſent except the interpreters, whom he immediately cauſed to be put to death, leſt they ſhould divulge what had paſſed: then giving out, that all the enemies had ſubmitted, he took the title of *Germanicus* and *Alemannicus*. The next year, he left *Germany*, and marched into *Dacia*, where he gained ſome ſmall advantages over the *Getæ*, and from thence purſued his rout through *Thrace*, and, croſſing over into *Aſia*, went to *Pergamus*, to pay his devotions to the god *Æſculapius*; from thence to *Ilium*, to view the remains of *Troy*, and the tomb of *Achilles*; and from *Ilium* to *Nicomedia*, where he ſpent the winter; always obliging moſt of the ſenators to attend him in his journeys, to defray his charges, and build for him, wherever he ſtaid any time, theatres, circuſes, and other places of diverſion; and dreſſing after the manner of the countries he paſſed through, in order

His expedition againſt the *Catti* and *Alemanni*.

He paſſes over into *Aſia*.

Caracalla order to gain the affections of thoſe people. Leaving *Nicomedia* the next year, he went to *Antioch*, where he was received with extraordinary magnificence, and from whence he wrote to the ſenate, telling them, *That he knew they did not approve of his conduct, but that he neither valued nor feared them ſo long as he had an army at his command.* He there wanted to pick a quarrel with the *Parthians*, who were then diſtracted with civil wars among themſelves: but on their complying with his demands, and thereby removing all colour for a war, he bent his mind upon the reduction of *Oſrhoene* and *Armenia*, though the kings of both thoſe countries lived in perfect amity with the *Romans*. Full of this deſign, he invited them both to *Antioch*, as friends and allies of *Rome*, and, without even aſſigning a reaſon for it, cauſed them to be arreſted and impriſoned. The conſequence of this was, that *Oſrhoene* immediately ſubmitted, and was reduced to a *Roman* province: but the *Armenians*, reſenting the inſult, totally overthrew the *Roman* army, which was commanded by one *Theocritus*, a comedian; for ſuch were the people whom *Caracalla* preferred to the moſt important offices of the ſtate.

Treacherouſly impriſons the kings of *Oſrhoene* and *Armenia*.

Orders a general maſſacre at *Alexandria*.

From *Antioch* the emperor went to *Alexandria*, where, to puniſh the people of that city for ſome lampoons they had publiſhed againſt him, on occaſion of the death of *Geta*, he gave private orders to his troops, who were diſperſed all over the city, to fall upon the inhabitants in the night-time, to plunder their houſes, and put all to the ſword. His orders were executed with a barbarity hardly to be expreſſed; and the butchery continued all the next day, that he might have the pleaſure of beholding it from the temple of *Serapis*, where he had paſſed the preceding night. When the ſoldiers were tired with ſlaughter, he ſtripped the city of all its privileges, ſuppreſſed its celebrated aſſembly of learned men, ordered all ſtrangers to quit the place, and that ſuch as had eſcaped the general maſſacre, who were but very few, might not have the ſatisfaction of ſeeing one another, he cut off all communication of one ſtreet with another, by walls built for that purpoſe, and guarded by his ſoldiers. Notwithſtanding this diſaſter, *Alexandria* ſoon recovered its ſplendor after his death, and continued to be the ſecond city of the empire.

His infamous treachery towards the *Parthians*.

From *Alexandria* the tyrant returned to *Antioch*, with a deſign to make war upon the *Parthians*; and, in order to have a pretence for quarrelling with them, he ſent an embaſſy to *Artabanes* their king, deſiring his daughter in marriage, which he doubted not would be refuſed. However, *Artabanes* complied with it; ſuffered him to enter his dominions; ordered all his governors to receive him with the utmoſt magnificence; and went himſelf to meet him, attended by the chief nobility of the kingdom, and a numerous body of guards, all unarmed. But *Caracalla*, with a treachery

treachery hardly to be matched, ordered his ſoldiers to fall upon the defenceleſs multitude, of whom they killed a prodigious number. The king himſelf had the good fortune to eſcape, which ſo enraged the perfidious monſter, that he wreaked his fury on all the countries through which he paſſed on his return to *Syria*, from whence he ſent a boaſting account of this expedition to the ſenate, who, though they knew full well what had paſſed, decreed him a triumph, and the title of *Parthicus*, which was what he moſt of all deſired. *Caracalla*

The next year, *Macrinus*, captain of the guards, incenſed at the ill treatment he had received from *Caracalla*, and particularly at his rallying him as a coward, and threatening him with death; having gained over ſeveral of the officers, who, like him, were weary of the tyrant, reſolved to be revenged of him. An opportunity ſoon offered: for, as the emperor was going on horſeback, with only a ſmall retinue, from *Edeſſa*, to viſit a temple of the moon at *Carrhæ*, being obliged to alight to eaſe nature, and all withdrawing, except a ſingle domeſtic, as he was going to mount again, *Martialis*, one of the conſpirators, ran haſtily up to him, and gave him ſuch a ſtab in the throat, that he expired immediately. This was done ſo ſuddenly, that *Martialis* returned to his horſe, and mixed with the crowd, before any one knew what had paſſed: but when the emperor's death was known, a *Scythian*, who belonged to the guards, ſeeing him with a bloody dagger in his hand, which, in his confuſion, he had forgot to hide, and thence concluding him to be the author of the murder, ſhot him through with an arrow. Such was, in the thirtieth year of his age, and after a reign of ſix years, two months, and four days, the end of this monſter, who, in all reſpects, moſt reſembled *Caligula*. His mother *Julia*, with whom, ſome ſay, he carried on an inceſtuous commerce, ſtarved herſelf to death ſoon after. *Caracalla* murdered Year of *Rome* 965. of *Chriſt* 213.

MACRINUS and DIADUMENUS.

THE ſudden death of *Caracalla* cauſed ſome confuſion among the ſoldiers, who were three days in ſuſpence which they ſhould elect in his ſtead, *Audentius* or *Macrinus*. But on the fourth, they choſe the former, who, conſidering the unſettled ſtate of the empire, wiſely declined the ſovereignty, and reſigned it to *Macrinus*, who readily accepted it, and, after making a flattering ſpeech to the ſoldiers, and giving them a conſiderable largeſs, nominated his ſon *Diadumenus* his aſſociate in the empire, gave him the ſurname of *Antoninus*, *Macrinus* and his ſon *Diadumenus* made emperors.

Macrinus *Antoninus*, as well to remove all ſuſpicion of his having been concerned in the murder of *Caracalla*, who was likewiſe called *Antoninus*, as to pleaſe the *Romans*, by whom that name was held in great veneration; and then wrote letters to the ſenate and people, acquainting them with the manner of his election, and deſiring their approbation of it; aſſuring them, with many ſolemn oaths, that he was not guilty of the death of *Caracalla*. The ſenate, without much conſidering his merit, confirmed the election, and likewiſe his nomination of his ſon *Diadumenus*, to be his partner in the ſovereignty.

Opelius Macrinus was a native of *Cæſarea* in *Mauritania*, now *Algier*, and of very mean extraction. Favour had raiſed him to the office of prætorian præfect, from which treaſon and chance now promoted him to the empire, in the fifty-third year of his age. The ſenate at *Rome* loaded the memory of *Caracalla* with curſes and infamy; but very ſhortly after, the troops under *Macrinus* abſolutely inſiſted on his being deified, which both the emperor and the ſenate were forced to comply with; ſo great was the authority which the army had now uſurped.

The *Romans* defeated by the *Parthians*, with whom *Macrinus* concludes a peace.

Soon after the election of *Macrinus*, *Artabanes*, king of the *Parthians*, reſolving to retaliate the injuries he had received from *Caracalla*, invaded the *Roman* territories with a powerful army. *Macrinus*, juſt, but naturally timid, endeavoured to appeaſe him by ſending back all the priſoners taken by *Caracalla*, and with them ambaſſadors to propoſe a peace, on terms equally honourable to both nations. But *Artabanes* making much higher demands than *Macrinus* could comply with, two battles were fought, in which the *Romans*, now quite effeminated and enervated, were defeated with ſuch loſs, that *Macrinus*, not daring to venture a third engagement, purchaſed a peace with fifty millions of drachmas. However, the ſenate decreed him the ſurname of *Parthicus*. The *Armenians*, whom *Caracalla* had likewiſe provoked, were appeaſed by his reſtoring their king *Tigranes* to the throne, and giving him the lands they had formerly poſſeſſed in *Capadocia*.

He makes ſeveral good laws

Macrinus then returned to *Antioch*, where he made ſeveral excellent laws, and endeavoured, as much as he could, to reform numberleſs abuſes. Among other things, he made adultery capital, and puniſhed with death ſuch informers as could not make good their accuſations. When they did, they had the uſual reward, that is, the fourth part of the offender's eſtate; but at the ſame time they were declared infamous. His ſeverity againſt real criminals was great; but he was very merciful and clement in what concerned only himſelf: for a conſpiracy being diſcovered againſt him, he not only pardoned three of the chief accomplices, but continued them in their employments. Theſe were ſome of this emperor's virtues; but he was not without his faults;

faults; for, as he himself was of a mean descent, he not only preferred to the highest posts persons of his own condition, though, generally speaking, void of merit, but displaced those who were nobly born. This greatly indisposed the nobility against him. The soldiery were not less incensed, on account of his excessive severity towards them: and, to heighten their resentment, they were now informed, that he had been the chief author of the murderof *Caracalla*. These motives determined them to revolt, and chuse another emperor in his room, which they did the following year. This revolution was brought about chiefly by the contrivance of *Mæsa*, sister to the late empress *Julia*, a woman of great courage, subtilty, and policy, and immensely rich. Ever since the death of *Caracalla* she had been confined to a city of *Phœnicia*, called *Emesa*, not far distant from *Antioch*, or from *Macrinus*'s army. This woman had two daughters, *Soæmis* and *Mammæa*, the former of whom had a son named *Bassianus*, fourteen years of age; and the latter another, called *Alexianus*, two years younger. *Bassianus* was high priest of the temple of the sun at *Emessa*, and thence called *Heliogabalus*, which, in the *Phœnician* language, signified *a priest of the sun*. The *Roman* soldiers, who went frequently to that temple, took a great liking to him, on account of his graceful person and behaviour. The artful *Mæsa* observing this, gave out, that *Heliogabulus* was the son of *Caracalla*, and that she would amply reward those who should espouse his cause. The soldiery thereupon invited her and her grandson to their camp, and upon their arrival, proclaimed *Heliogabulus* emperor, by the name of *M. Aurelius Antoninus*, and invested him with all the ensigns of sovereignty.

Macrinus

His faults.

The news of this revolt was a thunder-clap to *Macrinus*, who, with his son-in-law, marched out of *Antioch* at the head of the prætorian bands. The two armies met on the confines of *Syria* and *Phœnicia*, and a bloody battle ensued, in which *Macrinus* was defeated, and, with his son *Diadumenus*, fled towards *Parthia*. They were both overtaken and put to death. *Macrinus* reigned fourteen months wanting three days.

Macrinus defeated and put to death. Year of *Rome* 966. of *Christ*, 214.

HELIOGABALUS.

IMMEDIATELY after the death of *Macrinus*, *Heliogabalus*, by the advice of his grandmother *Mæsa*, wrote a fawning letter to the senate, acquainting them with what had passed, and desiring their confirmation of his election.

Heliogabalus acknowledged emperor.

His

Heliogabalus.

His requeſt was granted, no one daring to oppoſe him; tho', at the ſame time, the government of *Macrinus* was liked much better. Having ſettled the affairs of the Eaſt, with the aſſiſtance of *Mæſa* and her favourites, the new emperor ſet out for *Rome*; but was obliged to ſtay ſome time in *Bithynia*; where he gave ſuch flagrant proofs of his ſtrong propenſity to every kind of vice, as plainly ſhewed what was to be expected from him. He was but fourteen years of age when he was declared emperor; but, even in that early dawn of life, ſuperlatively profligate, impious, lewd, inhuman, effeminate, and prodigal; exceeding even *Nero* and *Caligula*, and all the tyrants that ever diſgraced a crown. His grandmother, *Mæſa*, a woman of great parts and experience, did all ſhe could to keep him within ſome bounds, but in vain; for he deſpiſed her, and liſtened only to the wicked counſels of his mother *Soæmis*, and of ſuch as flattered him in his crimes. His whole reign was a continued ſeries of ſuch ſhocking infamies, abominable lewdneſs, and unheard of debaucheries, as, were we to enter into a detail of them, would make the reader bluſh to ſee, as it would us to write them. Though he did not reign quite four years, he married, in that ſhort time, ſix wives. One of them was a veſtal virgin, whom he ſoon put away, but afterwards took again, ſaying, *That, as ſhe was a prieſteſs, and he a prieſt, he hoped to have by her an offſpring worthy of the immortal gods.* He turned his palace into a public brothel, filling it with proſtitutes for whoever came; and ſoon after he drove them out, and took in a herd of infamous catamites; of which number he himſelf was; having been publicly married, firſt to *Aurelius Zoticus*, one of his officers; and afterwards, to *Hierocles*, a ſlave. In ſhort, he was ſo loſt to all ſenſe of ſhame, that he made no ſcruple of ſatisfying, even his moſt unnatural luſts, in public, and in the face of the whole *Roman* people.

His character.

His prodigality was as boundleſs as his luſt; for, in the ſhort time that he reigned, he reduced all the ſubjects of the empire almoſt to beggary, and left the exchequer quite empty at his death. When he went abroad, all the way between his chamber, and the place where his chariot waited for him, was ſtrewed with gold duſt. All his table, chairs, cheſts, &c. were of pure gold. Though his clothes were exceeding coſtly, and beſet with jewels, he never wore the ſame ſuit twice, nor ever put on again a ring which he had once uſed. He was conſtantly ſerved in gold plate; but every night, after ſupper, preſented to his gueſts and attendants what had been uſed that day. He often diſtributed among the people and ſoldiery, not only corn and money, as the other emperors had done, but gold and ſilver plate, precious ſtones, and tickets intitling them to immenſe ſums, which were inſtantly paid. He filled his fiſh-ponds with roſe-water: and the *naumachia*, where the ſea-fights were exhibited, with

with wine. His banquets were extravagant beyond belief; his favourite dishes being tongues of peacocks and nightingales, and the brains of parrots and pheasants. He fed his dogs with the liver of geese, his horses with raisins, and his wild beasts with partridges and pheasants. His cruelty was equal to his lewdness and prodigality. Before he left *Syria*, he put to death several persons of distinction, both in the East and at *Rome*; as he did likewise in *Bithynia*, where he passed the winter of the first year of his reign. *Heliogabalus.*

Early the next spring, *Heliogabalus* arrived at *Rome*, where, though already hated by every one, he was received with great demonstrations of joy. The next day he went to the senate, and taking with him his grandmother, placed her next to the consuls, ordered her name to be set down among those of the other senators, and appointed, that she should vote as the rest, and be consulted in all matters of importance. For his mother, he instituted a senate consisting only of women, and declared her their president. The subject of their debates was to settle the dress, visits, ceremonies, ranks, *&c.* of the *Roman* ladies. He then set about building a magnificent temple in the suburbs of *Rome*, and establishing a worship in it to his god *Heliogabalus*, or the *Sun*; preferring him to *Jupiter* and all the gods of the *Romans*, who, he said, were but the servants of his god: at the same time declaring, that no other should be adored at *Rome*, or elsewhere. To this end, he stripped all the other temples of their ornaments; and that his god might not be without a companion, he married him to the image of *Pallas*, which had been kept locked up for many ages with great devotion: but this match displeasing him soon after, he declared, that his god did not like so martial a wife; and therefore divorced him, and married him to *Urania*, saying, *It was much more proper to marry the sun and the moon together.* He makes his grandmother a senator, and institutes a senate of women.

In his second consulship, he took for his collegue one *Eutychianus*, a freedman, and a noted buffoon: and the next year, through the persuasions of *Mæsa*, who foresaw that the *Romans* would not long bear with such a prince, he adopted his cousin *Alexianus*, and declared him *Cæsar*, tho' he was then but twelve, or at most thirteen years old. The young prince took the names of *Alexander* and *Severus*. *Heliogabalus* treated him, for some time, in a very friendly manner; but finding that the excellent youth could not be prevailed on to follow his courses, and that he was more beloved by the people and soldiery than himself, he repented his having adopted him, and gave orders to those about him to dispatch him, Finding this impracticable, through the great care and circumspection of *Mamæa*, mother to young *Alexander*; and of the emperor's grandmother *Mæsa*; he ordered the senate to annul the adoption, and sent assassins to murder him. The prætorian guards being informed of this, flew to the palace, and would have put *Heliogabalus* himself to death Adopts *Alexianus* and creates him *Cæsar.*

Heliogabalus.

had he not ſoftened them by promiſing to abandon to them all his debauched companions, to redreſs all their grievances, and to lead a quite different life for the future.

The next year, pretending to be reconciled with *Alexander*, he made him his collegue in his third conſulſhip: but being ſtill determined to get rid of him, he ordered all the ſenators to quit the city, leſt they ſhould thwart his deſigns and then, ſhutting *Alexander* up in the palace, gave out, that he was ſuddenly taken ill, and was almoſt paſt recovery. This report he ſpread on purpoſe to ſound the ſoldiery; who, the moment they heard it, ran to arms, and demanded to ſee *Alexander*. The emperor thereupon conducted him to the camp, where he was received with loud acclamations of joy, whilſt no ſort of notice was taken of *Heliogabalus*, who, provoked thereat, ordered thoſe who had applauded *Alexander* to be puniſhed as traitors. The reſt, incenſed at this, reſcued them from the executioners, and crowded tumultuouſly about the emperor, with dreadful menaces; which ſo terrified him, that he attempted to ſave himſelf by flight, while thoſe who attended him endeavoured to diſperſe the multitude. A fray enſued, in which *Heliogabalus*'s people were defeated and cut to pieces. He himſelf retired, during the ſcuffle, to one of the privies of the camp, where he was ſoon diſcovered, and murdered by the enraged ſoldiery, with his mother *Soæmis*, who had fled thither with him, and held him the whole time in her arms. Both their heads were cut off; and after their bodies had been ignominiouſly treated by the populace, and dragged through the city, that of *Heliogabalus* was thrown into the *Tiber*, with a weight faſtened to it, to prevent its being taken up and buried. Such was the deſerved end of *Heliogabalus*, the moſt wicked and debauched of all the *Roman* emperors, in the eighteenth year of his age, after he had reigned three years, nine months, and four days. The ſenate immediately ordered the name of *Antoninus*, which he had aſſumed, and moſt ſhamefully diſgraced, to be eraſed out of all the public records, and inſcriptions of his reign; and at the ſame time paſſed a decree, making it capital for any one to attempt to introduce women into the ſenate.

The ſoldiers mutiny.

and kill *Heliogabalus*.

ALEXANDER.

Alexander declared emperor.

HELIOGABALUS was no ſooner dead, than his couſin *Alexander*, then in the fourteenth year of his age, was proclaimed emperor by the ſoldiery, and conducted from the camp to the ſenate, where he was received with all poſſible demon-

demonſtrations of joy, and honoured with the titles of *Auguſtus*, of *Father of his country*, and all the other marks of diſtinction peculiar to the imperial dignity. He was the ſon of *Julia Mammæa*, and a native of the city of *Acra* in *Phœnicia*, where he was born in a temple conſecrated to *Alexander* the Great; which was his reaſon for his taking the name of *Alexander* when he was adopted by *Heliogabalus*. His father, *Geneſius Marcianus*, a *Syrian*, dying when he was very young, his mother brought him up with great care, putting about him ſuch only as were thoroughly qualified to inſtruct him, and form his morals. He was a perfect maſter of the *Greek* tongue; well, though not quite ſo much, acquainted with the *Latin*; ſkilled in all the branches of polite learning, and in painting, ſinging, muſic, *&c.* He was mild, humane, and generous, even from his infancy: and made it his ſtudy to pleaſe and oblige every one. *Alexander*. His birth and education.

As ſoon as he came to the empire, he choſe, by the advice of his mother *Mammæa*, and his grandmother *Maeſa*, both women of great experience and extraordinary parts, and to whom he paid an entire deference, ſixteen ſenators for his council, all men of known probity, and long verſed in public affairs; and undertook nothing without their advice. The firſt year of his reign was wholly taken up in reforming the many enormous abuſes which had prevailed in the court under his predeceſſor. With this view, he baniſhed all the freedmen, ſlaves, eunuchs, players, and buffoons, who had borne any ſway in the late reign; and put, in their room; perſons of blameleſs characters and known integrity. He then reformed, in the like manner, all the public offices, puniſhing ſeverely thoſe who had miſbehaved and oppreſſed the people. His councils. Reforms many abuſes.

The next year, he married *Sulpitia Memmia*, daughter of *Sulpitius*, a conſular. As the whole empire enjoyed, at this time, a profound peace, nothing remarkable happened the two following years; but the year after, *Artaxerxes*, having utterly ruined the *Parthians*, and re-eſtabliſhed the *Perſian* empire, advanced, at the head of a mighty army, againſt the *Romans*, with a deſign to recover the provinces which had formerly belonged to the *Perſian* empire. Many of the *Romans* quartered in *Meſopotamia* joined him, and he might eaſily have over-run that country, and *Syria*, had he not, on his march, attacked the city of *Atra*; before which he loſt ſuch numbers of men, without being able to reduce it, that he was obliged to return back to his own country. In the ſixth year of *Alexander*'s reign, the prætorian guards, being provoked againſt their captain *Domitius Ulpianus*, for endeavouring to reſtore diſcipline among them, murdered that officer in the emperor's preſence. Marries *Sulpitia Memmia*. The *Perſian* empire re-eſtabliſhed. Year of *Rome* 974.

The next year, the ſoldiers mutinied in ſeveral provinces. The troops in *Meſopotamia* revolted, murdered their general, and The ſoldiers mutiny.

Alexander and went, in great numbers, over to the *Perſians*; and thoſe in *Syria* proclaimed emperor one *Taurinus*, who, rather than accept the ſovereignty, drowned himſelf in the *Euphrates*. At *Rome*, the prætorian guards attempted to raiſe one *Antoninus* to the empire; but he, declining it, withdrew into the country, and never after appeared in the city. But *Ovinius Camillus*, a ſenator, deſcended from one of the moſt illuſtrious families in *Rome*, ſtudying to gain the affections of the ſoldiery, in order to raiſe himſelf to the empire by their means, *Alexander* was no ſooner informed of his private practiſes, than he ſent for him to court, and thanked him for offering to take upon him ſo great a burthen, ſtiled him his colleague, took him with him to the ſenate, allotted him an apartment in the palace, cauſed him to be attired in a far more pompous habit than his own, and treated him in every reſpect as his partner in the empire. A war againſt the *Germans* breaking out about this time, which required the emperor's preſence, *Alexander* offered the command of the army to *Camillus*; and on his declining it, deſired he would, at leaſt, ſhare with him the fatigue and the glory of that expedition. Accordingly, they both ſet out from *Rome* on foot; but *Camillus*, who was not inured to a military life, being tired after five miles march, *Alexander* begged he would purſue his journey on horſeback; which he did for two days; when the emperor, perceiving that he could not bear even that fatigue, ordered a chariot to be provided for him; which ſo mortified *Camillus*, that he begged leave to reſign the empire and return home. *Alexander* granted his requeſt; aſſuring him, before they parted, that he might live in ſafety where he pleaſed. *Camillus* retired to his country-ſeat, and there remained unmoleſted during the reign of *Alexander*, but was put to death by his ſucceſſor, for what reaſon we know not. The *Germans* were overcome by *Varius Macrinus*, governor of *Illyricum*; as were alſo this year ſome who had rebelled in *Mauritania* and *Armenia*, by *Furius Celſus* and *Junius Palmatus*, who were both rewarded with the conſular ornaments.

Alexander's treatment of *Ovidius Camillus*.

The following year, the emperor entered upon his third conſulſhip; in which *Dion Caſſius*, now the ſecond time conſul, was his collegue. *Dion*'s known ſeverity to the ſoldiers, if they neglected the leaſt part of their duty, made the prætorian guards begin to mutiny, and preſs the emperor to put him to death, as ſoon as they ſaw him appear in *Rome*, imagining that he had been recalled from *Pannonia*, of which he was governor, on purpoſe to command them. But *Alexander*, without hearkening to their unjuſt demand, honoured him wth his friendſhip, and loaded him with favours. However, fearing leſt the ſoldiers might inſult him if he appeared in *Rome* with the enſigns of the conſular dignity, he adviſed him to paſs the time of his conſulſhip in the country; which he

he accordingly did, and ſoon after obtained leave to withdraw to *Bithynia*, his native country, where he ended his days in quiet and retirement. *Alexander*

In the tenth year of *Alexander*'s reign, *Artaxerxes* unexpectedly invaded the *Roman* dominions at the head of a prodigious army, ravaged *Meſopotamia*, and advanced to the very confines of *Syria*. The emperor thereupon ſent ambaſſadors to him, with a letter, exhorting him not to engage the two empires in a dangerous war, without provocation, and putting him in mind of the victories gained over the eaſtern nations by *Auguſtus*, *Trajan*, *Verus*, and *Severus*. But *Artaxerxes*, puffed up with his ſucceſſes, deſpiſed the remonſtrances of *Alexander*, and purſued his ravages in *Meſopotamia*; laid ſiege to *Niſibis*, and, entering *Cappadocia*, deſtroyed all with fire and ſword. Upon this, *Alexander* reſolved to march againſt him in perſon, and accordingly left *Rome* in the beginning of the next year, and, towards autumn, arrived at *Antioch*, from whence he ſent a ſecond embaſſy to *Artaxerxes*, but with no better ſucceſs than before; the haughty *Perſian* only deriding him for his peaceable temper. *Alexander* then prepared in earneſt for war, and took the field at the head of a numerous army, obſerving, in all his marches and motions, ſuch ſtrict order and diſcipline, that his camp ſeemed a well-governed city, his ſoldiers citizens, and his officers ſenators. He was ſoon met by *Artaxerxes*, whoſe army was the greateſt that had ever been ſeen in thoſe parts; conſiſting of an innumerable multitude of foot, an hundred and thirty thouſand horſe, eighteen hundred armed chariots, and ſeven hundred elephants, bearing towers on their backs, filled with archers, after the *Perſian* manner. A battle enſued, in which *Artaxerxes* was entirely defeated, and forced to fly; and all *Meſopotamia* was again brought under ſubjection. *Alexander* then returned to *Antioch*, with a deſign to purſue the war with freſh vigor the following year: but being informed, in the mean time, that the *Germans* had taken up arms, and invaded the *Roman* dominions; and that *Artaxerxes* had diſdiſbanded great part of his army for want of proviſions, he returned to *Rome*, which he entered in triumph; and from thence marched into *Gaul* with his victorious troops, to ſtem the torrent of the northern nations, who had paſſed the *Rhine* and the *Danube* in great numbers: but the enemy retired upon his approach. *Artaxerxes* invades the *Roman* dominions

Alexander marches againſt him, and defeats him.

In the mean time, the legions quartered in *Gaul*, having been long accuſtomed to idleneſs and all manner of debauchery, began to murmur at the ſeverity with which *Alexander* endeavoured to reform their diſcipline. Their diſcontents were fomented under hand by one *Maximin*, a *Goth*, whom *Alexander*, for his valour, had preferred to the command of a body of *Pannonians*. The emperor was then at, or near, *Mentz*, and had but a ſlender guard with him. *Maximin*, reſolving to lay hold of this opportunity to kill him, not *Maximin* ſtirs up the *Gallic* legions to mutiny.

Alexander doubting but the troops under his command would, in that case, proclaim him emperor, communicated his design to some of the most resolute of his men, who, animated with the hopes of great preferment, readily engaged to put it in execution, and immediately set out for the place where the emperor then was, which they contrived to reach about an hour after noon, when those who attended him were withdrawn to refresh themselves, according to the *Roman* custom, with a short sleep after dinner. They no sooner appeared, than the few soldiers who were upon guard, probably gained over before-hand by *Maximin*, fled. *Mammæa*, alarmed at the unexpected tumult, ran out, attended by the captains of the guards, to appease it: but the assassins, after murdering both her and them, rushed with their drawn swords into the emperor's tent, who, being unarmed and left quite alone, threw his mantle over his face, and fell beneath their blows, without uttering a single word. Such was the unfortunate end of *Alexander Severus*, in the twenty-seventh year of his age, after a noble and prosperous reign of thirteen years and nine days. If we except *Julius Cæsar*, whose ambition overwhelmed him; and *Pertinax*, whose ruin was owing to his avarice; this was the first good emperor of *Rome* who died an unnatural death: and this may justly be imputed to the corruptions of *Heliogabalus*, as that of *Pertinax* may to those of *Commodus*.

Alexander is assassinated.

His character. No prince was ever more regretted than *Alexander*, to whom, and his mother *Mammæ*, the senate directly decreed divine honours, temples, priests, *&c.* He was one of the best and wisest princes that ever swayed a sceptre; and, had he lived longer, would have intirely reformed those abuses which, after his death, involved the empire in endless calamities He was sparing of the public money, liberal of his own, kind and generous to all good men, but an irreconcileable enemy to the wicked. His deference to the senate was extremely great; and his care in the administration of justice such, that he never decided any cause without first consulting his council. He gave the important office of captain of the guards to none but senators, nor ever preferred to any employment people whom he did not think the best qualified to discharge the trust reposed in them. He was an enemy to all pomp and shew; eased the people of many heavy taxes, and erected several useful public buildings for them at his own expence: to which we may add, that he was himself a man of learning, and a great encourager of the learned.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

From the Death of Alexander, *to the Captivity of* Valerian, *when the Empire was uſurped by Thirty Perſons at once, commonly called* the Thirty Tyrants.

MAXIMIN.

THE murder of *Alexander* occaſioned a great confuſion in the army; during which, the *Pannonian* troops declared their commander, *Maximin*, emperor; and the reſt, ſeeing no one oppoſe him, followed their example, and took the uſual oaths to him, after he had ſolemnly declared, *That he had not been acceſſary to the death of* Alexander. He immediately named his ſon *Maximin Cæſar* and *Auguſtus*, inveſted him with the tribunitial and proconſular power, and made him his partner in the ſovereignty. The ſenate, to whom he ſent directly an account of his acceſſion to the empire, not daring to oppoſe the choice of the ſoldiery, confirmed it. He himſelf was a *Thracian*, his father a *Goth*, and his mother an *Alan*. His extraction was very mean, but his ſtature gigantic, being eight feet and an half tall, and with all well ſhaped and proportioned. The ancients relate wonderful things of his ſtrength; ſuch as, drawing a loaded waggon which two oxen could not move, his tearing up trees by the roots, crumbling pebbles between his fingers, *&c.* and he is ſaid to have been as bold as he was ſtrong. *Phalaris* and *Buſiris* did not ſurpaſs him in cruelty. He was, in his youth, a ſhepherd, or herdſman; but he ſoon left that employment, and liſted himſelf in the *Roman* army. The emperor *Severus* made him one of his guards, and *Caracalla* raiſed him to the poſt of a centurion. Upon the death of that prince he quitted the army, being unwilling to ſerve under *Macrinus*, who had murdered him, and retired to his own country: and when *Heliogabalus* came to the empire, he offered his ſervice to him, and was made a tribune. *Alexander* created him a ſenator, gave him the command of a new-raiſed legion, and, upon the breaking out of the *German* war, charged him with the care of diſciplining the new levies, conſiſting chiefly of *Pannonians*.

Maximin declared emperor.

His extraction, preferments, *&c.*

He was no ſooner raiſed to the empire, than he gave an unbounded looſe to the moſt execrable cruelty; inhumanly degrading, baniſhing, and murdering, all who had been raiſed by *Alexander*, or who had known his own parents, or any of his family, of whoſe meanneſs he was now aſhamed. This bloody diſpoſition was greatly heightened by a conſpiracy of *Magnus*, a conſular, of an illuſtrious family, and great merit,

His cruelty.

The conſpiracy of *Magnus*.

Maximin rit, who, with ſeveral of *Alexander*'s old ſoldiers, agreed t break down the bridge which that prince had built over th *Rhine*, after *Maximin* had paſſed it, and abandon him t the enemy. But the conſpiracy being diſcovered, all thoſ whom *Maximin* only ſuſpected of having been privy to it were maſſacred, to the number of four thouſand. A few day after this, the *Oſrobenians*, who ſerved in the army, and ha always been greatly attached to the late emperor, no longe doubting that he had been murdered by *Maximin*'s orders openly revolted, and proclaimed *T. Quartinus* emperor, muc againſt his will. But ſoon after, one *Macedo*, who had bee the chief author of the revolt, murdered *Quartinus*, while h was repoſing in his tent, and carried his head to *Maximin*, who, for his reward, ordered him to be executed for rebelling againſt his prince, and betraying his friend.

The *Oſrobenians* revolt.

Maximin gains ſeveral victories over the *Germans*, *Dacians*, and *Sarmatians*.

The next year, *Maximin* entered *Germany* at the head of a mighty army; ravaged the country far and wide; gained ſeveral victories, and carried off a prodigious booty, and an incredible number of priſoners. From *Germany* he marched into *Illyricum*, and from thence led his army into the countries of the *Dacians* and *Sarmatians*; where he gained ſeveral victories over thoſe nations, and forced them to ſubmit on ſuch terms as he pleaſed. His deſign was to extend the boundaries of the *Roman* empire to the northern ocean; which he would eaſily have accompliſhed, ſays *Herodian*, had he not been interrupted by a civil-war, and great diſturbances at home, occaſioned by his own unparallelled cruelty and inſatiable avarice. He encouraged informers, feigned plots, and condemned, without diſtinction of quality, ſex, or age, all who were accuſed; ſeizing their eſtates, and reducing the richeſt families in *Rome* to beggary. Not ſatisfied with this, he began to plunder the temples, and ſeize the public money in ſeveral cities, allotted for the maintainance or diverſions of the people. This alarmed the populace and diſpoſed them to a general revolt, which firſt broke out in *Africa*, where *Gordian*, proconſul of that country, was proclaimed emperor.

The *Africans* revolt and proclaim *Gordian* emperor.

Gordian was deſcended of an illuſtrious family, immenſely rich, and univerſally beloved; but as he was at this time upwards of eighty years of age, when the people broke unexpectedly into his houſe, and ſaluted him with the title of *Auguſtus*, he begged of them, with tears, to ſuffer him to ſpend the poor remainder of his life in quiet; and to chuſe ſome one more able to deliver the ſtate from the tyranny under which it groaned. However, they perſiſting in their reſolution, he was conſtrained to accept the enſigns and title of emperor: which he had no ſooner done, than, to the great joy of all the *Africans*, he took his ſon, who bore the ſame name and had been conſul, for his partner. He then went to *Carthage*, from whence he wrote to the people and ſenate of *Rome*, acquainting them with what had paſſed, and aſſuring them,

them that he was ready to resign the empire, which had been forced upon him, if they did not approve of his election. In the decrees which he sent with his letters, and which he ordered to be published, with the approbation of the senate, he gave leave to all exiles to return home, banished informers, promised large sums to the people, and to the soldiery a greater largess than any emperor had ever given. *Maximin*

Upon the receipt of these letters, the senate, with transports of joy, declared the two *Gordians* emperors, and the two *Maximins* public enemies; offering a great reward to such as should kill either of these last, and sentencing to death all their friends and ministers, of whom a dreadful slaughter was instantly made by the enraged multitude; the whole people, as well as the soldiery at *Rome*, readily acknowledging the *Gordians*, and cursing *Maximin* and his son. The senate, to a man, declared in favour of the *Gordians*; and chose twenty of their body, who had all been consuls, and sent them into different parts of *Italy*, with orders to guard all the passes so closely, that no account of what had passed at *Rome* might be transmitted to *Maximin* before the arrival of *Gordian*. The senate acknowledge him and his son emperors.

Maximin, who was at this time in *Thrace*, or *Sarmatia*, having received intelligence of what had been done at *Rome* and in *Africa*, flew into such a rage as can hardly be expressed; beating his head against the wall, tearing his robes, and attempting to kill those about him, and even his son. His friends, with much difficulty, carried him to his room, where cooling by degrees, after spending some days in deliberating with his council about the most proper measures to be pursued, he resolved to assemble his army, and acquaint them with the state of affairs, without seeming to be under any apprehension. He did so; and, after distributing a large sum of money among his soldiers, and promising to divide among them the estates of the senators, and the *African* rebels, he began his march towards *Italy*. While he was upon the road, *Capelianus*, whom he had appointed governor of *Mauritania*, raised a very considerable body of well disciplined troops, and led them to *Carthage*, against the *Gordians*. The inhabitants of that city immediately armed, and, under the conduct of the younger *Gordian*, went out to meet the enemy. A bloody battle ensued, in which *Gordian*'s raw and undisciplined troops performed wonders, but were in the end put to flight, and most of them cut to pieces. *Gordian* himself was killed in the field: which, together with the loss of the battle, and the approach of the enemy, reduced the father to such despair, that he strangled himself. *Maximin*'s rage. Death of the *Gordians*.

The news of their death threw the whole city into the utmost consternation. However, as they dreaded above all things the return of *Maximin*, and the cruel effects of his resentment, they resolved not to submit to him on any account whatever. The senate therefore chose two new emperors, *Pupienus* and *Balbinus* declared emperors.

Maximin perors, *M. Clodius Pupienus Maximus*, and *Decimus Cælius Balbinus*. The former, was a perſon of low birth, but extraordinary merit; and the latter, was deſcended of an illuſtrious family, very rich, and univerſally eſteemed for his great integrity.

The people mutiny. The new emperors, after being inveſted with the tribunitial and proconſular power, went, at the breaking up of the aſſembly, to the capitol. But while they were offering the uſual ſacrifices, the populace roſe, and demanded, with great clamour, a prince of the *Gordian* family. *Maximus* and *Balbinus*, backed by ſome young knights, attempted to open themſelves a way through the crowd, ſword in hand, but were in the end obliged to ſend for young *Gordian*, (the ſecond ſon of him who killed himſelf at *Carthage*), then only twelve years old, who was received by the populace with loud ſhouts of joy, and carried to the capitol, where the ſenate, to appeaſe them, declared him *Cæſar*. They then immediately ſet about levying forces, and making the neceſſary preparations for taking the field againſt *Maximin*.

Maximus marches againſt *Maximin*. As moſt of the provinces had eſpouſed the party of the ſenate, troops were ſent from all parts to reinforce the army of *Maximus*, who, being charged with the conduct of the war, as the more able commander, ſet out from *Rome* ſoon after his election, leaving the prætorian guards, and part of the new-raiſed forces, to defend the city, and awe the populace. At the ſame time, the ſenate diſpatched the moſt conſiderable men of their body into the different parts of *Italy*, with orders to fortify all the cities, arm the inhabitants, and, after laying up what proviſions they could in the fortified towns, to deſtroy the reſt, and lay waſte the country through which *Maximinus* was to paſs.

Maximin enters *Italy*. In the mean time, *Maximinus* purſued his march towards *Italy*, with a prodigious army, and paſſed the *Alps* without the leaſt oppoſition. His men, who expected after that toil to be refreſhed with all ſorts of proviſions, were ſo vexed, when they found the whole country laid waſte, and themſelves deſtitute even of neceſſaries, that they began to mutiny. *Maximin* puniſhed the ringleaders of the tumult with great ſeverity, which ſerved only to exaſperate the reſt. However he continued his march, and arriving at *Aquileia*, at the head of all his forces, laid ſiege to that city, which refuſed to acknowledge him. The *Aquileians* defended themſelves with ſuch bravery, that *Maximin*'s ſoldiers ſoon began greatly to abate of their firſt ardor. *Maximin*, enraged at this, cauſed ſeveral of his officers to be publicly executed; which ſo exaſperated the ſoldiers, already inclined to mutiny for want of proviſions, that the *Albanians*, that is, thoſe belonging to the camp near *Alba*, took a ſudden reſolution to rid themſelves of the author of ſo many calamities, and, without farther deliberation, went directly,

at

at noon-day, to the tent of *Maximin*, killed both him and his ſon, and cut off their heads, and ſent them to *Rome*. With them periſhed all their chief miniſters and friends. He is murder'd. Thus ended the tyranny of the *Maximins*, after it had laſted three years and a few days.

PUPIENUS and BALBINUS.

Pupienus and Balbinus continue emperors.

THE death of ſo formidable a tyrant as *Maximin*, gave infinite joy to all men: *Pupienus* and *Balbinus* now continued emperors without oppoſition. The former, who was at *Ravenna* when *Maximin* was killed, haſtened to *Aquileia*, to ſatisfy the armies there, that of *Maximin* having immediately ſubmitted to the two new emperors. From *Aquileia* he ſet out for *Rome*, where he arrived with a numerous retinue, and was received at the gates by *Balbinus*, *Gordian*, the ſenate in a body, and all the people, and conducted in triumph to the palace.

and govern well.

The two emperors governed with prudence and moderation, enacted excellent laws, adminiſtred juſtice with the utmoſt impartiality, maintained the military diſcipline with due rigour, paid great reſpect and deference to the ſenate, and conducted themſelves ſo well in all things, that they were in a manner adored by the ſenate and people. But the happineſs of their reign was ſhort-lived; for the *Carpi*, a people beyond the *Danube*, paſſing that river, ravaged the province of *Mæſia*; the *Goths* invaded the *Roman* territories on the ſide of *Scythia*; and the *Perſians* threatened the eaſtern provinces. It was therefore agreed among the princes, that *Maximus* ſhould march againſt the *Perſians*, *Balbinus* againſt the *Goths* and the *Carpi*, and *Gordian* remain at *Rome*.

The prætorian guards mutiny.

While great preparations were making for theſe expeditions, the prætorian guards, diſſatisfied to ſee the princes who had been created by the ſenate ſo much applauded, and provoked at the invectives daily uttered againſt *Maximin*, whom they had raiſed to the empire, began to murmur, and complain that the right of naming the emperors, which had been ſo advantageous to them, was ſnatched out of their hands, and transferred to the ſenate. From murmurs they reſolved to proceed to action, and kill the two emperors; an opportunity for which ſoon offered: for the Capitoline games being celebrated ſoon after, and moſt of the emperors' guards and domeſtics reſorting thither, the mutinous ſoldiery marched ſtrait to the palace, where the two princes were left almoſt alone, and ruſhing into their apartment with a fury hardly to be expreſſed, tore in pieces their imperial robes, dragged them out into the ſtreet, and killed them, after they had reigned about one year and two months.

and kill the two emperors.

GOR-

GORDIAN.

Gordian proclaimed emperor. THE ſoldiers who had killed the two emperors, retiring to their camp, took with them young *Gordian*, whom they proclaimed emperor; giving out, to appeaſe the populace, that they had killed thoſe whom the people had firſt rejected, and ſet up in their room the perſon whom they had demanded.

His character. *Gordian* was now about thirteen years of age. He was of a gay temper, comely aſpect, and exceeding ſweet diſpoſition, which gained him the love of all who approached him. The ſenate uſed to ſtile him their ſon; the ſoldiers, their child; and the people, their darling. He was fond of ſtudy, acquainted with moſt branches of polite literature, and had all the qualifications neceſſary to form a good prince; but, as he wanted experience, and had no one to adviſe him, in the beginning of his reign he fell into the hands of one *Maurus*, and ſome other crafty freedmen and eunuchs, who, abuſing the confidence he repoſed in them, perſuaded him to do many things which he ever after regretted. They ſoon drove all good men from the court, raiſed to the firſt employments perſons altogether unworthy of them, plundered the exchequer, and did all the miſchief which wicked and avaritious miniſters are capable of doing.

In the ſecond year of this prince's reign, *Sabinianus* revolted in *Africa*, and cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed emperor: but the governor of *Mauritania* reduced the rebels to ſuch ſtreights, that they ſubmitted, and delivered *Sabinianus* up to him. What his fate was, we are no where told; but all his partiſans were pardoned. The next year, *Gordian* married *Furia Sabina Tranquillina*, the daughter of *Miſitheus*. She was immediately honoured with the title of *Auguſta*, and her father, whoſe great wiſdom, integrity, and learning, had made the emperor prefer an alliance with his family to any other, was appointed captain of the guards. *Miſitheus* had no ſooner taken poſſeſſion of that important office, than he acquainted *Gordian* with the miſdemeanour of *Maurus*, and the baſe practices of the other freedmen and eunuchs, who were thereupon all diſcharged, and baniſhed the court. *Miſitheus* was one of thoſe few miniſters, who have nothing in view but the glory of their prince, and the welfare of the ſtate. *Gordian* reſpected him as his father, called him ſuch, ordered him to call him his ſon, and returned thanks to the ſenate for diſtinguiſhing him with the titles of *Father of princes*, and *Guardian of the republic*.

Gordian marries the daughter of *Miſitheus*.

Sapor, king of *Perſia*

The next year, the *Perſians*, under the conduct of *Sapor*, ſon and ſucceſſor to *Artaxerxes*, reduced all *Meſopotamia*, committed dreadful ravages in *Syria*, and, after taking *Antioch*,

ticoch, threatened to over-run the othe provinces; moſt of the *Romans* who defended them having, through fear, liſted themſelves in his army. *Gordian*, after ordering the temple of *Janus* to be opened, according to the ancient cuſtom, which had been long omitted, and perhaps was never after practiſed, marched againſt them with a numerous and well diſciplined army; and, taking his rout through *Mæſia*, defeated in that province the *Goths* and *Sarmatians*, who diſputed his paſſage, and obliged them to abandon their conqueſts, and return to their reſpective countries. The *Alani* gained ſome advantages over him in the celebrated plains of *Philippi*; but neglecting to improve it, he purſued his march unmoleſted through *Thrace*, croſſed the *Helleſpont*, and arrived ſafe in *Aſia*, from whence he marched into *Syria*, where, by the wiſe counſels and directions of *Miſitheus*, he defeated the *Perſians* in ſeveral battles, and obliged the mighty *Sapor*, with his powerful army, to abandon the *Roman* dominions, and retire with ſhame into his own country, whither he purſued him as far as *Cteſiphon*. For this victory, the ſenate decreed a triumph to the emperor, and a triumphal ſtatue to *Miſitheus*, which is ſtill to be ſeen at *Rome*, almoſt intire. *Miſitheus*, to the great grief of the whole empire, died the following year; and, by his laſt will, left the *Roman* people his heirs.

Gordian over-runs the *Roman* dominions in the Eaſt

Gordian defeats him, and forces him to retire.

The next year, being the ſixth of his reign, *Gordian* entered the *Perſian* dominions, in order to purſue the war which he had ſo ſucceſsfully begun; when *Philip*, whom he had raiſed to the important poſt of captain of the guards, in the room of *Miſitheus*, and made commander in chief, next to himſelf, of all the forces in the Eaſt, aſpiring to the ſovereignty, found means, by various artifices, to debauch the minds of the troops, and alienate their affections from *Gordian* to ſuch a degree, that, while the young conqueror was purſuing the advantages of a complete victory he had gained over *Sapor* in *Meſopotamia*, they openly mutinied, and inſiſted that *Philip* ſhould reign jointly with *Gordian*, as his guardian and governor. The virtuous young emperor, unwilling to ſhed *Roman* blood, granted them their requeſt, and took *Philip* for his partner in the empire, who, not ſatisfied with being upon a level with his ſovereign, ſoon began to uſurp an authority over him, and to act as if he had been ſole emperor. *Gordian*, unable to bear this, attempted to depoſe him; but *Philip*'s party prevailing, he was himſelf depoſed, and forced to fly, after having lived nineteen years, and reigned five years and eight months. Aſſaſſins were ſent after him, who overtook and killed him, in the farthеſt borders of *Perſia*.

The ſoldiers mutiny.

Gordian depoſed and murdered.

Year of *Rome* 992. of *Chriſt* 244.

PHILIP.

Philip.

PHILIP.

Extraction of *Philip.*

PHILIP was born in *Boſtra*, a city of *Arabia Petræa*, where his father is ſaid to have been captain of a band of robbers. He was about forty years of age, when he was made emperor, and immediately thereupon declared his ſon *Cæſar*, and took him, though but ſeven years old, for his partner in the empire. He then wrote to the ſenate, acquainting them with the death of *Gordian*, which he falſly aſcribed to a natural diſtemper, and with his own election.

He concludes a peacewith the *Perſians.*

Being deſirous to return to *Italy*, he immediately patched up a peace with the *Perſians*, and led his army back into *Syria*, from whence he ſet out for *Rome*, where he was received with the uſual demonſtrations of joy by the ſenate and people, whoſe affections he ſoon gained by his mild adminiſtration, and obliging behaviour.

Defeats the *Carpi.*

The next year he marched againſt the *Carpi*, who had invaded *Mæſia*, defeated them in two battles, and obliged them to ſue for peace, and to return home. The next year was not remarkable for any great event; but the year after, he gave his ſon the title of *Auguſtus*, and the tribunitial power, and both princes retained the faſces all this and the following year, in order to celebrate with the greater pomp

Year of *Rome* 1000

the thouſand year of *Rome*, which began on the 21ſt of *April* of the 248th *Chriſtian* æra, and fifth of *Philip*'s reign. This year too he publiſhed an edict, forbidding, under the ſevereſt penalties, all manner of unnatural luſt, and thoſe infamous practices which had ſo long been countenanced by the wicked, and tolerated by the good emperors.

Several rebellions

In the following year, the eaſtern provinces, no longer able to pay the taxes with which they were loaded, revolted, and proclaimed one *Papianus* emperor: but he was ſoon killed, and the rebellion thereby ſuppreſſed. At the ſame time, the provinces of *Mæſia* and *Pannonia* revolted, and ſet up one *Marinus*, a centurion: but he too was ſoon killed. *Philip* then appointed *Decius* governor of *Mæſia* in *Pannonia*, which poſt he accepted much againſt his will: but he no ſooner appeared there, than the ſoldiers threatened to put him to death, if he did not alſo accept of the ſovereignty. *Philip*, the moment he was informed of this, marched with all poſſible expedition, hoping to ſurpriſe him: but *Decius* was prepared for his coming, and a battle was fought, in which *Philip* was defeated, and obliged to

Philip defeated and killed.

retire to *Verona*, where he was killed; which was no ſooner known at *Rome*, than the prætorians murdered his ſon, who was then in their camp. Such was the end of *Philip*, after a reign of five years and ſome months. The *Chriſtian* religion was not only tolerated, but encouraged, under this prince, and many are of opinion that he himſelf was a *Chriſtian*.

DECIUS.

D E C I U S.

UPON the death of *Philip* and his ſon, *Decius* was acknowledged emperor, firſt by the ſoldiery, and afterwards by the ſenate and people, who had neither ſtrength nor courage to diſpute the election of the new prince. He was a native of *Bubalia*, a town of *Sirmium*, in *Lower Pannonia*, and now in the fifty-ſeventh year of his age. *Roſinus*, *Victor*, and *Vopiſcus* give him every good quality, and ſay he was deſcended from an illuſtrious family. He was no ſooner veſted with the ſovereignty, than he declared his eldeſt ſon *Cæſar*, and *Prince of the youth*; and ſoon after beſtowed the ſame titles on his three other ſons. *Decius* emperor.

In the very beginning of his reign he raiſed the moſt dreadful and bloody perſecution that had ever oppreſſed the church; from the purſuit of which, to the length he otherwiſe would probably have carried it, he was diverted by the *Goths* invading the *Roman* dominions, and laying ſiege to *Nicopolis* in *Lower Mæſia*, with ſeventy thouſand men. *Decius* ſent againſt them, at the head of a numerous army, his eldeſt ſon, who, falling upon them unexpectedly, killed thirty thouſand of them, and obliged the reſt to retire beyond Mount *Hæmus*, which parted *Mæſia* from *Thrace*. However, they ſoon recruited, and returned to the charge, and that with very different ſucceſs: for *Cniva*, their king, falling unawares upon the *Romans* in the neighbourhood of *Berda*, near the river *Hebrus*, cut their whole army in pieces, and obliged the young prince to ſave himſelf by flight into *Mæſia*. *Cniva* then ravaged *Thrace*, and laid waſte great part of *Macedon*, where *L. Priſcus*, probably brother to the late emperor, commanded at that time, and, inſtead of oppoſing, joined the enemy, and cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed emperor. Upon the news of this, the emperor *Decius*, who had ſtaid at *Rome* to conſecrate the walls of the city, which he had repaired, immediately ſet out againſt the enemy, whom he overcame in ſeveral engagements, and drove out of the *Roman* dominions, after forcing them to quit the booty they had taken. *Priſcus* was declared a public enemy, and ſlain, but where, or how, hiſtory does not ſay. He perſecutes the church. The *Goths* invade the *Roman* dominions *Decius* defeats them

Soon after, the *Goths* reunited, and returned in greater numbers than before. *Decius* defeated them again, and reduced them to ſuch ſtreights, that they offered to releaſe all the priſoners they had taken, and relinquiſh their booty, if he would ſuffer them to return unmoleſted. But he, bent upon deſtroying their whole nation at once, ſent *Trebonianus Gallus*, with a ſtrong detachment, to cut off their retreat; and, purſuing them cloſe with the reſt of the army, came up with them before they reached the *Danube*, and engaged them Gains new advantages over them.

Decius. them a ſecond time. The *Goths*, knowing that all was at ſtake, fought like men in deſpair. Young *Decius* was killed. His father, ſeeing him fall, and obſerving that it ſtruck a great damp upon his troops, without betraying the leaſt concern, cried out, *We have loſt but one man; let not, fellow ſoldiers, ſo ſmall a loſs diſcourage you.* So ſaying, he ruſhed into the midſt of the enemy, but was ſurrounded, overpowered, and killed. The *Goths*, purſuing their victory, made dreadful havock of the diſheartened army. Such of the *Romans* as eſcaped the general ſlaughter, fled to the legions commanded by *Gallus*, who, by pretending a great concern for the death of *Decius* and the defeat of his army, and feigning to march againſt the barbarians, gained the hearts of the ſoldiers to ſuch a degree, that they immediately proclaimed him emperor.

The emperor and his ſon killed, and the *Roman* army cut in pieces.

GALLUS.

Gallus emperor. THE haſty election of *Gallus* was no ſooner notified to the ſenate, than they confirmed it; and the new emperor, inſtead of revenging the death of *Decius*, and the defeat of his army, immediately concluded a ſhameful peace with the *Goths*, ſuffering them to retire unmoleſted with all their priſoners and booty, and even engaging to pay them yearly a conſiderable ſum, provided they continued quiet in their own country. He then declared his ſon *Voluſianus Cæſar*, and returned with him to *Rome*, where he began his reign with reviving all the edicts of his predeceſſors againſt the *Chriſtians*, and ordering them to be ſtrictly put in execution. He was ſcarcely ſeated on the throne, when a dreadful plague deſolated all the provinces of the empire, and was followed by a great famine, and wars in moſt parts of the *Roman* dominions. *Licinianus* took upon him the title of *Auguſtus*; but this revolt was ſoon quaſhed. The *Goths*, the *Boranis*, the *Carpians*, and the *Burgundians*, a people dwelling on the banks of the *Danube*, broke into *Mæſia* and *Pannonia*; the *Scythians* over-ran *Aſia*; and the *Perſians* laid waſte *Syria*, and made themſelves maſters of *Antioch*.

Concludes a ſhameful peace with the *Goths.*

Perſecutes the *Chriſtians.*

Æmilian, who commanded in *Mæſia*, overcame the barbarians in a pitched battle, and forced them to retire: but, elated with this ſucceſs, and deſpiſing *Gallus*, who minded nothing but his pleaſures at *Rome*, while his generals were expoſing their lives in defence of the empire, he cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed emperor by the troops under his command. *Gallus*, alarmed at this, ordered *Valerian* to march againſt him with the *Gallic* and *German* legions. But

Æmilian,

Æmilian, without giving him time to assemble his troops, marched directly to *Italy*, and soon arrived at *Interamna* and *Terni*, about thirty-two miles from *Rome*. There he was met by *Gallus* and his son *Volusianus*, at the head of a considerable army; but the troops of these last, despising their leaders, slew them in the sight of *Æmilian*'s army, and proclaimed him emperor. Such was the end of the emperor *Gallus*, after he had reigned a year and six months. *Gallus*. *Gallus* is killed by his own troops.

Æ M I L I A N.

THE news of the death of *Gallus*, and of his son, was no sooner brought to *Rome*, than the senate confirmed the election of the soldiery, and honoured the new prince with the usual titles. He was of a very mean descent, but had served from his youth in the *Roman* armies, and raised himself to the first employments in the state. In the letter which he wrote to the senate, after the death of *Gallus*, he promised to drive the *Goths* out of *Thrace*, and the *Persians* out of *Mesopotamia* and *Armenia*, and to leave the exercise of the sovereign power to the senate, whose lieutenant only he said he would be. In the mean time, the troops which *Valerian* was leading to the assistance of *Gallus*, hearing in *Rhætia*, that he was dead, refused to submit to the new prince, and proclaimed their own general emperor. *Æmilian*'s army being informed of this, and having an higher opinion of *Valerian* than they had of *Æmilian*, killed this last to avoid a civil war. He died in the forty-sixth year of his age, after a short reign of three, or, at most, four months. *Æmilian* emperor. Is killed by his own men, and *Valerian* proclaimed emperor.

V A L E R I A N.

THE senate, with great joy, confirmed the election of *Valerian*, and gave his son *Gallienus* the title of *Cæsar*. *Valerian* was descended from one of the most illustrious families in *Rome*; had commanded armies; discharged, with great reputation, the chief employments of the empire, both civil and military; and was greatly beloved and respected by all men, for his integrity, prudence, modesty, and extraordinary accomplishments. He was universally judged worthy of the empire before he attained it, but was afterwards found no way equal to so great a charge. He began his reign with great applause, easing the people of many heavy taxes, enacting several excellent laws, and judiciously preferring Origin and character of *Valerian*.

Valerian. none but men of merit: but his want of activity and reſolution drew upon the empire the many calamities which befel it in his and his ſon's reign.

The empire invaded on all ſides by barbarians.

In the very firſt year of his reign he made his ſon *Gallienus* his partner in the empire, which was then threatened on all ſides by the barbarians: for the *Germans* and *Franks* committed great devaſtations in that part of *Gaul* which bordered on the *Rhine*; the *Goths* and the *Carpians* invaded the provinces of *Mœſia*, *Thrace*, and *Macedon*; and the *Perſians* over-run *Syria*, *Cilicia*, and *Cappadocia*. *Aurelian*, at that time tribune of a legion quartered at *Mentz*, fell upon the *Franks*, who inhabited the countries now called *Weſtphalia* and *Heſſe*, and defeated them. The next year, the *Germans* were overcome, firſt by *Gallienus*, and afterwards by *Parthumus*, a commander of great proweſs and experience; and *Aurelian*, who had now the command of the troops in *Illyricum* and *Thrace*, drove the *Goths* out of thoſe provinces, took an incredible number of them priſoners, and purſuing them beyond the *Danube*, laid waſte their country, and returned to *Mœſia*, loaded with booty. At the ſame time *Probus* defeated the *Sarmatians* and the *Quadi*.

The *Perſians* over-run ſeveral provinces.

In the mean while, *Sapor*, king of *Perſia*, ſeized all *Armenia*, took *Niſibis* and *Charræ* in *Meſopotamia*, ravaged all *Syria*, at the head of a mighty army, and made himſelf maſter of *Antioch*. After this, *Sapor* returned to *Perſia* with an immenſe booty, and appointed governor of the conquered countries one *Cyriades*, who thereupon aſſumed the title of *Cæſar*, and, ſoon after, that of *Auguſtus*, and was acknowledged as emperor by moſt of the provinces of the Eaſt. At the ſame time, the *Borans*, a *Scythian* nation, croſſing the *Euxine* ſea, plundered ſeveral places in *Boſphorus* and *Pontus*, and proceeded into *Aſia*, where they ſurprized and plundered *Chalcedon*, *Nicæa*, *Apamea*, *Pruſa*, and ſeveral other cities, and then returned with an immenſe booty to their own country.

The *Scythians* invade *Aſia*.

Valerian defeated by the *Perſians*, and taken priſoner.

During this, *Valerian*, in hopes of ſtopping theſe horrid devaſtations, had removed from *Rome* to *Byzantium*, and recovered *Antioch*, from whence he marched into *Meſopotamia*, where he met *Sapor*, who had returned, and attacked him: but by the treachery of one *Macrian*, an *Egyptian* magician, who perſuaded him to engage in a diſadvantageous poſt, he loſt the flower of his troops, and was himſelf taken priſoner. He was carried in triumph by *Sapor* into *Perſia*, and there treated with the greateſt indignity; the haughty conqueror making him his foot-ſtool whenever he mounted on horſeback. In that abject ſituation he lived ſome years; and after his death, his body was flayed, by *Sapor*'s order, and preſerved in ſalt, and his ſkin was dreſſed, died red, and expoſed in a temple, where, to the eternal ignominy of the *Roman* name, it was ſhewn to all foreign princes and ambaſſadors, as a monument of the power of the *Perſian* monarch.

Year of *Rome* 1008 of *Chriſt* 256.

narch. *Valerian* was taken priſoner in the ſeventieth year of his age, and the ſixth of his reign. *Valerian.*

He was at firſt a great patron of the *Chriſtian* religion; but, by the perſuaſion of *Macrian*, who told him, that the affairs of the empire would never proſper till the pagan rites were reſtored, and the religion of the *Chriſtians* utterly aboliſhed, he ſet on foot a violent perſecution, which laſted three years, and is commonly reckoned the eighth.

CHAP. IV.

From the Captivity of Valerian *to the Reſignation of* Diocleſian.

GALLIENUS.

GALLIENUS, who had ſhared the ſovereignty with his father *Valerian*, now remained ſole emperor, at the age of about forty-one; and, inſtead of attempting to revenge the cauſe of his unhappy parent, intirely neglected him, and ſeemed rather to rejoice at his captivity, which, with the late defeat of the *Roman* army, ſo encouraged the barbarians, then at war with *Rome*, that they poured on all ſides ſuch incredible multitudes into the *Roman* territories, as threatened the empire, and *Rome* itſelf with utter deſtruction. The *Alemanni* and the *Franks* over-ran *Rhætia*, entered *Italy*, and advanced as far as *Ravenna*, putting all to fire and ſword. The *Quadi* and *Sarmatians* ſeized great part of *Dacia* and *Pannonia*; and other barbarous nations, invading *Spain*, made themſelves maſters of ſeveral important places in that province. *Gallienus*, who was then in *Gaul*, flew to the defence of *Rome*, and either drove the enemy out of *Italy*, or they retired upon his approach; which of the two is not certain. Thoſe who had invaded *Dacia* and *Pannonia*, were defeated by *Regillianus*, and forced to return home. *Gallienus* emperor.

In the mean time, *Ingenuus* cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed emperor in *Pannonia*. *Galienus* marched immediately againſt him, and defeated and killed him: but the barbarity with which he uſed his victory, ordering his ſoldiers to put all the inhabitants of *Mæſia* to the ſword, and ſtrictly enjoining them to deſtroy all the males, old and young, in every city they came to, ſo incenſed thoſe who had eſcaped the general ſlaughter, that they proclaimed emperor *Regillianus*, an excellent officer, and by birth a *Dacian*, who ſoon gained great advantages over the *Sarmatians*, but *Ingenuus* proclaimed emperor. *Regilianus* emperor.

Gallienus. but was as ſoon murdered by thoſe who had raiſed him to the empire. The ſame year, *Poſthumius*, a man of mean extraction, but endowed with extraordinary parts, and great valour, revolted in *Gaul*, and was proclaimed emperor by the troops under his command. *Poſthumius* immediately marched to *Cologne*, where he obliged the inhabitants to deliver up to him the ſons of *Gallienus*, *Sylvanus* and *Salonius*, who were put to death. He reigned ſeven years, in the courſe of which he drove all the *Germans* out of *Gaul*, and governed with ſuch moderation, that he was univerſally beloved.

Poſthumius emperor.

The *Perſians* over-run the Eaſtern provinces.

During theſe diſturbances in the Weſt, *Sapor*, king of *Perſia*, over-ran moſt of the eaſtern provinces, laid waſte *Meſopotamia*, *Syria*, *Cilicia*, and *Cappadocia*, made himſelf maſter of *Cæſarea*, and cut in pieces all the inhabitants, to the number of four hundred thouſand.

Baliſta deſtroys great numbers of them.

In the mean time, the *Roman* troops, who had diſperſed upon the captivity of *Valerian*, rallied, and choſe for their leader *Baliſta*, a man of great addreſs, intrepidity, and experience in war, who, coming up with the *Perſians*, made a dreadful havock of them, ſtripped them of all the booty and captives they had taken, made many of them priſoners, and, among the reſt, the wives of *Sapor*. *Baliſta* was ſeconded by *Odenatus*, whoſe name is famous in the hiſtory of thoſe times, for the many victories he gained over the *Perſians*, and his ſaving the *Roman* empire in the Eaſt. *Odenatus*, after defeating the *Perſians* in a bloody battle, near the *Euphrates*, aſſumed the title of king of *Palmyra*, and *Gallienus* appointed him commander in chief of all the *Roman* forces in the Eaſt, which poſt he diſcharged with great fidelity and ſucceſs. For, the next year, not ſatisfied with having driven *Sapor* out of the *Roman* dominions, he penetrated into the very heart of *Perſia*, in hopes of crowning his other exploits with the deliverance of *Valerian*. While this was doing, *Macrian*, whom *Dionyſius* of *Alexandria* calls the chief of the *Egyptian* magicians, a man of mean deſcent, but great courage and experience in war, immenſely rich, and now, from a common ſoldier, which he once was, raiſed to the higheſt poſts in the army; found means to gain over *Baliſta*, and was, by his means, acknowledged emperor by moſt of the troops in the Eaſt, who deſpiſed and hated *Gallienus*.

Macrianus emperor.

Valens proclaimed emperor in *Achaia*, and *Piſo* in *Theſſaly*.

Macrian immediately took his two ſons for his partners in the empire, appointed *Baliſta* his captain of the guards, and marched againſt the *Perſians*, whom he defeated ſeveral times. He then detached againſt *Valens*, who had likewiſe aſſumed the title of emperor in *Achaia*, *Piſo*, who, inſtead of encountering the enemy, retired into *Theſſaly*, and there cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed emperor. But he was ſoon after murdered by ſome ſoldiers ſent by *Valens*, who was himſelf ſlain, a few days after, by his own men.

About

Gallienus made emperor in *Illyricum.*

About the ſame time that *Macrian* uſurped the empire in the Eaſt, *Aureolus* was forced, by the army which he commanded in *Illyricum*, to take upon him the ſovereignty: for the ſoldiers every where abhorred *Galliemus*, and would obey none but emperors of their own chuſing. *Aureolus* marched directly into *Italy*, and made himſelf maſter of *Milan*. *Gallienus*, after various unſucceſsful attempts to conquer him, was at laſt obliged to come to an accommodation with him, and accept of his aſſiſtance againſt *Poſthumius*, who had now reigned three years undiſturbed in *Gaul*. *Galliemus*, in this expedition, likewiſe took with him his ſon *Claudius*, who ſucceeded him in the empire; and this war laſted ſome years, with various ſucceſs, in the courſe of which, *Poſthumius* took for his collegue *Victorinus*, who, we are told, equalled *Trajan* in bravery, *Antoninus* in clemency, *Nerva* in gravity, *Veſpaſian* in managing the public money, and *Pertinax* and *Severus* in his care of the military diſcipline: but his unbridled luſt drowned all his good qualities, and rendered him at laſt ſo deſpicable in the eyes of the ſoldiers, that, after he had defeated one *Ælianus*, who had aſſumed the title of emperor at *Mentz*, on his refuſing to give up that city to be plundered by them, they mutinied, and murdered him and his ſon.

The empire afflicted with many dreadful calamities.

The year of *Gallienus*'s fifth conſulſhip was remarkable for many dreadful calamities which afflicted the *Roman* empire, beſides the civil wars which rent it in pieces. The ſun was overcaſt with thick clouds, and a great darkneſs continued for ſeveral days together, attended with a violent earthquake, and a noiſe like thunder in the bowels of the earth, which opened in many places, and ſwallowed up great numbers of people, with their habitations. The ſea broke in upon the continent, and drowned whole cities. A violent plague raged in *Greece* and *Egypt*, and particularly at *Rome*, where it frequently ſwept off five thouſand people a day. The books of the ſybils were conſulted, and public proceſſions and ſacrifices ordered; but all to no purpoſe; and to all theſe calamities were added, incurſions of the *Goths* in great ſwarms into *Greece*, and of the *Scythians* into *Aſia*. The former, having made themſelves maſters of *Thrace*, over-ran all *Macedon*, and were attempting to enter *Achaia*, when *Macrian* coming up with them, in his way to *Italy*, put them to flight, and forced them to return to their own country. At the ſame time, the *Scythians* croſſing the *Helleſpont*, under the conduct of one *Raſpa*, committed dreadful ravages in *Aſia*, burnt ſeveral cities there, and plundered the celebrated temple of *Diana* at *Epheſus*, ſo much reſpected by the pagans, and ſo famous for its rich ornaments, and immenſe wealth. Thus was the deſtruction of the moſt famous monuments of paganiſm begun by the *Goths*, who, after likewiſe deſtroying the poor remains of ancient *Troy*, and the

The *Scythians* plunder the temple of *Diana* at *Epheſus*.

Gallienus. famous *Ilium*, re-paſſed the *Helleſpont*, laid waſte all *Thrace*, and returned to their own country with an immenſe booty.

Macrian defeated and killed by *Aureolus.*

In the mean time, *Macrian*, having ſettled the affairs of *Syria*, left there his younger ſon *Quietus*, with *Baliſta*, to guard that province againſt the *Perſians*, and ſet out for *Italy*, with his eldeſt ſon *Macrian*, at the head of forty-five thouſand men, to try his fortune againſt *Aureolus* in *Illyricum*, and *Gallienus* at *Rome*. He was met by the forces of the former on the borders of *Thrace*, where a battle enſued, in which *Macrian* and his ſon were killed, and their whole army thereupon ſubmitted to *Aureolus*, who incorporated them with his own troops. *Quietus*, the other ſon of *Macrian*, was killed at *Emeſa* in *Syria*, where he and *Baliſta* had ſhut themſelves up; and upon his death, *Baliſta* aſſumed the title of emperor in that city, where he reigned three years, and was at laſt killed by a common ſoldier.

Baliſta aſſumes the title of emperor, and likewiſe *Æmilian*,

About the ſame time that *Baliſta* aſſumed the ſovereignty at *Emeſa*, *Æmilian*, commander of the legions in *Egypt*, took upon him the title of emperor, and was acknowledged as ſuch in that country, and particularly at *Alexandria*, where *Gallienus* was deteſted. He viſited in perſon the moſt diſtant parts of *Egypt*, redreſſed many grievances, repulſed the neighbouring barbarians, and was preparing for an expedition into *India*, when *Theodotus*, a native of *Egypt*, whom *Gallienus* had diſpatched againſt him, overcame him in a pitched battle, took him priſoner, and ſent him to *Rome*; where he was, by the emperor's order, ſtrangled in priſon, according to the ancient cuſtom of putting captive princes to death.

who is put to death.

Gallienus maſſacres the *Byzantines.*

Theſe diſturbances at length made *Gallienus* quit *Gaul* and haſten into the Eaſt; where, for what provocation we know not, he wreaked his rage on the city of *Byzantium*, cauſing the garriſon, and all the inhabitants, to be put to the ſword, inſomuch that not one perſon was left alive in the place. From thence he returned in triumph to *Rome*; leading with him a great number of mock-captives, dreſſed like *Goths*, *Sarmatians*, *Franks*, and *Perſians*. During this ſhew, ſome perſons of humour, mixing with the *Perſians*, examined them with more than common attention, and ſeemed to betray great ſurpriſe. Being in the end aſked, *What they wanted? We are looking*, ſaid they, *for the emperor's father*: which ſo incenſed *Gallienus*, that he ordered them directly to be burnt alive.

Saturnius aſſumes the title of emperor, and is murdered.

About this time, one *Saturnius*, a man of great parts, and renowned for his victories over the barbarians, aſſumed the title of emperor; but where, or how long, he reigned, hiſtory ſays not; all we know, is, that he performed great things while he was emperor; and was, on account of his ſeverity, put to death by the ſame ſoldiers who had raiſed him to the empire.

The *Illyrians* revolt.

Shortly after, the *Illyrians* revolted in *Aſia-Minor*, and choſe for their leader *Trebellianus*, who took upon him the title

of

of *Auguſtus*, and reigned ſome time in *Iſauria* and *Cilicia*; but was in the end drawn from among the mountains, where he had taken refuge, and defeated and killed. The *Iſaurians*, even then, refuſed to ſubmit to *Gallienus*, whoſe cruelty they dreaded; and maintained themſelves a free people in the very heart of the *Roman* empire, at leaſt till the time of the emperor *Conſtantine*. *Africa* too ſet up its emperor, *C. Celſus*, a man of great integrity, and worthy of the rank to which he was raiſed: but he held it a very ſhort time, being killed on the ſeventh day after his election.

Gallienus

Celſus made emperor in *Africa* and killed.

In the ſeventh conſulſhip of *Gallienus*, the brave *Odenatus*, whom *Gallienus* had ſome time before declared his partner in the empire, entering the *Perſian* territories, put all there to fire and ſword, overcame *Sapor* in ſeveral battles, and made himſelf maſter of *Cteſiphon*. But, in the mean time, the *Goths*, entering *Aſia* by the *Euxine* ſea, over-ran *Lydia*, *Bithynia*, *Phrygia*, *Troas*, *Cappadocia*, and *Galatia*, and carried off an immenſe booty, and a prodigious number of priſoners. *Odenatus* haſtened back to the relief of *Aſia*, where he was killed ſoon after his arrival; but how, or where, hiſtorians are not agreed. His wife, *Zenobia*, governed, in the name of her children, with the title of Queen of the Eaſt: but ſhe did not, like her huſband, keep up a good underſtanding with the *Romans*, whom, on the contrary, ſhe attacked and defeated under the command of *Heraclianus*, who was marching againſt the *Perſians*.

Year of *Rome* 1014 of *Chriſt* 262.

Towards the end of this year, one *Ælianus* aſſumed the title of emperor at *Mentz*; but was ſoon overcome by *Poſthumius*, who reduced that city, but was killed by his ſoldiers, becauſe he would not deliver it up to be plundered by them. Some impute his death to *Lollianus*, who had revolted from him, and cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed emperor. *Lollianus* reigned in that part of *Gaul* which bordered upon the *Rhine*; while *Victorinus*, whom *Poſthumius* had taken for his partner, held the reſt of that country. But he did not long enjoy the ſovereignty, being murdered, on account of his ſeverity, by his own ſoldiers, ſtirred up by *Victorinus*, who, upon his death, became ſole maſter of all *Gaul*; but who was himſelf ſhortly after killed at *Cologne*, together with his ſon. The *Gauls* then ſet up one *Marius*, originally an armourer, but a man of great valour, and extraordinary ſtrength, who was killed on the third day of his reign, by a ſoldier who had formerly worked under him. The aſſaſſin ran him through with his ſword, telling him, *That it was of his own making*. Upon his death, the troops in *Gaul* proclaimed emperor *Tetricus*, a *Roman* ſenator, who had been conſul, and was then governor of *Aquitain*. He was acknowledged in *Spain* and *Britain*, as well as in *Gaul*; and held thoſe provinces, with the title of emperor, till the fourth year of *Aurelian*'s reign, when he was taken and led in triumph by that prince. All

Poſthumius murdered in *Gaul*.

Lollianus

and *Marius* declared emperors, but murdered, and *Tetricus* raiſed to the empire.

Gallienus. theſe uſurpers in *Gaul* were ſet up by *Victorina*, the mother of *Victorinus*, who had a great intereſt in that country, and bore an irreconcileable hatred to *Gallienus*.

Irruptions of the *Goths* and *Heruli*, who are defeated.

The ſame year, the *Scythians*, that is, the *Goths*, ravaged a-new the provinces of *Aſia*, *Bithynia*, *Pontus*, and *Cappadocia*, and carried off an immenſe booty; while the *Heruli*, paſſing from the *Palus Mœotis* into the *Euxine* ſea, with five hundred veſſels, landed at *Byzantium*, and *Chryſopolis*, now *Scutari*, under the conduct of one *Naulobat*. At the latter of theſe places they were attacked and defeated by *Venerianus*, who was killed in the engagement. But, inſtead of returning to their own country, they croſſed the *Boſphorus*, and ſurpriſed and plundered the great and wealthy city of *Cyzicus*, with part of *Aſia*, and the iſlands of *Lemnos* and *Scyras* in the *Archipelago*. They then landed in *Greece*, and burnt *Athens*, *Corinth*, *Sparta*, and *Argos*, and laid waſte all *Achaia*; but were in the end defeated with great ſlaughter by the *Athenians*, under the conduct of *Dexippus* the hiſtorian. However, in their retreat, they committed dreadful devaſtations in *Bœotia*, *Acarnania*, *Epirus*, and *Theſſaly*. *Gallienus*, who was juſt then returned from *Gaul*, where he had been making war upon *Lollianus*, leaving *Aureolus* at *Milan*, haſtened into *Illyricum*, and falling unexpectedly upon the barbarians there, gave them a total overthrow. *Gallienus* then haſtened back to *Italy*, leaving *Marcian* in *Illyricum*, to purſue the war againſt the *Heruli*; which he did with great ſucceſs, obliging them to quit their booty, and abandon the *Roman* dominions.

War between *Aureolus* and *Gallienus*.

What obliged *Gallienus* to return to *Italy*, was, the revolt of *Aureolus*; who, not ſatisfied with the power he already enjoyed, took advantage of *Gallienus*'s abſence, to march with all his troops towards *Rome*, with a deſign to depoſe *Gallienus*, and cauſe himſelf to be proclaimed ſole emperor. *Gallienus*, reaching *Italy* in a few days, came up with him, defeated him in a pitched battle, and obliged him to take ſhelter within the walls of *Milan*; which *Gallienus* immediately inveſted. *Gallienus* was killed during this ſiege; but by whom, and in what manner, authors do not agree. He died in the thirty-fifth year of his age, after he had reigned fifteen years; ſeven before, and eight after, the captivity of his father *Valerian*. He was one of the moſt wicked princes mentioned in hiſtory, and is ſaid to have equalled *Nero* in cruelty, and *Heliogabalus* in lewdneſs. The ſenate declared him a public enemy, and ordered moſt of his friends, miniſters, and relations, to be thrown headlong down the *Tarpeian* rock: yet, notwithſtanding his being univerſally abhorred, his ſucceſſor cauſed him to be deified.

Gallienus murdered

Year of *Rome* 1016 of *Chriſt*, 264.

CLAUDIUS, II.

THE death of *Gallienus* occaſioned a great tumult among the ſoldiers, who ſuſpected that he had been murdered; but *Marcian*, by giving them large ſums of money, appeaſed them, and the whole army declared *Gallienus* a tyrant, and proclaimed emperor *Claudius*, who had been propoſed to them as the beſt qualified man in the whole empire to ſuſtain the name and dignity of a *Roman* emperor. The ſenate immediately confirmed their election with great joy. *Claudius* made emperor.

Of this emperor's pedigree we know very little, hiſtorians differing greatly upon that ſubject. Some ſay he was a native of *Illyricum*, and born in *Dardania*; and according to others, in *Dalmatia*: but, however that may be, all agree, that he was a perſon of extraordinary valor and great virtue, and that he made ſeveral excellent laws, by which the empire was greatly reformed and bettered, He was now about fifty-four years of age. His character.

His election was no ſooner confirmed by the ſenate, than he attacked *Aureolus* near *Milan*, and, after defeating and taking him, would have ſpared his life; but the ſoldiers killed him without his orders. The conquered troops then acknowledged *Claudius*, and marched directly with him againſt the *Germans*, who had broken into *Italy*, and were advanced almoſt as far as *Verona*. He there defeated them in a pitched battle, cut incredible numbers of them in pieces, and obliged the reſt to fly precipitately into their own country. *Aureolus* defeated and killed

In the beginning of the next year, he ſet out againſt the *Goths*, and other northern nations, who, to the number of three hundred and twenty thouſand fighting men, beſides women, ſervants, and children, had invaded the *Roman* dominions, and committed every where dreadful devaſtations; laying waſte whole provinces, burning cities, and putting all to fire and ſword. *Claudius* came up with them, and, notwithſtanding their prodigious ſuperiority in numbers, after a long and obſtinate battle, gained one of the greateſt victories mentioned in hiſtory; for no fewer than three hundred thouſand of the enemy were killed or taken priſoners; and their fleet, conſiſting of two thouſand ſail, was utterly deſtroyed. For this victory, *Claudius* took the ſurname of *Gothicus*. The *Germans* and *Goths* defeated.

While *Claudius* was thus employed againſt the barbarians, *Zenobia*, having overcome *Probus*, who commanded ſome troops in *Egypt*, reduced that province, and took and deſtroyed *Bruchium*, the citadel of *Alexandria*. *Probus*, unable otherwiſe to avoid falling into the hands of the victorious queen, killed himſelf. The emperor thereupon reſolved to march againſt her; but was prevented from carrying his deſign into execu- *Zenobia* reduces *Egypt*.

Claudius. execution, by a violent plague which broke out in his army, and, after ſweeping away prodigious numbers of his men, killed him alſo at *Sirmium* in *Pannonia*, in the fifty-ſixth year of his age, after he had reigned two years and one month.

The death of *Claudius.* In him centred, the moderation of *Auguſtus*, the valor of *Trajan*, the piety of *Antoninus*, and all the virtues of the good princes who had reigned before him. Short as his reign was, he re-eſtabliſhed the tottering empire, and reſtored it to its former luſtre. The ſenate not only beſtowed divine honours upon him after his death, but hung up in the place where they aſſembled a ſhield of gold, on which his image was engraved: and the people erected to him, at their own expence, two ſtatues; one of gold, ten feet high; and the other of ſilver, weighing fifteen hundred pounds.

Year of *Rome* 1018 of *Chriſt* 266.

Longinus and *Porphyry* flouriſhed at this time.

AURELIAN.

Quintillus proclaimed emperor, but kills himſelf.

IMMEDIATELY after the death of *Claudius*, the army unanimouſly proclaimed *Aurelian* emperor: but the confirmation of this election was ſuſpended for ſome time at *Rome*, by reaſon of *Quintillus*, brother to the deceaſed emperor, who, being left commander of a few legions to guard *Italy*, was by them likewiſe proclaimed emperor; and the ſenate gladly approved of him, on account of his brother, and his own great virtues and moderation. However, *Quintillus*, finding himſelf unable to withſtand ſo formidable a rival as *Aureolus*, and reſolving to die emperor, rather than return to a private condition, cauſed his veins to be opened, and, by that means, put an end to his life and reign, ſeventeen days after his election.

Aurelian, emperor,

Upon his death, the ſenate readily confirmed the election of *Aurelian*, and honoured him with the title of *Auguſtus*. He was a native of *Sirmium* in *Pannonia*, of a mean deſcent, being originally a common ſoldier, but univerſally admired on account of his extraordinary ſtrength and courage. From *Sirmium*, where he was ſaluted emperor by the army, he haſtened to *Rome*, and was received there, by the ſenate and people, with extraordinary demonſtrations of joy: but before he could ſettle affairs in that city, he was obliged to fly back to *Pannonia*, to oppoſe the *Goths*, who, notwithſtanding their late dreadful overthrow, had again broken into that province. *Aurelian* engaged them, and the battle laſted, without any conſiderable advantage on either ſide, till night; when the enemy repaſſed the *Danube*, and the next day ſent ambaſſadors to ſue for peace, which *Aurelian* readily granted them,

concludes a peace

them. He then led his army againſt the *Alemanni*, *Juthongæ*, and *Marcomanni*, who were preparing to invade *Italy*; and, meeting them in *Vindelicia*, (the preſent *Bavaria* and part of *Suevia*) he put them to flight, and deſtroyed vaſt numbers of them, as they attempted to repaſs the *Danube*. Hereupon they ſent ambaſſadors to him, offering to renew their ancient alliance with *Rome*, provided they were ſuffered to return unmoleſted into their own country. But *Aurelian*, elated with his victory, would not hearken to any terms. The enemy, driven to deſpair, reſolved thereupon, at all events, to enter *Italy*; and, finding the paſſes unguarded, advanced as far as *Placentia* before the emperor could come up with them. Then *Aurelian* attacked them, but was put to flight, and utterly defeated, after having loſt moſt of his troops. The barbarians, flufhed with their victory, purſued their march, not doubting but they ſhould be able to take *Rome* itſelf, as the *Goths* had done: but, in the mean time, *Aurelian*, having rallied and reinforced his troops, fell unexpectedly upon the enemy, and gave them a great overthrow, Such of them as eſcaped this firſt battle, were ſlain in two others; one near *Placentia*, and the other in the plains of *Ticinum*; inſomuch that they were all cut off to a man. *Aurelian.* with the *Goths*, and ſubdues the *Germans*.

While the emperor was preparing to return to *Rome*, the *Vandals* paſſed the *Danube*, under the conduct of two of their kings and ſeveral of their princes. *Aurelian* marched immediately againſt them, overtook them before they could return back to the *Danube*, killed great numbers of them, and obliged the reſt to ſue for peace; which he readily granted them, upon their delivering to him as hoſtages the ſons of their two kings, and ſeveral other perſons of great diſtinction. He then returned to *Rome*, where he puniſhed the authors of ſeveral abuſes which had happened there during his abſence, with ſuch exceſſive ſeverity, as eſtranged from him the affections both of the ſenate and people. Some ſay, that he was glad of any pretence to condemn the rich, being in great want of money to pay his troops. This year, with the approbation of the ſenate, he repaired and extended the walls of *Rome*; ſo that they were now fifty miles in compaſs. The *Vandals* defeated.

The next year, *Aurelian*, having ſettled the affairs of *Pannonia*, *Italy*, and *Rome*, left the city a-new, and ſet out for the Eaſt, to make war upon the celebrated *Zenobia*, who, to the great diſgrace of the empire, had held moſt of the eaſtern provinces for ſeveral years. This queen, one of the moſt illuſtrious women mentioned in hiſtory, was equally learned and brave. Upon the death of her huſband *Odenatus*, prince of *Palmyra*, and afterwards partner in the empire with *Gallienus*, in whoſe ſignal victories over the *Perſians* ſhe is ſaid to have had perſonally a great ſhare, being no leſs courageous than that brave commander, and equally experienced in military affairs; ſhe arrayed her three ſons, *Herennianus*, *Timolaus*, and *Vhaballat*, in purple, and cauſed them to be acknowledged He goes againſt *Zenobia*.

Year of *Rome* 1020 of *Chriſt* 268.

Some account of her.

Aurelian. knowledged by all the eaſtern provinces as joint-emperors of *Rome*: but as they were under age, ſhe governed, as we obſerved before, in their name, with the title of *Queen of the Eaſt*; and defeated *Gallienus*'s general *Heraclianus*; by whoſe overthrow ſhe remained in peaceable poſſeſſion of all *Syria* and *Meſopotamia*, to which ſhe added *Egypt*; while *Claudius* was taken up with the *Gothic* war. Not ſatisfied with theſe acquiſitions, in the reign of *Aurelian*, ſhe ſeized on a great part of *Aſia*, and attempted to reduce *Bithynia*. *Aurelian*, deſirous to put an end to her uſurpations, ordered all his forces to aſſemble in *Illyricum*; and, leading his march thro' *Thrace*, defeated ſeveral barbarous nations who had invaded that province; paſſed the *Danube*, and ſlew *Cannabaud*, a *Gothic* prince, with five thouſand of his men. He then entered *Bithynia*, which immediately ſubmitted; and advanced into *Cappadocia*, where he took the city of *Tyana*. From thence he marched to *Antioch*, which he entered in triumph, after defeating the troops of *Zenobia* in the neighbourhood of the capital of *Syria*. This victory, however, coſt him dear, *Zenobia*'s troops behaving with incredible bravery. From *Antioch* he purſued his march to *Emeſa*, whither *Zenobia* had retired with her army, conſiſting of twenty thouſand men. Here he defeated her again, and forced her to fly to *Palmyra*, whither he followed her, and laid ſiege to that city. Every art of war was tried to reduce the place, but to no purpoſe. However, during the ſiege, *Aurelian* defeated the *Perſians*, who were coming to the relief of *Palmyra*; and, partly by menaces, partly by promiſes, prevailed upon the *Armenians* and *Saracens*, who were likewiſe coming to aſſiſt the queen, to join him againſt her. *Zenobia*, thus diſappointed of the expected ſuccours, and deſpairing of being able to hold out much longer, reſolved to withdraw privately into *Perſia*, and there ſolicit in perſon more powerful ſupplies. Accordingly ſhe ſet out, in the dead of night, with a ſmall retinue: but *Aurelian*, being informed of her flight, ſent after her, and ſhe was overtaken. Upon her being brought into his preſence, he aſked her, *What had induced her to take up arms againſt the emperors of* Rome? To which ſhe replied, with no leſs intrepidity than addreſs, *That ſhe looked upon him, indeed, who knew how to conquer, as an emperor: but that ſhe had never thought* Gallienus, Aureolus, *and ſuch as them, worthy of that name.*

Aurelian kills a king of the *Goths*, and defeats *Zenobia.*

Palmyra beſieged.

Zenobia taken and brought to *Aurelian.*

Year of *Rome* 1021 of *Chriſt* 273.

Palmyra ſubmits,

Palmyra ſubmitted ſoon after; and *Aurelian*, after ſtripping it of all its wealth, and leaving in it a *Roman* governor and garriſon, returned to *Emeſa* with the captive queen, and there put to death ſeveral perſons of diſtinction who had ſided with her; among whom was the celebrated philoſopher *Longinus*. As to the queen herſelf, though the ſoldiers demanded her death with loud cries, the emperor thought it beneath him to ſpill the blood of a woman, and therefore ſpared her, as he alſo did her youngeſt ſon *Vhaballat*. All the eaſtern and

ſouthern

Aurelian.

southern nations immediately sent ambassadors to court his friendship; and peace being settled in those parts, he set out for *Europe*, carrying with him his illustrious captive. He was no sooner gone, than the *Palmyrenes* revolted, murdered all the *Romans* in their city, and proclaimed *Achilleus*, a relation of *Zenobia*, their sovereign. Upon this, *Aurelian* hastened back to *Palmyra*, before the inhabitants had any notice of his march; took the city, and put all the inhabitants to the sword, without distinction of rank, sex, or age. Before he quitted the East, *Egypt* revolted, and set up for emperor one *Firmius*, a *Syrian*, immensely rich, remarkably strong, and greatly attached to *Zenobia*. *Aurelian* marched against him with his usual expedition, took him prisoner, and caused him to be publicly executed.

and revolts; but is retaken, and all the inhabitants put to the sword.

Having thus quieted the East, he returned to *Europe*, with a design to recover, and re-unite to the empire, the provinces of *Gaul*, *Spain*, and *Britain*, which were still held by *Tetricus*. This was easily effected; *Tetricus* himself, no longer able to bear the continual disorders and mutinies of his troops, inviting him privately into *Gaul*, and there submitting to him. *Aurelian* then returned to *Rome*, where he was received with the most pompous triumph the city had ever seen. *Zenobia* herself, bound with chains of gold, and loaded with immense quantities of pearls and precious stones, among several other noble captives, graced the victor's triumph; and the people were treated with all sorts of shews for several days together.

Tetricus submits; and *Gaul*, *Spain*, and *Britain*, are reunited to the *Roman* empire.

Aurelian treated his illustrious captives with great humanity and kindness, giving to *Zenobia* possessions in the neighbourhood of *Tibur*, sufficient to maintain her according to her rank; marrying her daughters to persons of the first quality in *Rome*, and making her son *Vhaballat* prince of a small territory in *Armenia*. To *Tetricus* he gave the government of *Lucania*; telling him, pleasantly, *That it was more for his reputation to govern a province of* Italy, *than to reign beyond the* Alps. The descendants, both of *Zenobia* and of *Tetricus*, lived for some ages after in great splendor in *Italy* and at *Rome*, highly respected and esteemed.

Aurelian's humanity towards *Zenobia* and his other prisoners.

Having now put an end to all foreign and domestic disturbances, *Aurelian* applied himself wholly to the reforming of the state: to which end he made several excellent regulations, which gained him the affections of the people, whom he had estranged from him in the beginning of his reign, by his cruelty, to which he was naturally inclined. He increased the quantity of cloaths and provisions which the emperors used to distribute to the people; and, which gained him the love of every one, remitted whatever was owing by private persons to the Exchequer, publicly burning all the bonds and papers relating to such debts. At the same time he published an act of oblivion with regard to all crimes committed against the state to that day; and from thenceforth discountenanced all

He reforms several abuses.

His generosity.

Aurelian. all informers, and punished, with the utmost severity, such as accused others without being able to make good their charge. He likewise enacted many wholesome laws; by which all public lewdness and irreligion, is said to have been banished from *Rome*. Adultery was made capital, and he would suffer none to keep free-born women for concubines. His domestics, freedmen, and slaves, knew, and did, their duty; and dared not behave with insolence to any one. He built a temple to the Sun, which was one of the most magnificent structures in *Rome*, and enriched it with prodigious quantities of gold and precious stones.

Disturbances in *Gaul*.

Toward the beginning of the fifth year of his reign, some disturbances happened in *Gaul*, which obliged him to hasten thither. He soon quieted that province; and from thence marched into *Vindelicia*, where he obliged the barbarians, who had made an irruption there, to repass the *Danube*. From thence he went into *Illyricum*, and finding *Dacia* in the hands of the barbarians, and not thinking it worth his while to recover a country he could not keep, by reason of its situation in the midst of so many barbarous nations, he withdrew the *Roman* troops from the few forts they still held beyond the *Danube*; and gave the inhabitants, who were subjects of *Rome*, settlements in *Mæsia* and *Dardania*. The *Goths* possessed themselves of the country which he abandoned.

From *Illyricum Aurelian* marched into *Thrace*, with a design to pass the winter there, and lead his army against the *Persians* the next spring: but death prevented him. Historians give us the following account of his end. *Mnestheus*, one of his freedmen and secretaries, being suspected by him of some extortion, and fearing a severe punishment, counterfeited the emperor's hand to a list of the names of the chief officers in the army, and, among the rest, his own; and shewing it to them, told them, *He had found it in the emperor's closet; that they were all doomed to die; and that nothing but some desperate attempt could save them.* They, believing him, a few days after, fell upon *Aurelian*, between *Byzantium* and *Heraclea*, while he was attended only by a small guard, and murdered him, after he had reigned five years, and lived sixty three. His death did not remain unpunished: for the officers who killed him, finding, soon after, that they had been imposed upon by *Mnestheus* threw him to the wild beasts, and built a magnificent temple and tomb to the honour of the deceased emperor, in the place where he had been killed; and all those who had any hand in the murder, were either cut in pieces on the spot by the enraged soldiery, or afterwards put to death by his successors *Tacitus* and *Probus*. He was much regretted by the senate, who, at the request of the army, ranked him among the gods; but more so by the people, to whom his bounties and largesses had been much greater than those of any of his prede-

A conspiracy formed against him.

He is murdered

Year of *Rome* 1023, of *Christ*, 271.

predeceſſors. *Aurelian* is generally ſtiled the *Reſtorer of the empire*, which, after the evils it had ſuffered by the captivity of *Valerian*, and the indolence of *Gallienus*, began to revive under *Claudius*, and was reſtored to its former luſtre by *Aurelian*. He was brave, prudent, and generous; but, as his exceſſive cruelty overbalanced all his virtues, he is juſtly ranked, not among the good, but the uſeful princes. He is ſaid to have been the firſt *Roman* emperor that dared to appear in public with a diadem on his head. Some of the ſucceeding princes followed his example in that reſpect; but that royal ornament was not commonly worn till the time of *Conſtantine*. *Aurelian.* His character.

TACITUS.

AS all the chief officers in the army had been concerned in the death of *Aurelian*, the ſoldiers, by whom he was greatly beloved, not able to prevail upon themſelves to name any of them in his room, wrote to the ſenate, acquainting them with the emperor's death, and referring to them the choice of a new prince. The fathers, by the advice of *Tacitus*, who was then prince of the ſenate, and, as ſuch, ſpoke firſt, fearing the diſturbances that might enſue, if the army did not approve of their choice, deſired that the troops would nominate whom they liked beſt. Theſe reciprocal compliments were exchanged three times between the ſenate and the army; and the empire thereby remained near eight months without an head, no uſurper ſtarting up all that time, nor any diſturbances happening either at *Rome*, or in the provinces. The barbarians, indeed, taking advantage of the *inter-regnum*, began to put themſelves in motion. The *Germans*, *Franks*, *Burgundians*, and *Vandals*, broke into *Gaul*; the *Goths* threatened *Illyricum*; and the *Perſians* were preparing for war. *Inter-regnum.*

The ſenate thereupon, finding it now abſolutely neceſſary to give the empire a ſovereign, and the army ſtill refuſing to name one, ſent for *Tacitus*, who, on its being rumoured ſome time before, that they intended to chuſe him, had withdrawn to his eſtate in *Campania*, and lived there two months in retirement, deſiring him to be at their meeting on the 25th day of *September*. Accordingly he attended, and on his appearing in the ſenate-houſe, the whole aſſembly, with one voice, ſaluted him emperor. He endeavoured to excuſe himſelf, on account of his great age, for he was then ſeventy-five; but they all conjured him, by the love he bore his country, not to decline the office they had decreed him, *Tacitus* choſen emperor.

Tacitus. him. *Tacitus* thereupon yielded, and his election was joyfully confirmed by the ſenate and people.

His character. All we know of the origin of this emperor is, that he acknowledged *Cornelius Tacitus*, the celebrated hiſtorian, for his kinſman; that he had been conſul, and was, as we obſerved before, at the time of his election, prince of the ſenate. He was a man of learning, mild, an enemy, to all pomp, and a great admirer of the manners of the primitive *Romans*. When he was created emperor, he gave his whole eſtate, which was immenſe, to the public, and what money he had by him to the ſoldiers. He was temperate and regular, careful of the public money, and impartial in the adminiſtration of juſtice.

Joy of the ſenate for the election of *Tacitus*. The ſenate, overjoyed for the recovery of their ancient right of creating emperors, and highly ſatisfied with him they had now choſen, ordered public proceſſions, vowed hecatombs, appeared in white garments, feaſted their friends, and wrote letters to all the ſtates and cities in alliance with *Rome*, acquainting them, that they were at length reſtored to their former authority, and that their ambaſſadors were now to apply to them.

He defeats the barbarians. The new prince had ſcarce taken poſſeſſion of the ſovereignty, when news was brought him, that incredible numbers of barbarians were advancing through *Colchis*. He thereupon immediately left *Rome*, and paſſed into *Aſia*, where he defeated them, and obliged them to return into their own country. He paſſed the winter in *Cilicia*, and was preparing to return to *Rome*, when, according to ſome writers, he was ſeized with a fever, which, in a few days, put an end to his life: but, according to others, he was killed
His death. by his own ſoldiers. He died at *Tarſus*, after a ſhort reign of about ſix months. Upon his death, his brother *Florianus*,
Year of *Rome* 1024 of *Chriſt* 272. whom he had appointed captain of the guards, cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed emperor, and was acknowledged in all the provinces of *Europe* and *Africa*: but the legions in the Eaſt declared for *Probus*, whom *Tacitus* had appointed their commander, and the two armies meeting, *Florianus* was killed by his own men, who immediately after joined *Probus*.

PROBUS.

Probus emperor. UPON the death of *Florianus*, the armies every where proclaimed *Probus* emperor, and the ſenate readily confirmed their election, honouring the new emperor with the uſual titles, and veſting him with the tribunitial and proconſular power; for they all entertained the higheſt opinion of him: and indeed,

and indeed, if *Vopiscus* is to be credited, they were right in so doing; for he was one of the best and greatest princes that ever swayed a sceptre. He was an excellent commander, an able statesman, a friend to virtue, an enemy to vice, generous, affable, good-natured, and, in short, endowed with every good quality desirable in a prince. He was a native of *Sirmium* in *Pannonia*, the son of a gardiner, entered into the army when very young, and raised himself by his merit to the highest posts. He was about forty-four years old at the time of his election; which was no sooner confirmed by the senate, than he left *Cilicia*, and returned to *Europe*. *Probus*. His character.

He passed the winter in *Pannonia*, and, early in the spring, set out for *Gaul*, where he fought many successful battles, and is said to have killed four hundred thousand barbarians, *Franks*, and other *Germans*, who had over-run that province; and to have obliged the rest to quit the booty they had taken, and save themselves by flight beyond the *Rhine*. He then passed that river at the head of his victorious army, and made war upon the enemy in their own country, with greater success than any of his predecessors had ever done. The following year he marched into *Illyricum*, from whence the *Sarmatians*, who had made an irruption into that province, withdrew, upon the news of his approach; leaving their booty behind them. From thence he went into *Thrace*, where all the *Gothic* nations sent ambassadors to him to sue for peace, and court his friendship. He then passed over into *Asia*, and intirely reduced *Isauria*, which had revolted frm *Rome*. From *Isauria* he marched into *Syria*, and defeated the *Blemyes*, a barbarous and very warlike nation, dwelling between *Egypt* and *Ethiopia*. *Varanes*, king of *Persia*, alarmed at his victories, sent ambassadors to him with rich presents, to sue for peace: but the emperor, not satisfied with their proposals, sent them back; which so terrified the king, that he concluded a peace with *Probus* upon his own terms. *Probus* then returned to *Rome*, which he entered in triumph. He reduces great part of *Germany*. *Isauria* reduced. Peace concluded with the *Persians*.

The whole empire was now at peace: but this general tranquility was soon disturbed by domestic broils, which first broke out in the East, where *S. Julius Saturninus*, a native of *Mauritania*, who had distinguished himself in many wars, was proclaimed emperor. *Probus* sent against him some troops, who obliged him to fly to the citadel of *Apamea*, which they took by storm, and put the whole garison to the sword, together with *Saturninus*. Year of *Rome* 1028 of *Christ* 276. *Saturninus* revolts

The next year two usurpers started up in *Gaul*, *Proculus* and *Bonosus*. The former, who was a native of *Albingaunum*, now *Albenga*, had, in his youth, been a robber, grew immensely rich, and entered into the army, in which he was made tribune, and had the command of several legions at the time we are speaking of, when he was proclaimed em- *Proculus* and *Bonosus* revolt in *Gaul*.

Probus. peror at *Cologne*. We are told, that, beſides his other forces, he armed two thouſand ſlaves of his own when he revolted. *Probus* overcame him, and forced him to take refuge among the *Franks*, who had promiſed him their aſſiſtance; but, inſtead of keeping their word, betrayed him to the emperor, who ordered him to be put to death. *Bonoſus* was deſcended of a *Spaniſh* family, but born in *Britain*, where his father kept a ſchool. He himſelf entered early into the army, and raiſed himſelf from the low rank of a common ſoldier to the poſt of general, and was employed, as ſuch, to guard the frontiers of *Rhætia*: but having ſuffered the *Germans* to ſurprize and burn the *Roman* fleet on the *Rhine*, his fear of being puniſhed for that neglect prompted him to aſſume the ſovereignty, which dignity he maintained longer than was expected, fighting ſeveral battles with *Probus*; but being at laſt reduced to great ſtreights, he choſe rather to ſtrangle himſelf, than fall into the hands of the conqueror.

After this, the empire again enjoyed a profound tranquility, during which, *Probus* took care never to let his troops be idle, but employed them in many uſeful works, ſaying, *That, as they were maintained by the public, they ought either to fight or labour for the public.* As *Hannibal*, to employ his ſoldiers, had formerly filled *Africa* with olive-trees of their planting, ſo *Probus*, whoſe valour has made many ſtile him a ſecond *Hannibal*, employed his troops in planting vines on the hills of *Gaul*, *Pannonia*, and *Mœſia*; and the inhabitants of thoſe countries, as well as the *Spaniards* and *Britons*, were allowed to cultivate as many vineyards as they pleaſed, which had been denied them ever ſince the time of *Domitian*. *Probus*, in his ſhort reign, rebuilt or repaired ſeventy cities. As the city of *Sirmium*, where he was born, ſtood in a low marſhy ground, he ſet great numbers of his ſoldiers to work to dig a canal to convey the waters into the ſea. This, with the emperor's ſaying one day, *That he hoped there would ſhortly be no occaſion for ſoldiers or armies*, from whence they concluded that they ſhould ſoon be diſbanded, incenſed them againſt him to ſuch a degree, that they fell upon him with great fury, as he was marching from one town in *Illyricum* to another, and killed him, after he had lived fifty, and reigned ſix years and four months. The loſs of ſo good a prince was greatly lamented, not only by the ſenate and people of *Rome*, but by the barbarians themſelves, who dreaded his valour, and revered his probity, clemency, and juſtice. His ſucceſſors ranked him among the gods; and the whole army, though he had fallen by ſome of their hands, erected a ſtately monument to him with the following epitaph: *Here lies the emperor* Probus, *righty named* PROBUS; *a conqueror of the barbarous, and of uſurpers.*

Probus killed by the ſoldiers.

Year of *Rome* 1030 of *Chriſt* 278.

CARUS,

CARUS, and his two SONS.

Carus made emperor.

UPON the death of *Probus*, *Carus*, then captain of the guards, was proclaimed emperor by the army, who looked upon him as the fitteſt perſon to ſucceed ſo good and warlike a prince. The ſenate liked *Carus* well; but, dreading the vicious and cruel temper of his ſon *Carinus*, were unwilling to confirm the choice of the ſoldiery. However, fearing their power, and unwilling to diſturb the preſent tranquility of the empire, they at length acknowledged him, and gave him all the uſual titles and honours. Of his age or family, we know but very little. Some ſay he was by birth a *Dalmatian*, and by deſcent an *African*; others, that he was born in *Rome*, and that his father was a *Dalmatian*; and others again, that he was a *Gaul*, and born at *Narbonne*.

He joins with him his two ſons *Carinus* and *Numerians*.

His election was no ſooner confirmed, than he made his two ſons, *Carinus* and *Numerian*, his partners in the empire, giving them equal authority with himſelf. *Carinus*, the eldeſt, was wicked, diſhoneſt, inſolent, and abandoned to every kind of vice: but *Numerian* was valiant, wiſe, modeſt, learned, and adorned with many virtues.

Carus defeats the *Sarmatians*.

The *Sarmatians* no ſooner heard of the death of *Probus*, than they broke into *Illyricum* and *Thrace*, over-ran thoſe countries, and threatened *Italy* itſelf. *Carus*, after ſome ſkirmiſhes, came to a general engagement with them, in which he killed ſixteen thouſand, took twenty thouſand priſoners, and obliged the reſt to retire into their own country. After this victory, being informed that the *Perſians* were preparing to invade the eaſtern provinces with a mighty army, leaving the care of the Weſt to his ſon *Carinus*, and taking *Numerian* with him, he marched into *Meſopotamia*, which the *Perſians*, who had already ſeized that province, abandoned at his approach; and from thence he advanced into *Perſia*, laid that country waſte wherever he went, and beſieged and took *Seleucia*, *Cteſiphon*, and *Coche*, meeting with no oppoſition, the *Perſians* being then engaged in a civil war. His deſign was utterly to ruin the *Perſian* monarchy; and he would probably have done it, ſo great were the inteſtine diviſions of that people, had he not been prevented by death, which overtook him in the neighbourhood of *Cteſiphon*, while he was preparing to purſue his conqueſts beyond that city, which the *Romans*, as was pretended, were by an oracle forbidden to do. *Carus* had juſt begun the ſecond year of his reign, and was conſul with his ſon *Carinus*, when he died.

Gains great advantages over the *Perſians*.

His death

The whole army immediately renewed their oath of fidelity to *Numerian*, who, grieved beyond expreſſion for the death of his father, broke up his camp, and began to retire.

Numerian murder'd.

As his eyes, weakened by the great quantity of tears he had ſhed, could not bear the light, he was carried in a cloſe litter. *Arrius Aper*, his father-in-law, and captain of the guards, who had free acceſs to him, laid hold of that opportunity to murder him privately, with a deſign to raiſe himſelf to the empire. But not being able to convey away the body of the deceaſed prince, which was carried three days in the litter, *Aper* all the while telling the ſoldiers, who wanted to ſee their emperor, that he could not bear the air; his crime was at length diſcovered by the ſmell of the body, and *Aper* was immediately ſeized. *Numerian* had reigned about eight months.

DIOCLESIAN and MAXIMIAN.

Dioclesian made emperor.

His extraction and character.

UPON the death of *Numerian*, the army, with one voice, proclaimed *Dioclesian* emperor. He was born in *Dalmatia*, of obſcure parentage, being, according to ſome, the ſon of a notary; according to others, of a ſlave; and ſome ſay, that he had himſelf been a ſlave. The name, both of his mother, and of the place where he was born, was *Diocléa*, and he was called *Diocles* till he came to be emperor, when, giving his name a *Latin* termination, he ſtiled himſelf *Dioclesianus*. He entered early into the army, and by degrees raiſed himſelf to the higheſt military employments. He was a great maſter of civil affairs, prompt at foreſeeing events, dexterous at concerting ſchemes, naturally inclined to violent meaſures, but at the ſame time maſter of his temper; an enemy to all uſeleſs expences, and a great encourager of learning, though he had been brought up in the camp from his youth, and had never applied himſelf to any ſtudy but that of the military art, in which he was equal to the famous commanders in ancient times. Some charge him with want of courage, and others ſay that he was naturally covetous.

Dioclesian was no ſooner declared emperor by the army, than he aſcended the tribunal, and, after having harangued the ſoldiers, and ſolemnly declared upon his oath, that he had been no way privy or acceſſary to the death of *Numerian*; he cauſed *Aper* to be brought before him, reproached him in bitter terms for the murder of his prince and ſon-in-law, and then, deſcending from the tribunal, drew his ſword, and buried it in his breaſt, ſaying, *Be proud*, Aper, *that you fall by ſo great a hand*; and then crying out, *That he had at length killed the boar*: alluding to the prophecy of a Druideſs, who had told him, that he would attain the empire after he had

He puts *Aper* to death.

had killed a boar; which the word *aper* ſignifies in the *Latin* tongue. At the ſame time he ordered all the accomplices of *Aper* to be executed. *Dioclesian*

Dioclesian was proclaimed emperor at *Chalcedon*, on the 17th of *September*, in the year 284, which he ordered to be made the *æra*, or date, from whence the following account of times ſhould begin. The Chriſtians obſerved it till the reign of the emperor *Juſtinian*, that is, for above 240 years, by the name of the *æra of martyrs*; calling it ſo on account of this emperor's ſeverity towards them. He was now about thirty-nine or forty years of age. A few days after he had been proclaimed at *Chalcedon*, he made his public entry into *Nicomedia*, and there ſpent the remainder of the year in making the neceſſary preparations to oppoſe *Carinus*, who was haſtening into *Illyricum* at the head of a powerful army. The two rivals fought ſeveral battles in that province, which, at firſt, were greatly to the advantage of *Carinus*; but while he was purſuing the enemy, after a victory he had gained near *Margum* in *Upper-Mœſia*, he was killed by ſome of his own men, ſtirred up by a tribune whoſe wife he had debauched. The æra of *Dioclesian*. *Carinus* killed.

Dioclesian, now ſole maſter of the empire, marched to *Rome*, and, having eſtabliſhed his authority there, ſet out ſoon after for *Germany*, where he gained ſeveral advantages over the *Alemanni*, who had made an irruption into *Gaul*. The ſame year, his generals were ſucceſsful in *Britain*. For theſe victories he took the ſurnames of *Germanicus* and *Britannicus*; and from *Illyricum* he returned into the Eaſt.

In the ſecond year of his reign he took for his partner in the empire *Maximian*, who was born of obſcure parents, in a village near *Sirmium* in *Pannonia*, but had ſignaliſed himſelf greatly in the army, and was reckoned one of the beſt commanders of his time but; exceſſively cruel, ſavage, and wicked. *Maximian* immediately haſtened into *Gaul*, to oppoſe a prodigious multitude of vagabonds, robbers, and peaſants, who had aſſembled there, and proclaimed two commanders, named *Amandus* and *Ælianus*, emperors. The rebels were ſoon quelled, and tranquility was reſtored. The next year, he utterly defeated and deſtroyed an incredible number of *Alemanni*, *Burgundians*, *Heruli*, and other *German* nations, who attacked him in *Gaul*; and the year after that, he again did the ſame, croſſed the *Rhine*, laid the enemy's country waſte, and returned to *Gaul* loaded with booty. In the mean time *Dioclesian*, who had remained in the Eaſt, forced the *Perſians* to reſtore what they had taken from the *Romans*, gained ſeveral advantages over the *Saracens*, entered *Germany* on the ſide of *Rhætia*, and extended the bounds of the empire to the ſource of the *Danube*. *Dioclesian* takes *Maximian* for his partner in the empire

While the two emperors were thus employed, *Carauſius*, a native of *Gaul*, paſſed over into *Britain*, took upon him the title of emperor, was acknowledged by all the troops quartered in that iſland, and at length obliged the *Romans* *Carauſius* ſeizes *Britain*.

Diocleſian to give it up to him, as we have related in our hiſtory of that country.

Year of *Rome* 1040 of *Chriſt* 288. *Diocleſian* and *Maximian* returning, the former from the Eaſt, and the latter from *Gaul*, met at *Milan*, and, after conferring together, went back to their reſpective armies; at which time almoſt all the barbarians were at war with one another, and the empire enjoyed peace. But about the tenth year of *Diocleſian*'s reign it was in great danger of being torn in pieces both by foreign and domeſtic enemies. The *Perſians* broke into *Meſopotamia*, and threatened *Syria*; five of the nations of *Africa*, entering into a confederacy againſt the *Romans*, over-ran that country: *Julianus* revolted in *Italy*, and cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed emperor; and *Achilleus* aſſumed the ſame title at *Alexandria* in *Egypt*. The two emperors, not thinking themſelves able to oppoſe ſo many enemies at once, reſolved each of them to name a *Cæſar*, who ſhould ſucceed them in the empire, and jointly with them defend it. *Diocleſian* choſe *Maximin Galerius*; and *Maximian*, *Conſtantius*, ſurnamed *Chlorus*; who were veſted with the tribunitial and proconſular power, and honoured with all the titles peculiar to the ſovereignty. To cement their union ſtill more, the two *Cæſars* put away their wives, and married, *Conſtantius* the daughter-in law of *Maximian*, and *Galerius* the daughter of *Diocleſian*.

The two emperors chuſe two *Cæſars*.

The empire was then divided into four parts. *Diocleſian* had the countries beyond the *Ægean* ſea; *Thrace* and *Illyricum* were allotted to *Galerius*; *Italy* and *Africa*, with the adjacent iſlands, to *Maximian*; and *Gaul*, *Britain*, *Spain*, and *Mauritania* to *Conſtantius*. Each of theſe princes was abſolute in the provinces that fell to his ſhare: but the other three paid great deference to *Diocleſian*, acknowledging him as the author of their power, and looking upon him as their common father. A perfect union reigned among them, and, from this time, the empire continued almoſt conſtantly divided; but, at the ſame time, each emperor was looked upon as maſter of the whole, and the names of all were fixed to the decrees of each. But this multiplicity of princes was ſoon attended with great inconveniencies; for, as each of the four ſovereigns would have as many officers, both civil and military, and the ſame number of forces as when the ſtate was governed only by one emperor; there were more ſoldiers to pay, than people to ſupply the neceſſary ſums. The taxes and impoſts were conſequently increaſed beyond meaſure, the provinces reduced to beggary, and the lands left untilled for want of hands.

The empire divided into four parts.

Evils attending that diviſion.

Galerius, whom *Diocleſian* raiſed to the dignity of *Cæſar*, was deſcended from an obſcure family in *Dacia*. His mother, whoſe name was *Romula*, being a bitter enemy to the Chriſtians, inſpired her ſon with the ſame hatred to them, which chiefly gave riſe to the bloody perſecution in the latter end of *Diocleſian*'s reign. He was no ſooner created *Cæ-*

ſar,

far, than he marched against the barbarians in the neighbourhood of the *Danube* and *Illyricum*; but performed nothing memorable against them, either in this or the three following years. *Maximian*, this year, passed over into *Africa*, where he gained a complete victory over the five nations, and reduced *Julianus*, who, after being proclaimed emperor in *Italy*, had crossed over into *Africa*, to such streights, that he killed himself. *Diocletian*

Constantius hastened into *Gaul*, and took *Gessoriacum*, now *Boulogne*, into which *Carausius* had put a garrison. What *Diocletian* did this year we are not told. In the next, *Carausius* was treacherously murdered by his bosom friend and prime minister *Allectus*, who thereupon caused himself to be proclaimed emperor in *Britain*; and *Constantius*, while a fleet was preparing for him to invade *Britain*, cleared *Batavia* of all the *Franks*, who had seized that country, and transplanted them, and their wives and children, into other parts of the empire. *Carausius* murdered.

Diocletian spent the two next years in *Illyricum* and *Thrace*, assisting *Galerius* against the barbarians on the other side of the *Danube*; and *Maximian* went to *Gaul*, to defend that province against their incursions; while *Constantius* was employed in *Britain*. The *Carpi*, after having long withstood the utmost efforts of the *Roman* arms, were, this year, entirely reduced by *Galerius*; and *Diocletian* transplanted them into *Pannonia*, and some other territories of the empire. The *Carpi* subdued.

Constantius having settled affairs in *Britain*, returned to *Gaul*, to which province he transplanted great numbers of *Franks*, settling them in the parts that were most destitute of inhabitants, and obliging them to cultivate the lands, pay the usual tributes, and supply the *Roman* armies with a certain number of troops. The same year, *Diocletian* recovered *Egypt* from *Achilleus*, who had held that province near six years. The next year, *Maximian* defeated the rebellious *Moors* in *Africa*, took their castles and strong holds, drove them from their almost inaccessible rocks and mountains, and obliged them to deliver up their arms, and surrender at discretion. The same year, *Narses*, king of *Persia*, emulating the glory of *Sapor*, entered *Armenia* at the head of a mighty army, reduced that province, and advanced into *Mesopotamia*. *Diocletian*, intimidated by the fate of the unhappy *Valerian*, instead of marching against him in person, withdrew into *Egypt*, and left the whole management of that dangerous war to *Galerius*, who, meeting the *Persians* in *Mesopotamia*, engaged them with only a few troops compared to their prodigious numbers, and, after bravely disputing the victory for some hours, was forced to give ground, and fly. *Galerius*, enraged at this overthrow, and picqued at the cold reception he met with, in consequence of it, from *Diocletian*; raised a new army, came up with the enemy, and, *Diocletian* recovers *Egypt*. *Maximian* subdues the *Moors*.

Diocleſian with only twenty-five thouſand men, forced their intrench-
ments, though defended by an innumerable multitude, kill-
ed above twenty thouſand of them, took an immenſe booty,
Narſes, and an incredible number of priſoners, among whom were
king of the king's wives, ſiſters, and children. *Narſes* fled to the
Perſia, in- moſt diſtant part of his kingdom, and from thence ſent *Af-*
tirely de- *pharban*, one of his chief favourites, to conclude a peace
feated by with the *Romans* upon any terms. The *Romans* demanded,
Galerius. that five of the *Perſian* provinces ſhould be ceded to them,
ſo as to make the *Tigris* the boundary between the two em-
pires; and the *Perſians* agreeing to this, a peace was con-
cluded, which laſted till the latter end of the reign of *Con-*
ſtantine, when the *Perſians* broke it, in hopes of recovering
what they now gave up.

Year of *Rome* 1053 of *Chriſt*, 301. Not long after, *Conſtantine* gained a great victory over the *Alemanni*, near *Langres* in *Gaul*, cutting ſixty thouſand of them in pieces. The year in which this happened was remarkable for a great dearth, which prevailed in moſt provinces of the empire; and the next year, *Diocleſian* and *Galerius*, being together in *Bithynia*, ſet on foot the moſt cruel perſecution the Chriſtians had yet ſuffered. This tenth and laſt general perſecution raged ten whole years, with a fury not to be expreſſed.

The tenth general perſecution.

About this time one *Eugenius* aſſumed the title of emperor in *Syria*, and, with about five hundred men, whom he commanded, went ſtrait to *Antioch*, and entered it that ſame day, towards the evening, without oppoſition, there being no garriſon in the place, and the inhabitants being quite unapprized of his revolt: but when he began to act as emperor, the whole city roſe, and falling upon the rebels, for the moſt part intoxicated with wine, killed them all to a man before midnight. Thus the empire of *Eugenius* began and ended the ſame day. *Diocleſian*, who ought rather to have rewarded than puniſhed the *Antiochians*, without any form of law, commanded the chief magiſtrates of that city, and of *Seleucia*, from whence *Eugenius* ſet out, to be executed, as if they had been privy to the conſpiracy; which rendered him infinitely odious to all *Syria*.

Diocleſian's cruelty to the *Antiochians*.

Towards the end of this year, *Diocleſian* and *Maximian*, with their two *Cæſars*, *Conſtantius* and *Galerius*, repaired to *Rome*, and there enjoyed the honour of a triumph, which the ſenate had long ſince decreed them, and their many victories well deſerved. From thence *Diocleſian* returned, ſoon after, to *Nicomedia*, where, thinking himſelf unable to govern any longer, on account of fits, to which he was ſubject, and which had increaſed greatly of late, he reſolved to reſign the empire, and betake himſelf to a private life: and, as if his own reſignation had not been ſufficient, he perſuaded, and in a manner compelled his aſſociate *Maximian* to do the ſame; ſo that, all things having been ſettled between them by letters, both the emperors reſigned the ſovereignty on the

Diocleſian and *Maximian* re-

ſame

same day, *Maximian* in *Milan*, and *Diocleſian* in *Nicomedia*, after the former had reigned ſomewhat above eighteen, and the latter twenty years. Many authors extol this act of *Diocleſian* as a ſhining inſtance of greatneſs, generoſity, and contempt of human grandeur; but *Lactantius*, in a piece lately recovered from darkneſs, aſſures us, that this reſignation was wholly owing to the contrivances of *Galerius*, who, coming to *Nicomedia* ſhortly after a great ſickneſs of the emperor's, threatened him with a civil war if he refuſed to reſign, as he had done *Maximian* before; and that *Diocleſian*, finding himſelf declining in years and authority, moſt unwillingly complied with his demand. However that may be, we are aſſured by many, that, after his reſignation, he retired to a country ſeat, in the neighbourhood of *Salona* in *Dalmatia*, and there paſſed the remainder of his life, that is, near nine years, in ſuch content and happineſs, amuſing himſelf with cultivating a garden, that he would often ſay, *He then began to live, and to ſee the beauty of the ſun*: and when, ſome time after, *Maximian* and others endeavoured to perſuade him to join them, and reſume the empire, he returned them this anſwer: *I wiſh you would but come to* Salona, *that I might ſhew you the colworts which I have planted with my own hands: I am ſure you would never more mention the empire to me.* *Diocleſian* was about eighty years old when he died. He was deified with the uſual ſolemnities.

Diocleſian reſign the empire.

Year of *Rome* 1057 of *Chriſt* 305.

Death of *Diocleſian*

CHAP. V.

From the Reſignation of Diocleſian, *to the Removal of the Imperial Seat to* Conſtantinople, *by* Conſtantine the Great; *which proved the greateſt Step towards the Ruin of the* Roman *Empire.*

CONSTANTIUS AND GALERIUS.

UPON the reſignation of *Diocleſian* and *Maximian*, the two *Cæſars*, *Conſtantius* and *Galerius*, were univerſally acknowledged emperors. *Conſtantius* was ſurnamed *Chlorus*, from his paleneſs, and was married to *Theodora*, daughter-in-law to *Maximian*; and *Galerius* to *Valeria*, daughter to *Diocleſian*. The firſt was very noble by deſcent, being nearly allied to the emperor *Claudius*, virtuous, valiant, affable, and merciful. The latter was ignoble, ſurly, incontinent, cruel, and a barbarous perſecutor of the Chriſtians, but at the ſame time

Conſtantius and *Galerius* emperors.

Their characters

Conſtantius.

time remarkably brave. While *Dioclesian* reigned, his uncommon prudence preſerved peace between them. After his reſignation, to prevent all diſputes that might ariſe, they agreed to make a diſtinct and independent diviſion of the empire between them. *Conſtantius* had the weſtern parts; namely, *Italy*, *Sicily*, moſt of *Africa*, *Spain*, *Gaul*, *Britain*, and *Germany*; and *Galerius* the eaſtern and largeſt ſhare: *viz.* *Illyricum*, *Pannonia*, *Thrace*, *Macedonia*, all the provinces of *Greece*, and the *Leſſer Aſia*; together with *Egypt*, *Syria*, *Judæa*, and all the Eaſt. *Conſtantius*, who wiſhed rather to govern well than to govern much, thinking his portion, though the leaſt, ſtill too great a burden for his mild and pacific temper; after this diviſion, voluntarily reſigned to *Galerius* *Africa* and *Italy*, and contented himſelf with *Gaul*, *Spain*, *Britain*, and his part of *Germany*. On the other hand, *Galerius*, finding, by this increaſe of his dominions, the affairs of the empire become difficult for him to manage with ſecurity to himſelf, made choice of two aſſiſtants, and created them *Cæſars*. The one was *Severus*, to whom he allotted the government of *Italy* and *Africa*; and the other, his ſiſter's ſon *Maximin*, to whom he gave the government of the Eaſt in *Aſia*; reſerving to himſelf all the provinces belonging to *Illyricum* and *Greece*: ſo that the world, we may ſay, was governed by four heads; the emperors *Conſtantius* and *Galerius*, and the *Cæſars Severus* and *Maximin*, who were both dependents on *Galerius*.

They divide the empire between them.

Galerius creates Severus and Maximin Cæſars.

Excellent qualities of *Conſtantius.*

Conſtantius was about fifty-four years of age when he entered upon the government, which he managed to the general ſatisfaction of all men, preſerving his provinces free from all diſturbances during his ſhort reign. The *Gauls* almoſt adored him before he was emperor; for his prudence had ſheltered them from the diſtruſtful policy of *Dioclesian*, and the bloody raſhneſs of *Maximian*. His chief deſire was, that his ſubjects ſhould enjoy the fruit of their labour and induſtry; often ſaying, *That it was better the wealth of a country ſhould circulate among the people, than be locked up in the coffers of a prince.* He ſo little affected pomp and ſplendor, and was ſo fearful of burdening his people, that, if at any time he gave an entertainment, he was obliged to borrow plate for the uſe of his table. *Dioclesian*, thinking he carried his tenderneſs for his ſubjects too far, ſent perſons on purpoſe to reproach him with his poverty in never having any money by him. *Conſtantius* heard them with patience, and, after deſiring them to ſtay with him a little time, intimated his wants to the people, who, in a few hours, brought him, of their own accord, an immenſe treaſure. He then deſired the deputies to relate what they had ſeen, and to let their maſter know, *That the love of the people was the richeſt and ſureſt treaſure of the prince.* When they were gone, he ſent for thoſe who had ſo readily aſſiſted him, thanked them, and returned to every one what they had brought. He favoured the Chriſtians,

Christians, not suffering any injury to be offered them. However, being urged by *Gallerius*, he once politicly pretended to persecute them; and commanded all the officers of his household, who were Christians, to change their religion, or quit their employments: but, when some of them did so, he dismissed them from his service, saying, *That those who were not true to their God, would never be faithful to their prince.* *Constantius.* He favours the Christians

Constantius, in the second year of his reign, passed over into *Britain* and resided at *York*; where, falling sick, he began to be much concerned for the safety of his son *Constantine*, who, for several years, had been kept at the court of *Diocletian*, as a pledge of his father's fidelity; and, since his resignation, at that of *Galerius*. *Galerius* hated *Constantius*, and was jealous of his son, whom he would have removed by a violent death, but that he knew the army loved *Constantine*, and would revenge it. He therefore endeavoured to get rid of him by treachery, exposing him, to that end, to several dangers, under various pretences: but Providence preserved him. His father had often sent for him, and had been as often denied; and now, in this sickness, he had renewed his importunity: so that *Galerius*, being ashamed any longer to refuse his reasonable request, gave him leave to go; and, fully determined to prevent his ever reaching *Britain*, ordered him to come the next morning to receive his final instructions. But *Constantine*, as soon as *Galerius* was gone to rest, set out with all possible speed, and, for several days, hamstringed, or killed, all the horses he did not make use of, that no one might overtake him. *Galerius* calling for him the next day, and understanding that he was gone, sent several messengers in pursuit of him; but hearing soon after that all the post-horses were disabled, he flew into a violent passion of rage and grief. In the mean time, *Constantine* travelled with the utmost speed, and arrived at *York*, where he found his father past recovery. *Constantius* died a few days after, in the sixty-sixth year of his age, after he had been *Cæsar* fifteen years, and emperor almost two. He bequeathed the empire to his son *Constantine*, who declared he would not accept it without the consent of the other princes, to whom he immediately wrote, acquainting them with the death and last will of his father. But the soldiers, impatient of delay, proclaimed him emperor the very day his father died, and, the first time he appeared in public, saluted him *Augustus*, and forced him to put on the purple. passes over into *Britain*, and sends for his son *Constantine*, who escapes from *Galerius* to him. The death of *Constantius*, who bequeaths the empire to *Constantine*. Year of *Rome* 1058

CONSTANTINE the Great, GALERIUS, &c.

Conſtantine the Great, emperor of the Weſt.

CONSTANTINE, who was thus proclaimed emperor of the Weſt by the unanimous conſent of the ſoldiery in *Britain*, now about thirty-ſix years of age. He was a prince of moſt promiſing virtues and accompliſhments, of profound policy and capacity, and no leſs modeſt than magnanimous. According to the moſt general opinion, he was born in *Britain*, of *Helena*, the firſt wife of *Conſtantius*, a *Britiſh* princeſs, deſervedly extolled by all the Chriſtian, and particularly the eccleſiaſtical, writers. For a conſiderable time, he contented himſelf with the title of *Cæſar*, not immediately aſſuming that of *Auguſtus*, or emperor, expecting that the ſenior emperor would ſend him that title; but in vain: for, as ſoon as his image, wreathed with the imperial laurel, was preſented to *Galerius*, he was ſo enraged, that he condemned it and the meſſenger to the flames; but was diſſuaded by his friends from putting that deſign in execution: and, that *Conſtantine* might at leaſt ſeem to hold his authority of him, he ſent him the purple, and gave him the title of *Cæſar*: but, at the ſame time, he created *Severus* emperor, and gave him *Italy* and *Africa*; which he governed with an abſolute ſway; oppreſſing the people with endleſs taxes, and practiſing unheard of cruelties upon ſuch as were not able to comply with his unjuſt demands.

Galerius allows him only the title of *Cæſar*, and makes *Severus* emperor.

Maxentius proclaimed emperor.

This occaſioned great diſturbances in all the cities of *Italy*, but eſpecially at *Rome*: which *Maxentius* laying hold of, cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed emperor by the diſſatisfied ſoldiery and people, who hated *Severus*. *Maxentius* was the ſon of *Maximian*, by one *Eutropia*, a *Syrian*. He was proud, arrogant, cruel, deformed, abandoned to every vice, and hated by all but the ſoldiers in *Rome*, who loved him becauſe he indulged them in all ſorts of outrages and diſorders. The news of this revolt no ſooner reached the Eaſt, where *Galerius* then was, than he diſpatched a meſſenger to *Severus*, injoining him to haſten with all his forces to *Rome*, to ſuppreſs the new uſurper. On the other hand, *Maxentius* had recourſe to his father *Maximian*, who, tempted by the proſpect of recovering the empire, which he had unwillingly reſigned, ſuffered himſelf to be proclaimed emperor a ſecond time by the ſenate and people of *Rome*; and received the purple at the hands of his ſon. In the mean time *Severus*, leaving *Milan*, where he then was, drew towards *Rome* with a powerful army: but, conſiſting of troops which two years before had belonged to *Maximian*, the father of *Maxentius*, they were eaſily gained over by the latter, and deſerted Se-

Maximian returns the empire.

verus,

verus, who thereupon betook himſelf to flight, and, with a few on'y who remained faithful to him, ſhut himſelf up in *Ravenna*, which *Maximian* immediately inveſted. The place was well fortified, and might eaſily have held out till *Galerius* could have relieved it: but *Severus*, diſtruſting his own men, and relying upon the ſolemn promiſes of *Maximian*, ſurrendered to him the city, and the purple, with which he had been inveſted about a year and nine months before. *Maximian*, unmindful of his oaths, carried him to *Rome*, and, after keeping him priſoner ſome time, put him to death. *Conſtantine*. *Severus* ſubmits to him, and is murdered.

While theſe things paſſed in *Italy*, *Conſtantine* was buſied in ſettling the affairs of *Britain*, *Spain*, and *Gaul*, and in defending them againſt the barbarians. His father, *Conſtantius*, had no ſooner retired into *Britain*, than the *Franks*, forgetful of their oaths, invaded *Gaul*, and committed dreadful ravages. *Conſtantine*, who had before ſignaliſed himſelf under the emperors *Dioclefian* and *Galerius*, in their wars with the *Germans*, *Goths*, *Sarmatians*, and *Perſians*, now marched againſt theſe new enemies, defeated them in a pitched battle, and took priſoners two of their kings, whom, ſome ſay, he cauſed to be thrown to wild beaſts, in order to intimidate that perfidious people, regardleſs, even then, of the moſt ſacred ties. *Eutropius* adds, that he treated in the like manner the kings of the *Allemans*, who were in confederacy with the *Franks*, and fell into his hands in this war. *Conſtantine* overcomes the *Franks*,

Maximian, ſenſible that *Galerius* would not let the death of *Severus* paſs unrevenged; and at the ſame time anxious to regain his former dignity; after trying in vain to engage his old partner *Dioclefian* in the ſame enterprize, reſolved to ſtrengthen himſelf with the alliance of *Conſtantine*, who now enjoyed a profound peace in *Gaul*. Having therefore fortified *Rome* with many new works, and put it in a condition of ſuſtaining a long ſiege, he left *Italy*, and went to confer with *Conſtantine* in *Gaul*; where he perſuaded him to marry his daughter *Fauſta*, and to change his title of *Cæſar* into that of *Auguſtus*. and marries *Fauſta*

In the mean time, *Galerius* entered *Italy* with a powerful army, but not ſufficient to beſiege *Rome*, as he intended. He was therefore obliged to return back, and in his retreat he laid waſte the country far and wide, to prevent the enemy from purſuing him, and allowed his ſoldiers to commit unheard of cruelties and diſorders. *Maximian*, who was ſtill in *Gaul*, did all he could to perſuade *Conſtantine* to purſue him: but finding that prince no way inclined to engage in ſo dangerous a war, he repaſſed the *Alps*, and returned to *Rome*; where he reigned ſome time jointly with his ſon, but was leſs reſpected, and not ſo readily obeyed. Piqued at this, he reſolved to deprive *Maxentius* of the empire; not doubting but the troops which had lately abandoned *Severus*, and had formerly belonged to him, would favour his attempt. Accordingly Year of *Rome* 1059 of *Chriſt* 307.

Conſtantine. ingly he tried them: but finding, not only that he was greatly miſtaken in his hopes, but that both the ſoldiery and people were ſo incenſed againſt him for his unnatural behaviour, that his life was no longer in ſafety among them, he left *Rome*, and haſtened back into *Gaul*; where he complained to *Conſtantine*, that his ſon had expelled him. *Conſtantine* paid little regard to his complaint; whereupon he repaired to *Galerius*, the declared enemy of his ſon, to regulate with him, as he pretended, the public affairs: but, in reality, to watch an opportunity of diſpatching him, and ſeizing his provinces; for which, however, no favourable occaſion offered. On the contrary, he was obliged to authorize with his preſence

Licinius created emperor. the promotion of *Licinius*, whom *Galerius* created emperor in the room of *Severus*. *Licinius* was a native of *Dacia*, of mean parentage, though he pretended to derive his pedigree from the emperor *Philip*. He was a declared enemy to all learning; cruel, violent, haughty, infamouſly debauched, and inſatiably covetous; but brave, and experienced in the art of war. *Maximin*, nephew to *Galerius*, jealous of this promotion of *Licinius*, preſſed his uncle to raiſe him alſo to the ſame rank. *Galerius* could not be prevailed upon to grant his requeſt; but, to content him, he contrived a new title, ordering, that he and *Conſtantine* ſhould, for the future, be ſtiled *Filii Auguſtorum*, ſons of emperors. *Maximin* pretended to be ſatisfied with this new mark of diſtinction; but, in the mean time, cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed emperor by his army in the Eaſt; aſſuring his uncle, by letter, that the troops had ſaluted him *Auguſtus* without his conſent. This gave *Galerius* great uneaſineſs: but, nevertheleſs, not thinking it adviſable to quarrel with his nephew about the title he had uſurped, he confirmed it, and at the ſame time granted it to *Conſtantine*, who was thus, through the ambition of another man, acknowledged emperor in all the provinces of the empire; which, by this means, was governed at the ſame time by ſix different princes: namely, *Maximian*, *Galerius*, *Licinius*, *Maximin*, *Conſtantine*, and *Maxentius*.

His character.

Maximin cauſes himſelf to be proclaimed emperor.

Conſtantine acknowledged emperor by *Galerius*.

Shortly after this, *Maximian*, thinking himſelf neglected by *Galerius*, left *Illyricum*, and privately withdrew to *Conſtantine*, in *Gaul*, with a deſign to lay hold of the firſt opportunity to diſpatch him, and cauſe himſelf to be acknowledged in his room. The better to deceive him, he quitted the purple a ſecond time, declaring, that he would no longer concern himſelf with public affairs. His treaſonable deſign was ſoon diſcovered; upon which he fled to *Marſeilles*, where he was purſued, beſieged, and ſtripped of his imperial robes by *Conſtantine*; who, finding himſelf daily expoſed to new plots and conſpiracies, at length could allow him no greater mercy than to chuſe his own death; which, *Lactantius* tells us, was hanging: a fate he had long before deſerved for his many cruelties, particularly to the Chriſtians.

The death of *Maximian*.

This

This year, the ſixth of his reign, *Galerius* was ſeized with a moſt dreadful diſtemper, an ulcer in his privy parts; which, increaſing daily, in ſpite of all the art and ſkill of the beſt phyſicians and ſurgeons,, became incredibly nauſeous both to the ſight and ſmell. His thighs putrified by degrees, his belly was conſumed, his bowels laid open, the whole maſs of his blood corrupted, and he was devoured alive by infinite ſwarms of worms and vermin, with ſuch inſupportable torments, that he often endeavoured to kill himſelf, and even cauſed ſome of his phyſicians to be put to death becauſe their remedies were ineffectual. He languiſhed in this condition a full year; during which he began to reflect on his cruelties to the innocent Chriſtians; and, in conſequence thereof, publiſhed an edict, ordering a ſtop to be put to the perſecution. He died at *Sardica*, the metropolis of *New Dacia*, and was deified with the uſual ceremonies. Before he expired, he earneſtly recommended to *Licinius* his wife *Valeria*, the daughter of *Dioclefian*; and *Candidianus*, his natural ſon. The empire was now divided among four; *viz.* *Conſtantine*, who had *Gaul*, *Spain*, *Britain*, and *Germany*; *Licinius*, who had the provinces of *Illyricum* and *Greece*; *Maximin*, *Cæſar*, and governor of *Aſia* and the Eaſt; and *Maxentius*, uſurper of *Italy* and *Afric*.

Conſtantine. *Galerius* ſeized with a diſtemper. His death. Year of *Rome* 1061 of *Chriſt* 309.

Licinius was now generally acknowledged emperor in the room of *Galerius*, and peaceably took upon him the ſame provinces; while *Conſtantine* governed *Gaul*, and his diviſion of the empire, with great ſucceſs and proſperity. Having reigned about ſix years, he began to be highly concerned for the city of *Rome*, which was miſerably oppreſſed by *Maxentius*: and, being ſtrongly ſollicited by an embaſſy from the ſenate and people of that city, he took a reſolution, worthy of ſo great a mind, to march againſt the tyrant. He had no ſooner determined this, than, like a prudent man, he began to think on ſome aſſiſtance beyond the meer ſtrength and courage of his army; and ſeriouſly revolved within himſelf what deity he ſhould implore as his guardian and protector, He juſtly conſidered the fatal miſcarriages of his predeceſſors. who had violently promoted the worſhip of a multiplicity of gods; the fallaciouſneſs of the oracles by which they had been deluded; and the ſucceſs which had always attended his father *Conſtantius*, who acknowledged only one Supreme Being. At the ſame time he obſerved, that ſuch of his predeceſſors as had perſecuted the Chriſtians, the adorers of this God, had miſcarried in moſt of their undertakings, and periſhed by an untimely end: whereas, his father, who countenanced and protected them, had been uncommonly ſucceſful in all his wars, and ended his life in the arms of his children. He therefore reſolved to have recourſe to the God of his father, and adhere to him alone. To Him therefore he addreſſed himſelf with great humility and fervour, beſeeching

Licinius ſucceeds *Galerius* in the empire. *Conſtantine*'s expedition againſt *Maxentius*

Him

Conſtantine. Him to make Himſelf known to him, and to aſſiſt him in hi preſent expedition. Heaven heard his prayer in a manner altogether miraculous; which, however incredible it may appear to ſome, *Euſebius* aſſures us, he received from the emperor's own mouth, who ſolemnly confirmed the truth of i with his oath. As he was marching at the head of hi troops, in the open fields, when the ſun was declining there ſuddenly appeared in the heavens a pillar of light in the form of a croſs, with this inſcription upon, o about, it, *In this conquer.* This was a very ſurpriſing ſigh both to *Conſtantine* and his whole army; and the commanders and officers, prompted by their prieſts and ſoothſayers, looked upon it as an inauſpicious omen, portending a very unfortunate expedition: but it made ſo happy an impreſſion upon the emperor's mind, that, being farther encouraged by viſions that night, he cauſed the next day a royal ſtandard to be made like that which he had ſeen in the heavens, and to be borne before him in his wars, as an enſign of his victory and ſafety. After this, he ſent for ſeveral Chriſtian biſhops, in order to be inſtructed by them in the myſteries of their religion. He hearkened to them with the utmoſt reſpect, and believed what they told him of the divinity, incarnation, and death of our Saviour. His example was followed by all his family; and the church of CHRIST was happily delivered from the cruel perſecution under which it had groaned for near three hundred years.

A miraculous appearance.

Conſtantine embraces the *Chriſtian* religion,

enters *Italy*, and incamps before *Rome*:

The next year, *Conſtantine* entered *Italy* at the head of an army of about ninety thouſand foot and eighty thouſand horſe; and, after reducing ſeveral cities which oppoſed him, in a ſhort time advanced almoſt to the walls of *Rome*, incamping his army in a large plain before that city. This formidable approach rouſed *Maxentius*, who had given himſelf up to eaſe, luxury, and magic, dividing his hours between pleaſure and ſuperſtition. He never went out of the city, and ſeldom out of the palace; but was ſo exceſſively lazy and inactive, that, to remove only to the *Salluſtian* gardens, tho' to enjoy a new ſcene of pleaſure, was accounted a journey and an expedition. But now, finding himſelf obliged to leave the city, he plied the altars with ſacrifices, and commanded the Sybilline books to be ſearched. The anſwer brought him was, *That the great enemy of* Rome *would periſh that day:* which he underſtood of *Conſtantine*, and applied the ſucceſs to himſelf. Leaving therefore all things in the beſt poſture he could, he quitted the city, and advanced againſt *Conſtantine* with far more numerous forces, his army conſiſting of one hundred and ſeventy thouſand foot, and eighteen thouſand horſe; a great part of whom, being *Romans* and *Italians*, and having conſequently felt his tyranny, wiſhed no other than to ſee him fall. However, the engagement was fierce and bloody; till victory, after hovering a while, reſted

on

on *Conſtantine*'s ſide, for the enemy's cavalry being routed, the whole army fled, and thinking to eſcape the neareſt way, by a bridge of boats which *Maxentius* had built over the *Tiber*, and had contrived with ſecret ſprings and engines, to drown *Conſtantine* if he paſſed that way, were caught in their own ſnare. *Maxentius* himſelf was among thoſe that fell. His body being found, his head was cut off, and carried upon a pole before the army. The defeat and death of *Maxentius*. Year of *Rome* 1110. of Chriſt 308.

Conſtantine having obtained this glorious victory, with no great loſs on his ſide, the ſenator's and people of Rome, with their wives and children, came out of the city to receive him; and with infinite acclamations ſtiled him their father, their ſaviour, and author of all their happineſs. In this manner he was conducted into *Rome*, every one reſounding his praiſes: but he, aſſuming nothing to himſelf, aſcribed all the glory of his ſucceſs to God alone; and in the right hand of all the ſtatues that were erected to his honour by decree of the ſenate, he cauſed to be placed the figure of the croſs, with the ſame inſcription he had ſeen in the heavens: only to one he had likewiſe an inſcription, intimating, that under the influence of that victorious croſs, *Conſtantine* had delivered the city from the yoke of tyrannical power, and had reſtored to the ſenate and people of *Rome* their ancient ſplendor and glory. About this time, we are told, that he commanded, by a public edict, that no man ſhould for the future ſuffer the death of the Croſs, which, till then, had been looked upon as the moſt ignominious of all. *Conſtantine* enters *Rome*.

Having ſettled the affairs of the city, and enacted ſeveral wiſe and juſt laws; to ſhew his gratitude for the power he had received, he began to beſtow many favours and gifts upon the Chriſtians, building them churches and places of prayer, and endowing them with revenues and means for the maintenance of the prieſts and miniſters, and with neceſſaries and ornaments for divine ſervice. Shortly after this victory, he and *Licinius*, to whom he married his ſiſter *Conſtantia*, with one conſent iſſued out their decrees through all the provinces and cities of the empire, commanding that the Chriſtians ſhould be eaſed from all grievances, made free, and received into all offices and places of authority; which now put an entire ſtop to that great perſecution begun by *Diocleſian* ten years before. Theſe decrees being ſent into the Eaſt, were likewiſe obeyed by *Maximin*, though with great reluctance; he being a mortal enemy to the Chriſtians. He protects the Chriſtians. Puts a ſtop to the perſecution.

Maximin, who governed in the Eaſt, ſeeing himſelf rich and powerful, accounted it a diſhonour to him to be inferior to *Licinius* or *Conſtantine*; and therefore aſſuming the title of *Auguſtus* and emperor, and revoking the privileges granted to the Chriſtians, he began to declare himſelf an enemy, eſpecially to *Licinius*, who commanded in the pro- *Maximin* invades the empire

vinces neareſt to his. Truſting to the multitude of his troops, he began a ſevere war againſt him, both by ſea and land. After ſeveral ſkirmiſhes, the two armies came to a general battle, in which *Maximin*'s forces were overthrown, and purſued with ſuch fury, that moſt of them were cut in pieces. Thoſe that ſurvived, yielded to *Licinius*. *Maximin* eſcaped by flight, diſguiſing himſelf till he could arrive at a place of ſecurity. Then, ſeeing how he had been deluded by his magicians and pagan prieſts, he put many of them to death, and trying all means to appeale the divine vengeance, iſſued out decrees in favour of the Chriſtians, allowing them liberty to build churches, and to officiate as they thought fit. Having again levied conſiderable forces, he reſolved to try his fortune in a ſecond battle, when heaven was pleaſed to fruſtrate all his deſigns by his death, firſt afflicting him with excruciating pains and torments all over his body, which laſted ſeveral days, during which he could neither eat, drink, nor ſleep, and at length his eyes ſtarted out of his head, ſo that he died raging and in deſpair; a juſt, but miſerable, end for ſuch a bloody tyrant, who had been one of the moſt barbarous perſecutors of the church, which, after this, began to flouriſh exceedingly, and the Chriſtians, for ſome time, enjoyed peace and proſperity.

is totally defeated by *Licinius*.

Hisdeath.

Conſtantine and *Licinius* now remained ſole lords and emperors of the *Roman* dominions: only the latter met with ſome oppoſition in the Eaſt from *Valens*, whom the army had made emperor after the death of *Maximin*. But *Licinius* ſoon put an end to his life and empire; after which, being in full poſſeſſion of the Eaſt, he puniſhed the miniſters of *Maximin*'s cruelty, and put to death his two ſons, whom he had made *Cæſars*. Shortly after this, one *Alexander*, a commander in *Africa*, rebelled, and uſurped the title and authority of emperor. *Conſtantine* ſent againſt him an army from *Rome*, which coming to an engagement, *Alexander* was defeated and killed. By this means the whole empire was under the command of *Conſtantine* and *Licinius*; but though they were equal in dignity, yet the valour and reputation of *Conſtantine* was far greater, and he was much more beloved and eſteemed by all men, than *Licinius*. *Conſtantine* reſided chiefly at *Rome*, adminiſtring juſtice with wiſdom and diſcretion, reading the Holy Scriptures, and daily enriching and propagating the church of God.

Valens and

Alexander defeated and killed.

Conſtantine and *Licinius* remain maſters of the empire.

Licinius, who had hitherto diſſembled with *Conſtantine* and the world, having now the whole Eaſtern empire at his command, began to ſhew himſelf in his proper colours, heartily eſpouſing the cauſe of the *Pagans*, and expreſsly forbidding the Chriſtian biſhops to viſit the houſes of the Gentiles, for fear they ſhould promote the propagation of chriſtianity. Not ſatisfied with this, he raiſed a bloody perſecution againſt the Chriſtians, whom he purſued with the moſt horrid cruelties. He likewiſe made uſe of ſeveral treacherous

Wicked practices of *Licinius*.

cherous practices against the person of *Constantine*, whom he both envied and hated; contriving all imaginable methods to destroy him. In compassion to the deplorable condition of the Christians; and to chastise the monstrous inconstancy and ingratitude of *Licinius*, as well as his horrid perfidiousness and hypocrisy, *Constantine* resolved upon an expedition against him. Great preparations were made on both sides: the two emperors and their armies met near *Cybalæ*, in *Pannonia*, and a battle ensued, in which *Licinius* was utterly defeated, with the loss of twenty thousand of his best troops. *Licinius* fled to *Sirmium*, and from thence with his wife, children, and treasures, into *Dacia*, where he raised to the dignity of *Cæsar* one of his officers, by name *Martian*. From *Dacia* he passed into *Thrace*, and there assembled a second army, far more numerous than the former. In the mean time *Constantine*, making his sons *Crispus* and *Constantine*, *Cæsars*, seized on the provinces of *Dacia*, *Mæsia*, *Macedonia*, and others in *Europe*, which were subject to *Licinius*, who now began a second war, which proved very variable and expensive, and was at last terminated by the intercession of his wife *Constantia*, sister to *Constantine*.

War between *Constantine* and *Licinius*.

Licinius, still burning with envy, soon commenced a new war, which was carried on with great violence both by sea and land. The two rivals came to a general engagement in the province of *Bithynia*, and *Constantine*, whose royal banner, says *Eusebius*, always triumphed, gained a complete victory. Thirty three thousand of the enemy were killed upon the spot, and the rest fled with great precipitation and disorder. *Licinius*, with what few forces he could rally, escaped in the night to *Byzantium*, and from thence to *Nicomedia*, whither *Constantine* pursued and besieged him. *Constantia* interposed again, and prevailed on *Constantine* to grant *Licinius* his life, upon condition that he surrendered the sovereignty, and agreed to lead a private life. We are told, that *Constantine* confirmed these conditions by oath, and sent *Licinius* to *Thessalonica*: but afterwards fearing a rebellion, or rather, finding him actually engaged in one, he commanded him to be put to death, with *Martian* whom he had created *Cæsar*: for which he is highly blamed by some authors, and excused by others. Such was the fatal end of the emperor *Licinius*, after a reign of near sixteen years.

Licinius defeated. Raises a second army. Peace concluded between them. *Licinius* breaks it. Is totally defeated. Resigns the empire. Is put to death by *Constantine*'s order.

By the death of *Licinius*, *Constantine* became sole monarch of the *Roman* empire; and his reign being for some time attended with an universal peace and security, christianity and all arts flourished and increased daily. He was generally beloved and much honoured by his subjects, for his justice and clemency; and no less dreaded by the barbarous nations, for his conduct and valour, but he was most of all esteemed and admired by the Christians in all countries, whose affairs he now promoted with greater vigour than ever. He bestowed many extraordinary benefits, privileges, and donations

Year of *Rome* 1071 of Christ 319. *Constantine* sole emperor. He patronizes and encourages the Christian religion.

upon the biſhops and churches, and, in general, upon all Chriſtians. He entirely aboliſhed all laws and edicts that had ever been made to their prejudice, and expreſsly forbid the building of any more temples to the Gods of the *Pagans*. He alſo commanded, that in all the provinces of the empire, the orders of the biſhops ſhould be ſtrictly obſerved; and to ſuch of them as had not a competency for their ſubſiſtence, he aſſigned incomes to maintain them during their lives. He not only took care of the Chriſtians in the empire, but uſed ſuch methods by his ambaſſadors and otherwiſe, that, in *Perſia*, and other countries, they were not oppreſſed as formerly: ſo that the goſpel was propagated in many parts of the world, by the means of this pious emperor. But in this great proſperity of the church, its peace was highly diſturbed, and its purity greatly corrupted, by the hereſies and errors of the famous *Arius*, a prieſt in *Alexandria*, which, in nine or ten years time, became ſo prevalent in many provinces, that the emperor was obliged to interpoſe his authority. To this end, he reſolved to call in the aſſiſtance of the whole Chriſtian church, and, with that view, ſent his letters to all parts of the Chriſtian world, ſummoning the biſhops and clergy to meet at an appointed day at *Nice*, the metropolis of *Bithynia* in the leſſer *Aſia*. This was the firſt general council commanded by human authority. To it repaired three hundred and eighteen biſhops, beſides an innumerable company of preſbyters and deacons, together with the emperor himſelf, in great pomp. All this number, except about ſeventeen, unanimouſly condemned the hereſy of *Arius*, who, proving refractory, was ſentenced to baniſhment, together with ſeveral others who would not renounce his tenets.

The firſt general council at *Nice*. Year of Chriſt 325

Conſtantine gives the title of *Cæſar* to his ſecond ſon *Conſtantius*.

In the ſame year *Conſtantine* conferred the dignity of *Cæſar* on his ſon *Conſtantius*, who was the ſecond he had by *Fauſta*, and ſent him into *Gaul*, to defend that nation againſt the incurſions of the Barbarians. He likewiſe celebrated his *Vicennalia*, or twentieth year of his reign, both at *Nicomedia* and at *Rome*, and made ſeveral excellent new laws, particularly againſt uſury and extortion. And whereas ſeveral complaints were made againſt his favourites and particular friends, he publiſhed an edict, this year, allowing and inviting any one to come freely and accuſe them, and promiſing rewards to ſuch as made good their aſſertions. However, notwithſtanding all the goodneſs of his adminiſtration, we are told that he did, about this time, ſome acts which gave his enemies room greatly to blacken his reputation. Theſe were, his putting to death his ſon *Criſpus*, and his empreſs *Fauſta*, with ſome other friends. *Fauſta*, jealous of the great reputation *Criſpus* had acquired, and piqued to ſee him preferred to her children, falſely accuſed him of having ſolicited her to inceſt. Some ſay, that ſhe charged him with aſpiring to the ſovereignty. Be that as it will, *Conſtantine*, giving

giving ear to the accuſation, and not only forgetting his uſual clemency, but acting contrary to all laws of juſtice and equity, without examining an accuſation of ſuch importance, without giving the accuſed prince room to clear himſelf, ordered him to be put to death. Some ſay he was poiſoned; others, that his head was ſtruck off, in the thirtieth, or, as others will have it, only the twenty-fifth year of his age. He was a prince of extraordinary endowments, and univerſally beloved by the people and ſoldiery, for his bravery, generoſity, and other noble qualities. The death of *Criſpus* was followed by that of young *Licinius*, *Conſtantine*'s nephew, then in the twelfth year of his age; and, ſhortly after, by that of *Fauſta*, who, being convicted of having accuſed *Criſpus* falſely, and likewiſe of having proſtituted herſelf to perſons of the meaneſt rank, was, by *Conſtantine*'s order, ſuffocated with the ſteam of a hot bath.

Conſtantine puts to death his ſon *Criſpus*, his nephew *Licinius*, and his empreſs *Fauſta*.

This exceſſive cruelty and injuſtice in *Conſtantine*, drew down upon his family the vengeance of heaven: for his brothers, his nephews, and his favourite miniſters, were, ſoon after his death, all maſſacred by *Conſtantius*, his ſecond ſon by *Fauſta*, whom he loved and cheriſhed above the reſt. *Conſtantine*, his eldeſt ſon, was killed by *Conſtans* the youngeſt, *Conſtans* by *Magnentius*, *Gallus* their couſin by *Conſtantius*, and *Conſtantius* by *Julian*, the brother of *Gallus*. *Julian* periſhed in a moſt miſerable manner, and in him ended the numerous family of *Conſtantine*, which, every one expected, would have furniſhed the empire with princes for many ages; the emperor having three brothers, four ſons, ſeveral ſiſters and daughters, and nine nephews.

Conſtantine reſolves to transfer the ſeat of the empire. Year of *Rome* 1128 of Chriſt 326.

The dominions of the *Romans* being now at perfect peace, *Conſtantine* reſolved to transfer the ſeat of the empire from *Rome* to ſome other place. Whether it was, becauſe he had been affronted by the people of *Rome*, for ſpeaking contemptibly of their rites at a feſtival, as *Zoſimus* reports; or whether, becauſe he would not honour with his court that place, which had been for many ages the chief ſtage of idolatry, and the ſcene of martyrdom and perſecution; or whether, becauſe he thought the Eaſtern parts ſtood in need of his preſence to defend them, not only againſt the encroachments of the *Perſians*, but likewiſe againſt the inroads of the Northern nations, which, at that time, frequently infeſted thoſe parts; or whatever elſe the occaſion was, he, fatally for the empire, undertook the building of a new city, for his uſual place of reſidence. The firſt place he pitched upon was between *Troas* and ancient *Julius*, on the coaſt of *Aſia*: but afterwards changing his mind, upon a viſion which he had, or imagined to have had, he reſolved to inlarge the ancient city of *Byzantium*, and make it the ſecond, or, if he could, the firſt of the empire. He extended its walls from ſea to ſea, and, with prodigious coſt and labour, embelliſhed it with a great number of ſtately buildings, a

He enlarges and adorns the city of

palace

Byzantium. palace no way inferior, in its magnificence and extent, to that of *Rome*, a capitol, amphitheatre, circus, forums, porticos, and public baths; and then divided the city into fourteeen regions, granted the inhabitants great privileges and immunities, and provided for their ſecurity by many wholſome laws. By this means *Byzantium* became one of the moſt flouriſhing and populous cities of the empire, whole families flocking thither from all parts, eſpecially from *Pontus*, *Thrace*, and *Aſia*; *Conſtantine* having appointed, by a law enacted this year, that ſuch as had lands in thoſe countries, ſhould not be able to diſpoſe of them, nor even leave them at their death to their heirs, unleſs they had a houſe in his new city. In imitation of *Rome*, he took in ſeven hills, by a wall, which, for height, thickneſs and beauty, was the nobleſt in the world. Being deſirous that the city ſhould be inhabited by none but Chriſtians, he cauſed all the idols of the *Pagans* to be pulled down, and their temples to be conſecreated to the true God. He alſo built an incredible number of new churches, and erected croſſes in all the ſquares and public places.

Solemnly conſecrates it; When moſt of the buildings were finiſhed, which was the work of about two years, *Conſtantine*, on the eleventh of *May*, of the year three hundred and thirty, in the twenty-fifth of his reign, cauſed this new city, by a very ſolemn dedication, to be conſecreated, according to *Cedrenus*, to the Virgin *Mary*; but, according to *Euſebius*, to the God of Martyrs. By a law engraven on a pillar of ſtone, and placed near his own ſtatue in the *Strategium*, he ordered that the city ſhould be thenceforth called *New Rome*: but, notwithſtanding this edict, his name prevailed, and it is to this day called *Conſtantinople*. At the ſame time he equalled it to ancient *Rome*, granting it the ſame rights, immunities, and privileges, as that metropolis enjoyed. He likewiſe eſtabliſhed in it a ſenate, and other magiſtrates, with a power and authority equal to that of the *Roman* ſenate, and declared *New Rome*, the metropolis of the Eaſt, as *Old Rome*, was to the Weſt. He then fixed his reſidence in this city, and his ſucceſſors did the ſame; by which means the Weſtern parts became ſo neglected, and fell into ſuch decline, that, about one hundred and forty-ſix years after, they were torn in pieces and deſtroyed by the barbarous nations, and *Italy* and *Rome* itſelf, were plundered and entirely poſſeſſed by the *Goths*.

equals it to *Rome*, and

makes it the ſeat of empire.

His diviſion of the empire. *Conſtantine* likewiſe new modelled the empire, dividing it into four quarters, over which were four principal governors called Pretorian Præfects. Theſe contained fourteen dioceſſes, each governed by a vicar or lieutenant, under the Preſects, reſiding at the metropolis of the dioceſs; and the dioceſſes were divided into one hundred and twenty provinces, each ruled by a preſident, reſiding at the chief city of the province. In many other cities was an officer called

Defen-

Defenſor Civitatis. In each of theſe was a biſhop; in every chief city of a province was an archbiſhop; and in the chief city of a dioceſs, a patriarch. The dioceſſes were as follow. 1. *Britain*, with great part of *Scotland*, divided into five provinces. 2. *Gaul*, containing the preſent, *France*, part of the Low-countries, *Germany* and *Italy*, and divided into ſeventeen provinces. 3. *Hiſpania*, containing the preſent *Spain*, *Portugal*, and part of *Barbary*, and divided into ſeven provinces, theſe three made up one of the four parts of the empire, and was ruled by a Prefect called *Præfectus Prætorio Galliarum*. 4. *Italy*, containing about half the country now called by that name, with part of *Switſerland*, and divided into ſeven provinces. 5. *Rome*, containing the reſt of the preſent *Italy*, with the iſlands, and divided into ten provinces. 6. *Africa*, containing the greateſt part of the country now called *Barbary*, and divided into ſix provinces. Theſe three made another of the four parts of the empire, and was ruled by the *Præfectus-prætorio Italiæ*. 7. *Illyricum*, containing the modern *Hungary*, *Sclavonia*, *Boſnia*, *Croatia*, *Dalmatia*, and part of *Germany*, divided into ſeven provinces. 8. *Dacia*, containing the countries now called *Tranſilvania*, *Walachia*, *Moldavia*, *Beſſarabia*, *Servia*, and part of *Bulgaria*, divided into five provinces. 9. *Macedonia* or *Greece*, containing the preſent *Macedonia*, *Janna*, *Canina*, *Livadia*, *Morea*, and part of *Albania*, and divided into ſeven provinces. Theſe three made another of the four parts, and was ruled by the *Præfectus-prætorio Illyrici*. 10. *Thrace*, containing *Romania*, and part of *Bulgaria*, divided into ſix provinces. 11. *Pontus*, containing about half the preſent *Natolia*, and divided into eleven provinces. 12. *Aſia*, containing moſt of the reſt of *Natolia*, and divided into eleven provinces. 13. The *Orient*, containing all the preſent *Soria*, the *Holy-land*, *Diarbeck*, with part of *Natolia* and *Arabia*, and divided into fifteen provinces. 14. *Egypt*, containing all the modern *Egypt*, with part of *Barbary*, and divided into ſix provinces. Theſe five dioceſſes made up the laſt and greateſt of the four parts of the empire, and were governed by the *Prætorian Præfect of the Eaſt*.

The End of the FOURTH VOLUME.